THE DUTCH INTERSECTION

The Jews and the Netherlands in Modern History

edited by

YOSEF KAPLAN

BRILL

The Dutch Intersection: The Jews and the Netherlands in Modern History

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In Memoriam

Henriëtte Boas
(1911–2001)

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PREFACE

This volume contains almost all the papers presented at the Tenth International Symposium on the History of the Jews in the Netherlands, organized by the Center for Research on Dutch Jewry and held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 21 to 24 November 2004.

More than eighty years ago, the historian and bibliographer Sigmund Seeligman, in his well known article, "Die Juden in Holland, eine Charakteristik," coined the term *species hollandia Judaica*, which was accepted by quite a few of those who dealt and deal with the history of the Jews of Holland as an apt epithet for the uniqueness of Dutch Jewry, treating it as a distinct and special instance in the history of modern Jewry. Seeligman sought to point out the differences between the Jews of Holland and those of other countries and emphasized the adaptation of the Dutch Jews to the Dutch national character in the wake of the process of emancipation. By contrast, Dr. Joseph Michman, the founder of the Center for Research on Dutch Jewry in Jerusalem and one of the main architects of the first international symposia on the history of the Jews of Holland, in the lecture he delivered at the fourth symposium in 1986, which explicitly took issue with Seeligman's approach, sought rather to bring out the "Jewish essence of the Jew as a Dutchman," or, in other words, "how Dutch Jews differed from their Gentile compatriots."

While Seeligman's view expressed a horizontal approach, which mainly brought out the particular Dutch context of the history of the Jews of Holland, Michman's attitude always emphasized the vertical dimension, that is to say, the connections of Dutch Jewish life with Jewish history and culture over the generations.

The articles in this volume are linked in a certain sense to Michman's approach. Most of them deal with the connections between the history and culture of the Jews of Holland from the beginning of the seventeenth century until the period after the Holocaust, and with phenomena and processes that distinguish all of Jewish history in the modern period. However, the common denominator of all the articles in this collection is very far from an essentialist conception of Jewish history. Moreover, they are distinguished not only by the examination of the influence of general Jewish history on that of the Jews of Holland

but also by focusing on events and processes in modern Jewish history that show the significant influence of the history of the Jews of Holland.

Most of the articles here share the emphasis placed on the intersection: that is to say, they view the Jews of Holland not as a separate phenomenon in Jewish history but as a Jewish collective whose identity and creativity were formed, throughout its history, in close connection with the Jewish people in the present and past. At the same time, the Jews of Holland were not only influenced by the great Jewish centers and nourished by the culture that the Jewish immigrants brought with them to Holland from their countries of origin, but at various stages they also became harbingers of processes and tendencies in modern Jewish history, and their activity and creativity often served as a source of inspiration for Jews elsewhere in the Diaspora.

The economic activity of the Portuguese Jewish merchants and entrepreneurs in Amsterdam during the seventeenth century embraced the entire world, and their integration in international trade and in the colonial projects of the great maritime powers of Europe also attracted the cooperation of Jews in other countries and influenced the economy of the Jews elsewhere. The printing houses of the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam became the main suppliers of Jewish books, both rabbinical and other, not only for the Sephardi Jewish Diaspora. They also provided religious books for the well-established Ashkenazi communities in Central and Eastern Europe. Amsterdam became the center of production for wide-ranging Jewish literature in Spanish and Portuguese, both religious and secular, which was intended for "the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Nation" in the West and East. Similarly, in the printing houses of Ashkenazi Jews were printed, in addition to traditional rabbinical literature, also works in Yiddish that were intended for the entire Ashkenazi world, and we find that between 1650 and 1750 Amsterdam became a central focus not only for the distribution of the Yiddish book but also of literary creation in Yiddish. Toward the mid-seventeenth century, Jewish printing in Amsterdam assumed the status that Hebrew printing in Venice had hitherto held, and the editions of Hebrew books from Amsterdam became famous throughout the Diaspora and served as a model for imitation.

Similarly, both Portuguese and Ashkenazi Jews were among the first to create a "Jewish library awareness," which preceded that created by the Jewish Maskilim in the Age of Enlightenment by several generations. Also the first Jewish newspapers, in Spanish and Yiddish, were

printed in Amsterdam in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, with the intention of providing information to a readership beyond the borders of Holland.

The institutions established by the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam, the patterns of organization that they formed, and the ordinances that they composed, became models for imitation in the entire Western Sephardi Diaspora, including the centers of Jewish settlement on the American continent. Throughout most of the early modern period, the Sephardi community of Amsterdam was the leader of the Western Sephardi Diaspora, and people turned to it with requests not only for material assistance but also for advice and council, and it produced most of the rabbis, cantors, and teachers for the Sephardi communities in Western Europe and the New World, who were trained in its schools and academies.

The unique tolerance enjoyed by the Jews of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century, though it was less principled and comprehensive than is commonly thought, was far greater than that known by the Jews in any other part of the Diaspora, and it gave the Jews of Holland, especially the Portuguese elite within it, a particular symbolic status in the consciousness of the Jews in the pre-Emancipation period.

However, changes in the world economy and in the status of Holland in trans-Atlantic trade weakened the economic position of the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam and led to deep impoverishment of the Sephardi community of the city, and toward the mid-eighteenth century it lost its former leading and influential status. Moreover, due to the social and cultural consequences of emancipation and assimilation, the cohesion that had characterized Jewish life in Holland was severely weakened. Nevertheless, during the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, until its destruction in the Holocaust, Dutch Jewry retained its creative vitality. From the social, political, and cultural point of view, it never lost contact with the Jewish centers of the world, both old and new, and some of the articles in this volume express this, as well. In their own way, the Jews of Holland took part in the processes of modernization and secularization of the Jewish Diaspora and participated intensely in international Jewish political and philanthropic activity. The confrontation with the problems of modern Jewish identity found fascinating expression in Holland, in cultural productivity, literature, and art.

The articles in this book touch upon a variety of subjects, sometimes broad, sometimes specific, from the perspective of the wider Jewish

context, a context that is sometimes organizational and institutional, sometimes religious, sometimes political, cultural, or artistic, and sometimes a matter of consciousness. The articles that deal with the Holocaust and the developments characteristic of Dutch Jewry in its wake also relate to broader contexts of Jewish history.

This volume is dedicated to the unforgettable Henriëtte Boas, who was a sensitive witness to much of the history of the Jews of Holland during most of the twentieth century. She was a teacher of classical literature with a deeply rooted Jewish education and broad cultural horizons, an intellectual who was involved in many controversies that stirred the Jews of her homeland, a journalist with indefatigable curiosity, and a sharp-eyed historian who knew the history and culture of the Jews of Holland intimately and deeply—a brave and feisty woman.

At all the symposia on the history of the Jews of Holland that took place both in Israel and in Holland, her special, active, and eccentric presence was prominent. There was hardly any lecture to which she did not respond with questions and objections, with characteristic fervor and emotional engagement, with intellectual interest, but mainly with a keen existential identification with the Jewish world from which she stemmed. The tenth conference was held in Jerusalem in November 2004, three years after her death, and it was hard not to feel her absence. We mourn our loss.

* * *

I would like to thank all the institutions and individuals that provided essential support for the organization of the Tenth International Conference on Dutch Jewry and the publication of this book: The Royal Netherlands Embassy in Israel and especially Mr. Bob Hiensch, the Dutch Ambassador to Israel, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Foundation for Collective Maror Funds in Israel, the Frankenhuis Foundation, the Levi Lassen Foundation, and the Maatschappij tot Nut der Israëliten in Nederland.

In addition, I would like to express heartfelt gratitude to the Foundation for Research on Dutch Jewry in Jerusalem and to its former chairman, Avraham Roet, its former secretary, Professor Alfred Drukker, and Ya'acov Yannay, former member of its Board of Directors. I also extend thanks to the present chairperson, Dr. Joel Fishman, and the director general, Mr. Chaim den Heijer, without whose devoted assistance it would not have been possible to hold the conference and publish this volume. I also wish to thank the Friends of the Center for Research on

Dutch Jewry in Holland for their cooperation and generous assistance. Professor Dan Michman helped greatly with his advice in planning the program of the conference. Professor Galit Hazan-Rokem, former head of the Institute for Jewish Studies of the Hebrew University, always responded enthusiastically to our requests.

Throughout all the stages of organizing the conference and preparing this volume, Lea Menashe and Eva Ben David, the two devoted secretaries of the Center, spared no effort to make sure that everything was done professionally, always managing to inspire all the participants and everyone involved in the project with good spirits. Ms. María Mercedes Tuya, from the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, prepared the index with great care. Last but far from least, deep gratitude is due to Valerie Carr Zakovitch for her careful copyediting, which assured consistency in spelling and style throughout the volume.

Yosef Kaplan

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJS Review	*American Jewish Studies Review*
BAA	*Bulletin des Archives d'Anvers*
BT	Babylonian Talmud
CAHJP	Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CJO	Centraal Joods Overleg (Central Jewish Umbrella Organization)
CZA	Central Zionist Archives
EAJS	European Association for Jewish Studies
GAA	Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst Amsterdam
GAA PA 334	Archieven der Portugees-Israëlietische Gemeente te Amsterdam
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICA	Jewish Colonization Association
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
MGWJ	*Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
NA	National Archive, The Hague
NIG	Nederlands Israëlitische Gemeente
NIOD	Nederlands Institutuut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie
NIW	*Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*
NZB	Nederlandse Zionistenbond
REJ	*Revue des études juives*
SPPNN	H. den Boer, *Spanish and Portuguese Printing in the Northern Netherlands 1584–1825*, CD-ROM (Leiden 2003)
StRos	*Studia Rosenthaliana*
TJHSE	*Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*
WJC	World Jewish Congress

AMSTERDAM FROM AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE: TOLERANCE AND *KEHILLAH* IN THE PORTUGUESE DIASPORA[1]

Bernard D. Cooperman

Introduction

In the Jewish historical narrative, early modern Amsterdam is known for two things: first, the great measure of religious tolerance the city fathers displayed towards Portuguese *converso* refugees, allowing them to settle, revert to Judaism, and prosper; and second, the authoritarian Jewish community that those refugees subsequently created, a community that famously had the power to excommunicate and expel the philosopher Baruch Spinoza in July of 1656.[2] The nexus between these two phenomena—tolerance and autonomy—is neither obvious nor necessary. Freedom to settle did not automatically include Jews' right to corporate identity, to self-government, judicial recognition, or the power to decide who might (and might not) be a part of their community.

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[1] The present article is part of a broader investigation of the relationship between the structural development of Jewish autonomy in early modern Europe and the conditions under which those communities were formed.

[2] Yosef Kaplan has explored the use and significance of excommunication in the *kehillah* of Amsterdam (and other Sephardi communities) in a number of important studies; see, for example, "The Social Functions of the *Herem* in the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century," in *Dutch Jewish History* [1], ed. J. Michman and T. Levie (Jerusalem 1984), pp. 111–55; and the useful summary in "Deviance and Excommunication in the Eighteenth Century: A Chapter in the Social History of the Sephardi Community of Amsterdam," *Dutch Jewish History* 3, ed. J. Michman (Jerusalem, Assen, Maastricht 1993), pp. 103–115. Much of his work on this broad topic has been conveniently collected in *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden 2000) and in the somewhat expanded Hebrew version, *From New Christians to New Jews* (Jerusalem 2003), esp. chapters 5–8. The literature on the excommunication of Spinoza is far too extensive to cite here; for two recent (and quite different) treatments of what lay behind the ban of Spinoza, see J. Israel, "Philosophy, Commerce and the Synagogue: Spinoza's Expulsion from the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish Community in 1656," in *Dutch Jewry: Its History and Secular Culture (1500–2000)*, ed. J. Israel and R. Salverda (Leiden 2002), pp. 125–39, and O. Vlessing, "The Excommunication of Baruch Spinoza: A Struggle between Jewish and Civil Law," ibid., pp. 141–72.

Papal Rome, for example, had long tolerated a Jewish settlement, but it had also systematically refused Jews the *dignitas* of judicial autonomy and in 1492 had famously rejected Roman Jews' effort to control the immigration of other Jews.[3] We may ask then how Amsterdam's Jewry was able to establish such a powerful and autocratic authority structure. To put the question more pointedly, what was the relation between the conditions and logic of tolerance, on the one hand, and the nature of communal power, on the other? Shall we assume for example that the *herem*, the community's right to expel individuals and thus to control membership, had been explicitly granted to the Jews in a privilege from the city fathers?[4] Does Jewish self-governance demonstrate that Amsterdam extended tolerance not to Jews as individuals (as has been sometimes asserted) but to Jews as an organized group?[5]

The answer to these questions will depend upon detailed research into the legal standing of Amsterdam's Jews and the functioning of their community, a task properly left to local historians.[6] But perhaps I can make some small contribution to the investigation by putting policy in Amsterdam in a broader context, by suggesting a pan-European terminological and legal provenance for Dutch tolerance. Specifically, I will argue that by looking at the freedoms granted to New Christian

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[3] For a recent discussion, see my "Ethnicity and Institution Building among Jews in Early Modern Rome," *AJS Review* 30 (2006), pp. 119–45.

[4] Kaplan, "Social Functions of the *Herem*," p. 113. Kaplan acknowledges that no official document to this effect is known to exist, but he is nevertheless certain "that the Portuguese community received explicit permission from the city authorities to excommunicate…" because of references to this power in the proposed Haarlem charter (1605) and the arrangements for tolerating Jews proposed by Hugo Grotius in 1615 (ibid., n. 4, translated into English on p. 145). The language of David Franco Mendes's 1772 chronicle likewise clearly implies that the power of excommunication was granted the Jews by the Amsterdam council (ibid., p. 151, n. 102). Kaplan also notes that the city council specifically acknowledged the community's right to excommunicate deviants and rebels on more than one occasion (p. 145).

[5] Cf. Spinoza's famous declaration that Amsterdam above all promoted individual freedom of thought and that formal involvement by the state in religious "politics" had only led to sectarianism and strife: *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* [1670], chapter 20 (Baruch Spinoza, *Theological-Political Treatise*, trans. S. Shirley 2nd edition [Indianapolis 2001], p. 228); Spinoza, *Opera*, ed. C. Gebhardt (Heidelberg 1925), vol. 3, p. 7; but Jonathan Israel understands this as propaganda on behalf of a level of intellectual freedom and expression that in fact did not exist in Holland at the time ("Religious Toleration and Radical Philosophy in the Later Dutch Golden Age (1668–1710)," in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia and H. van Nierop (Cambridge 2002), p. 148.

[6] See e.g. D. M. Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans. The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam* (London and Portland, Oreg. 2000).

merchants elsewhere, we can gain a more nuanced understanding of policy in Holland. This in turn may put the strong authority of Amsterdam's community in clearer perspective.

The Theory and Practice of Dutch Tolerance

Amsterdam Jews have enjoyed decorating the story of their communal beginnings with romantic and heroic elements. In one tale they described a young Portuguese Jewess, Maria Nunez, who escaped the Inquisition disguised as a man only to be taken captive by the English. Resisting romantic pressures from an English duke and even the importunings of Queen Elizabeth herself, the beautiful maiden successfully secured release of the ship, and was married in Amsterdam to Manuel Lopez Homem in 1598. Another tale spoke of fleeing *conversos* who landed at Emden whence a local Ashkenazi Jew, Uri ha-Levi, directed them to Amsterdam. In 1602, he joined them there, circumcised the men, and taught them the rituals and requirements of an open Jewish life. These stories, however embellished they may have been by popular memory, are not completely without basis in fact. The archival record testifies to the existence of some of these figures, and there can be no doubt that from 1595 at least, Amsterdam allowed Portuguese *conversos* to settle in the city. But by focusing on the individual and the dramatic, these tales have collapsed time and simplified categories. The complexity of Dutch policy has been presented in static and polarized terms of good and evil, thus obscuring the slow, decades-long process by which the Portuguese gradually transformed themselves into a Jewish community.[7]

[7] On the mythologizing tendencies of Amsterdam Jewish history and for historians' attempts to discover the facts behind the myths, see R. Cohen, "Memoria para os siglos futuros: Myth and Memory on the Beginnings of the Amsterdam Sephardi Community," *Jewish History* 2 (1987), pp. 67–72; H. P. Salomon, "Myth or Anti-Myth? The Oldest Account concerning the Origin of Portuguese Judaism at Amsterdam," *Lias* 16 (1989), pp. 275–316; Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, pp. 167 ff., and O. Vlessing, "New Light on the Earliest History of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jews," in *Dutch Jewish History* 3, pp. 43–75. The mythic versions accompanied by reproductions of historical documents concerning these early figures are conveniently available to the English reader in M. H. Gans, *Memorbook. History of Dutch Jewry from the Renaissance to 1940* (Baarn 1977), pp. 21, 22.

Though our knowledge of how policy was applied in practice remains "still highly impressionistic,"[8] recent scholarship has tended to question, or at least to problematize, traditional, historiographical assumptions about religious tolerance in the Republic.[9] First, there are questions about how uniform such tolerance was across the Republic.[10] But even granting that Amsterdam was "the most religiously tolerant society in Western Europe,"[11] historians now stress that we should not equate the tolerance practiced in the seventeenth-century Republic with modern liberal principles of religious freedom. Benjamin Kaplan, for example, sees tolerance there as more "grudging"—a legal "connivance" rather than full license drawn from systematic theories of religious legitimacy. The Dutch, he writes, were not willing to do more than "look through their fingers"—that is, they adopted a policy of simply not seeing what they did not wish to acknowledge.[12] John Marshall makes the same point even more sharply: "Many of the practices of toleration" he writes,

[8] J. Spaans, "Religious Policies in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic," in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration*, ed. Hsia and van Nierop, p. 72.

[9] See e.g. the papers collected in C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, J. Israel, and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden 1997), and in Hsia and van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration*. Among the most emphatic critics of the historiography of toleration is J. I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford 1995).

[10] See e.g. the position of M. Gijswijt-Hofstra, "Een schijn van verdraagzaamheid," in *Een schijn van verdraagzaamheid. Afwijking en tolerantie in Nederland van de zestiende eeuw to heden*, ed. M. Gijswijt-Hofstra (Hilversum 1989), p. 9, cited in B. J. Kaplan, "'Dutch' Religious Tolerance: Celebration and Revision," in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration*, ed. Hsia and van Nierop, p. 23. B. J. Kaplan comments further,

> Gijswijt-Hofstra expresses great unease with the notion of what she calls "*de* Nederlandse tolerantie," that is, Dutch tolerance in the singular, even when limiting her consideration to the Republic. She argues that religious tolerance was a product largely of "extensive regional and local autonomy within the Republic," and that so much variation existed in its quality and quantity that to speak of 'the Republic' as tolerant is in itself misleading. (p. 24)

[11] J. Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture. Religious Intolerance and Arguments for Religious Toleration in Early Modern and 'Early Enlightenment' Europe* (Cambridge 2006), p. 162 and see especially pp. 143–149 on the Jews.

[12] B. J. Kaplan, "'Dutch' Religious Tolerance," p. 25; idem, "Fictions of Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe," *American Historical Review* 107 (2002), pp. 1031–1064, esp. 1037 and 1061. In the former article, B. J. Kaplan cites the formula contrasting "connivance and tolerance" on the one hand with full "permission" on the other from a 1579 pamphlet, *Discours sur la permission de liberté*, quoted in C. Secretan, "La tolérance entre politique et rhétorique," in *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic*, pp. 99–100.

"…occurred by failure to enforce intolerant laws on the books, rather than by principled legislative enactment of toleration."[13]

The unevenness of toleration policy may be ascribed in part to the fact that the authority to legislate was highly decentralized in the Low Countries. Even as the constitutional framework became more stable, each sovereign province and autonomous city within the Dutch Republic retained local jurisdiction over the admission of Jews. Thus individual settlement licenses were negotiated at Alkmaar in 1604, Haarlem in 1605, and Rotterdam in 1610.[14] As it happens, none of these charters led directly to the establishment of Jewish communities since each was dependent on the coming of a minimum number of Jewish families, a prerequisite that was not achieved. But this does not negate the fact of local, as opposed to centralized, jurisdiction over Jewish settlement. The Estates General explicitly confirmed local jurisdiction in 1619, reserving for itself only to restate the principle of freedom of conscience guaranteed under the Union of Utrecht, and therefore forbidding the towns to impose distinguishing marks or clothing on Jews.[15]

Even more important, we must remember that the Portuguese initially settled in Amsterdam not as Jews—as the myth would have it—but as Christians. Even if some of them may have secretly Judaized, many continued to live as Christians and would even return to the Iberian Peninsula, living there comfortably. (We now know this to be the case, for example, even with the heroic Maria Homem.) It is not our task in the present context to explore how, and in what stages, Judaism became the normative religion of the community, a subject that has been dealt with

[13] Marshall, *John Locke*, p. 162; see also p. 335: "…religious toleration in the Netherlands was considerably greater in practice than in legislative provision, existing more because of deliberate failures to enforce anti-tolerationist laws than by principled enactment of full religious toleration…Dutch authors composed few principled defences of religious toleration across the ninety years from 1579 to 1670."

[14] A. H. Huussen, "The Legal Position of the Jews in the Dutch Republic c. 1590–1796," in *Dutch Jewry. Its History and Secular Culture (1500–2000)*, p. 32; idem, "The Legal Position of Sephardi Jews in Holland, circa 1600," in *Dutch Jewish History* 3, pp. 19–41. The start of the Alkmaar deed is reproduced in Gans, *Memorbook*, p. 26. For further details on the Haarlem negotiations and charter, see A. H. Huussen, "De toelating van Sefardische Joden in Haarlem in 1605," in *Jaarboek Haerlem 1991* (Haarlem 1992), pp. 48–62. I would like to thank Dr. Huussen for kindly sending me a copy of that article.

[15] Huussen, "The Legal Position of the Jews in the Dutch Republic," p. 34, citing *[Register der] Resolutien van de Heeren Ridderschap, Edelen ende Gedeputeerden van de Steden van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt…1619*, pp. 283 and 287; and citing also his own "Legal Positions of Sephardi Jews," p. 40 and nn. 24, 25.

by a number of scholars and still requires further elucidation. Suffice it to say that city authorities were not initially faced with the question of whether to admit Jews but of whether to allow nominal Catholics into their midst. Thus, on 4 September, 1598 the burgomasters granted the Portuguese merchants the right to purchase burgher rights in the city "trusting that they are Christians…," and warning them "that in this city no other religion can nor may be practiced than that practiced publicly in the churches."

For Amsterdam's town rulers the key issue was the permissibility of publicly organized worship, and to resolve it they drew upon various techniques of compromise that had grown up in post-Reformation Europe. As Benjamin Kaplan has explained, the burgomasters drew a functional distinction between public (communal) and private (family) spheres so that "within the latter, by common consent, dissenters [could be] allowed greater freedom of worship." Cities such as Amsterdam tolerated "fictions of privacy"—*schuilkerken* or "clandestine" churches behind the façades of private homes. These churches—officially secret but in fact known to everyone—allowed dissenters to maintain regular worship services under permanent clergy.[16] When the Portuguese Jews wanted to build a public synagogue in 1612, the technique was continued: their plan to build a synagogue and thus enter the public sphere was at first rejected but then tolerated through a legal fiction. The building was formally sold to a member of the city council and thus could still be seen as private.[17]

So far as we know, the transition to an open Jewish community and public worship was not accomplished in Amsterdam by any formal decree of acceptance. In 1616 what we have is more or less a set of rules about behavior, negative rules at that, which preclude offense to public sensibilities but assume that the Jews' existence in the community was already a given. At the same time, throughout the seventeenth

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[16] B. J. Kaplan, "Fictions of Privacy"; the quote is from p. 1035. For a description of a different mechanism by which Christians maintained the peace despite religious variation, see J. A. Spohnholz, "Strangers and Neighbors: The Tactics of Toleration in the Dutch Exile Community of Wesel, 1550–1590" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 2004), of which there is a brief summary in *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute, Washington DC* 38 (Spring 2006), pp. 81–88.

[17] Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, pp. 11–12. It may be that the Portuguese had always expected the synagogue to be hidden behind a residential façade; this would explain why the initial rejection of their proposal had prohibited not only gatherings and religious ceremonies but even "that [any]one of that nation may live in that building."

century there are still Portuguese in Amsterdam who live somehow in between: linked to the community by origin, kinship, or shared business interests but not themselves active participants or even members. It is not surprising that the community, eager to define and establish its authority, sought to label or punish these people and to demand that they declare themselves remorseful over past sins, but so far as we know the city fathers were not bothered by signs of transitional identity and did not feel the necessity to fix Jewish identity formally by law.[18]

Legal Precedents to Dutch Tolerance

Amsterdam's liberal policies may seem unstructured and unsystematic, but they come into focus if we view them against the backdrop of policy towards Portuguese New Christians at Antwerp, some miles to the south. Over the first half of the sixteenth century that city emerged as western Europe's commercial and financial metropolis,[19] and a small community of New Christians flourished there. At least some of them actively Judaized and also organized a continuous underground rescue effort that brought their fellows out of Portugal and helped them escape to more tolerant locales in Europe and even the Ottoman Empire. The history of this group is as dramatic as any fiction: brave and attractive heroes risked imprisonment, torture, and public execution, combining religious principle with personal ambition, and romance with family intrigue. What's more, this complex history was played out against a background of increasingly turbulent religious dissension within

[18] Y. Kaplan, "The Travels of Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam to the 'Lands of Idolatry' (1644–1724)," in *Jews and Conversos. Studies in Society and the Inquisition*, ed. Y. Kaplan (Jerusalem 1981), pp. 197–224. Kaplan paints a paradoxical picture of marginal people who, on the one hand, are close enough to the community to request and be granted atonement for "returning to the lands of idolatry" and yet whose life style indicates that they were barely, or perhaps not at all, associated with that community. Of the eighty-two penitents listed, some forty-five never paid the "finta, the personal tax paid by every member of the community," from which he concludes "that they were not full members of the community . . . and did not have a part in its institutions." Fifteen are not included in any membership list of the community, "indicating that they lived on its margins without taking any part in communal life." And forty-nine of them "were not buried in the community cemetery" (pp. 206–8).

[19] H. van der Wee's three-volume study, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)* (The Hague 1963), provides an excellent point of access to the very large body of relevant literature; see in particular vol. 2, pp. 113–207.

Christendom, major shifts in world trade patterns, and the imperial ambitions and centralizing efforts of the Habsburgs. Obviously, such a complicated story cannot be treated fully here.[20] Even so, and despite the fact that the New Christians ultimately lost their battle for settlement rights in Antwerp, patterns developed there that provided the necessary legal precedents for the far more prosaic tolerance practiced in Amsterdam.

Sixteenth-century Antwerp, like Amsterdam a century later, welcomed the Portuguese only as Christians—never as Jews.[21] As a result, no special legislation had to be drafted in order to give extraordinary permission to an alien minority to enter society. *Conversos* were accommodated within an existing rubric—the license extended to the various merchant "nations." From 1511, all members of the Portuguese "nation" benefited from a charter that granted them liberal trade privileges,

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[20] For recent treatments including important new documentation, see A. di Leone Leoni, *The Hebrew Portuguese Nations in Antwerp and London at the Time of Charles V and Henry VIII. New Documents and Interpretations* (Jersey City, N.J. 2005), as well as H. P. Salomon and A. di Leone Leoni, "Mendes, Benveniste, De Luna, Micas, Nasci: The State of the Art (1532–1558)," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 138 (1998), pp. 135–211 and 139 (1999), pp. 389–91. Still fundamental are the documentary sources collected by P. Génard, "Les nouveaux chrétiens à Anvers au XVI[e] siècle," *Bulletin des Archives d'Anvers* [= *BAA*, also under the title *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*] 2 (Antwerp: s.a.), pp. 224–37, and "Personnes poursuivies judiciairement à Anvers au XVI[e] siècle pour le 'faict de religion.' Liste et pièces officielles à l'appui," *BAA* 7, pp. 114–472, as well the analysis by J. A. Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (portugais, espagnols, italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain 1925; reprint, 2 vols. in 1, New York 1971), passim. For brief treatments of early modern Antwerp's Jewish history, see J. Israel, "The Sephardim in the Netherlands," in *Spain and the Jews. The Sephardi Experience 1492 and After*, ed. E. Kedourie (London 1992), pp. 189–212; and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, "Les nouveaux chrétiens portugais à Anvers aux XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles," in *Les juifs d'Espagne: histoire d'une diaspora 1492–1992*, ed. H. Méchoulan (Paris 1992), pp. 181–90; I. S. Révah, "Pour l'histoire des Marranes à Anvers," *REJ* 122 (1963), pp. 123–47. Ephraim Schmidt's popular summary treatment, *L'Histoire des juifs à Anvers (Antwerpen)* (Antwerp 1962), is a useful introduction to the *converso* era, even if it must be used with caution. Still thoroughly enjoyable is the 1937 lecture by Jean Vroman, "L'affaire Diego Mendez. Mésaventures d'un trafiquant du XVI[e] siècle," published s.l.

Of course not all the New Christians in Antwerp were Judaizers. See e.g. P. J. Hauben, "Marcus Perez and Marrano Calvinism in the Dutch Revolt and the Reformation," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de Renaissance* 29 (Geneva 1967), pp. 121–32.

[21] In 1682, after a thorough search of their archives, Antwerp's city councilors reported that "we have found no agreements or privileges which authorized [Jews] to live here. To the contrary, we find many public decrees [*placcarts*] dating from the year 1260 to 1600 that specifically legislate that they may not live in the Duchy of Brabant"; L. Dequeker and V. Seymus, "Les autorités de la ville d'Anvers sur l' émancipation des juifs portugais, août 1682," *Lias* 16 (1989), pp. 326–27. Even after they were openly tolerated in Amsterdam, Jews were specifically refused residential rights in Antwerp in 1617 (ibid.) and again at mid-century (Fuks-Mansfeld, "Les nouveaux chrétiens portugais à Anvers," p. 190).

freed them from most local municipal taxes, and recognized the judicial authority of their consul.[22] But there were increasing reports that the New Christians were actually bent on fleeing Christendom, using a temporary stop in Antwerp only to cover their real destination: Ottoman Salonica. From August 1532, therefore, Charles V insisted that potential immigrants bring with them proof of religious orthodoxy.[23] Once the Inquisition was allowed to begin its gruesome work in Portugal in 1536, this restriction became especially problematic, and New Christians, desperate to escape the Peninsula, appealed for freer access into Antwerp. They assured the Emperor that "their desire was to live as is required of good and true, baptized Christians," and that they sought only to be allowed "to take advantage of the same privileges and liberties offered other foreign merchants."[24] The charter they received a few days later (February 27, 1537) followed this rhetoric, granting the New Christians all the privileges "enjoyed by other foreign merchants so long as they pay the same customs taxes and duties which the said foreign merchants are accustomed to pay."[25] Similarly, when defending the rights of the New Christian merchants, the Antwerp city councilors consistently did so on broad principles of commercial charters and urban privileges.[26]

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[22] Leoni, *Hebrew Portuguese Nations*, p. 1 citing A. B. Freire, *Noticias da Feitoria de Flandres* (Lisbon 1920), doc. 27, pp. 170–71. Fuks-Mansfeld, "Nouveaux chrétiens portugais," p. 183 dates the charter Nov. 20, 1511. According to the 1682 report cited in the previous note, however, privileges to Portuguese traders dated back to 1480; Dequeker and Seymus, "Autorités de la ville d'Anvers," p. 326. S. Ullmann, *Histoire des juifs en Belgique jusqu'au 18e siècle (Notes et documents)* (Antwerp 1932 [?]), p. 30 is presumably referring to this charter, which he cites from Ch. Rahlenbeeck, "Les Juifs à Anvers à la fin du dix-septième siècle," *Revue de Belgique* 8 (1871), p. 138.

[23] Decree of August 14, 1532 in Génard, *BAA* 7, pp. 236–37, reproduced in Charles Laurent and Jules Lameere, *Recueil des ordonnances des Pays-Bas, 2e série, 1506–1700* (Brussels 1893–1898), vol. 3, p. 343.

[24] Petition of 15 February, 1537 [1536 a resurrectione]; Génard, *BAA* 7, pp. 431–32.

[25] For the text of the charter from a notarized copy, see Laurent and Lameere, *Ordonnances des Pays-Bas*, vol. 4, pp. 10–12. A summary of the charter is also given in a confirming imperial letter of March 10, 1542 [1541 a resurrectione] which has been published several times: Génard, *BAA* 7, pp. 460–62; Ullmann, *Juifs en Belgique*, pp. 41–43; and Leoni, *Hebrew Portuguese Nations*, doc. 31, pp. 178–81. Leoni states that his edition includes corrections based on the original charter and provides a reference to its archival location (p. 181). The different date cited for this charter in Génard, *BAA* 2, p. 227 appears to be an error.

[26] See e.g. the city's defense of Antonio Fernandes in 1534–1535 (Génard, *BAA* 7, pp. 260–90, 330–45 and 355), or the later letter (1549/1550?) to the powerful Bishop of Arras (Génard, *BAA* 2, pp. 227–37 and Ullmann, *Juifs en Belgique*, pp. 44–56).

The New Christians, of course, had good reason to avoid any separate label; it could become a dangerous weapon in the mouths of their enemies, as when the emperor's sister, Queen Regent Marie of Hungary, maliciously lumped together all "Jews, New Christians, and other merchants, whether they live here or in Portugal" and condemned them all as financial criminals.[27] New Christians wished to "neutralize" their group status, stressing consistently that they were not all the same. They drew a careful line between themselves—"*good* New Christians who want to live as good and true Christians, baptized as such," and the "*other* New Christians who wish to remove themselves to Salonica or elsewhere in order to apostasize from the holy Catholic faith."[28] Their supporters in the Antwerp city government similarly stressed that there was no reason to suspect New Christians automatically of religious deviance or commercial crime more than anyone else; each accusation had to be investigated individually. Indeed, even to label them "New Christians" was an unfair form of discrimination.[29] For its part the Church in Rome also had reason to avoid labeling the New Christians as a separate group: such labeling would suggest that they were not equal in their adopted faith. Thus, when Paul III issued the Portuguese what amounted to a pardon for all previous heresies (October 12, 1535), he referred to them as the "*so-called* New Christians" (*Christiani novi nuncupati*).[30]

But the general category of "foreign merchant" was apparently not enough to guarantee the safety of the New Christians. Especially as their numbers grew in Antwerp and they faced growing suspicions about their religious loyalties, the Portuguese sought special and specific guarantees of their collective safety. A subtle but telling terminological "dance" in the documents testifies to the efforts to find acceptable wording through which to defend the rights of this religiously problematic but commercially valuable group. By 1527, imperial legislation acknowledges not only the Portuguese nation in general but "the New Christians of the Portuguese nation" who have demanded, and obtained, short-

[27] May 25, 1534. Génard, *BAA* 7, p. 282 ff.

[28] The petition of 1537 mentioned above; Génard, *BAA* 7, p. 432 (emphasis added).

[29] See the sources cited above, n. 26.

[30] *Illius vices*; Génard, *BAA* 7, pp. 406–24. The bull was copied for the Antwerp city council as part of a background study prepared for the defense of the New Christian community; Sh. Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, vol. 4: Documents: 1522–1538 (Toronto 1990), §1765, pp. 1995–2007.

term trade visas specifically for themselves.[31] Ten years later they are a nation in their own right: it is "those of the nation of New Christians of Portugal" who petition Charles for relief from an edict demanding a preliminary test of religious orthodoxy for would-be immigrants.[32] The imperial response was favorable but, unwilling to legitimate the New Christians' status as a "nation," it carefully spoke only of "the New Christians from the Kingdom of Portugal."[33] In a confirmation five years later, the imperial court was even more circumspect, adopting the papal terminology and speaking only of "those referred to as New Christians [*ceulx qu'on dit les Nouveaulx Christiens*]."[34] Such euphemisms cannot hide the basic fact: New Christians are presenting themselves as a legally definable negotiating bloc and are being granted group rights as such. We are well on our way to "homens da nação," the elliptical term for Portuguese New Christians that would become standard.[35]

What were the special rights and privileges that the New Christian group needed, over and above the general rights of a foreign merchant? Three crucial issues were carefully spelled out in the wording of the 1537 charter.[36] First, the Portuguese were looking for more than temporary trading rights; they wished to settle.

> We license them by special grace…that from now on they may freely come—together with their wives, children, servants, families, and whatever goods, commodities, merchandise, rings, jewels and furniture they wish—to reside in and frequent [*demourer, hanter et frequenter*] Our city of Antwerp or other cities of Our Low Countries.

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[31] The imperial charter of March 30 or 31, 1527 has apparently been lost (A. Goosens, *Les inquisitions modernes dans les Pays-Bas meridionaux 1520–1633* [Brussels 1998], vol. 1, p. 81, n. 137), but its reconfirmation of February 27, 1529 [1528 a resurrectione] was published in Génard, *BAA* 7, p. 181, from where it is reprinted in Laurent and Lameere, *Ordonnances des Pays-Bas*, vol. 2, pp. 552–53.

[32] Génard, *BAA* 7, pp. 431 f.

[33] Laurent and Lameere, *Ordonnances des Pays-Bas*, vol. 4, p. 10.

[34] In the 1542 reconfirmation of the privilege that had been granted to New Christians in 1537 (above, n. 25); Génard, *BAA* 7, p. 460; Leoni, *Hebrew Portuguese Nation*, p. 179; Ullmann, *Juifs en Belgique*, p. 41.

[35] For this phrase and its connotations, see Y. H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto* (New York and London 1971), pp. 19–20. In the context of legislative documents of this period, "nation" is, I think, best understood as a technical term with which to define the rights and obligations of groups of foreigners (university students, merchants, etc.) and does not carry the ethnic and political connotations of group identity that the word suggests to the modern ear. See also Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, pp. 165–66.

[36] Above, note 25.

Second, they wanted a guarantee that they might freely leave.

> They can, at any time they wish, freely return to the said Kingdom of Portugal or any other Christian countries… they choose without prejudice [*sans mesprendre*].

This was not an unusual request for merchants in foreign lands, who feared being held hostage during international struggles over which they had no control. But granted the possibility of arrest for religious crimes, their request had special significance. And finally, the charter specified the rules for any criminal procedure against the newcomers. Once they had settled,

> they could not be bothered, molested, taken, arrested or detained in their body or in their property for any crime or felony that they… may have committed or perpetrated in the said Kingdom of Portugal or other country not under our control before this date.

As for crimes they might commit in Antwerp or another city of the Low Countries after they had settled, they could only be arrested in that urban locale and could only be judged by its local magistrates. They would thus have the same status in criminal matters as the burghers of Antwerp (though in civil matters they would be answerable to local law and would be subject to the appropriate court). All of these elements—settlement privilege, freedom to leave, immunity from prosecution for past crimes, and careful restriction of jurisdiction in criminal proceedings—were vital in the Portuguese New Christians' efforts at securing safe haven in western Europe.

The Papal Precedent

It is tempting to attribute the protections from arrest and prosecution for (religious) crimes offered the Portuguese in the Low Countries to the unique nature of religious and, particularly, inquisitorial, controls there. The balance of imperial/religious (or church/state) policies under Charles V has been the subject of considerable debate over the years, some scholars linking the fight against heresy to the creation of a powerful and repressive state bureaucracy and stressing that heresy in the Low Countries was often treated in secular rather than religious courts.[37]

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[37] See e.g. A. Goosens, *Les Inquisitions modernes dans les Pays-Bas meridionaux 1520–1633*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1997–1998).

In fact, however, the effort to come up with formulae allowing New Christians to exercise their widely admired business acumen by guaranteeing them safe haven was not limited to the Low Countries. In Italy, and even in the Papal States, where the powerful presence of the Church bureaucracy created extraordinary religious sensitivities and administrative complexities, we can see a development of legal practice vis-à-vis New Christians not unlike what was worked out in the Low Countries.

In the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the mercantile city states of Italy had lost their once dominant role in the trade of the eastern Mediterranean, in part because they could not bully the rising Ottoman power, as they had the Byzantine. In the new trade dynamic, rather than travel to the East themselves, the Italians chose—or were forced—to accept the presence of Ottoman merchants in their ports. Many, if not most, of these Levantines were Jews, including Sephardim who had fled eastward years before and now returned to trade in Europe under Ottoman protection. Venice, a larger and stronger market with long-standing monopolistic traditions, could hold off the competition for some time. The *Serenissima* would give Levantine merchants short-term trading rights only in 1541 and would not allow them outright settlement privileges until 1589.[38]

But smaller, weaker centers such as Ancona actually seized the moment, seeing the presence of the easterners as a commercial advantage that would allow their city to compete more effectively with Venice. Ancona licensed Levantine traders from 1514, reissuing and expanding charters to them over the coming decades. Privileges included the Levantines' right to live at Ancona together with their families, to trade under the same terms as other merchants, and to return at their own discretion to their places of origin ("the lands of the unfaithful"). Recognition was offered to the judicial authority of the Levantines' own consul, at least in civil affairs. Finally, they were guaranteed immunity

[38] On Venetian policy towards Jews, see especially the many studies by B. C. I. Ravid, many of them conveniently collected in his *Studies on the Jews of Venice 1382–1797* (Aldershot, Great Britain and Burlington, Vt. 2003). For studies comparing Venetian policy with that in other Italian centers, see Ravid, "A Tale of Three Cities and their Raison d'Etat: Ancona, Venice, Livorno, and the Competition for Jewish Merchants in the Sixteenth Century," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 6 (1991), pp. 138–62; R. Segre, "Sephardic Settlements in Sixteenth-Century Italy: A Historical and Geographical Survey," in ibid., pp. 112–37; and my "Venetian Policy towards Levantine Jews and Its Broader Italian Context," *Gli ebrei e Venezia secoli XIV–XVIII*, ed. G. Cozzi (Milan 1987), pp. 65–84.

from prosecution for crimes committed or debts incurred elsewhere or previous to their arrival. This list is by now familiar to us; it more or less shows what we saw in Antwerp and follows conventional merchants' rights. What must be stressed is that it was being offered openly to non-Christians—"Turks, Jews, or other *infideli*." As subjects of the Ottomans, the foreigners could be exempted from the stringent rules that Christendom had gradually applied to all religious "others." And since Jews were especially prominent among Levantines at Ancona, the charter singled them out, offering them, for example, the right to a synagogue completely separate from the one already maintained by local Jews.

The privileges to Ottomans would now serve as the model and excuse for privileges to Iberian New Christians. At some point in the early sixteenth century (we don't yet know exactly when), Ancona's city government began to guarantee the security and free passage of individual Iberian merchants together with "their wives, children, families, servants, and goods," subsuming the Portuguese under the Levantine community. When Ancona came under papal control in 1532, this arrangement was quickly reconfirmed by the new administrator. Linking the New Christians to the Levantines was convenient since it allowed any open mention of the former group's heresies to be glossed over. In any case, at least some of the New Christians claimed to be from the East, explaining that their fluent Portuguese had been learned among the Jews of Salonica rather than on the streets of Lisbon. How could Church officials distinguish?

But this was evidently not enough for the New Christians. As their community grew in Ancona, they sought clearer and firmer guarantees of their status. For one thing, religious crimes had been specifically excluded from the Levantines' general immunity; in this respect being associated with the Levantines' charter did not provide the protection *conversos* needed. By 1547, therefore, the *conversos* had negotiated a safe-conduct from Pope Paul III for "each and every person of either sex from the Kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve . . . even if [they are] of the group of Jews called New Christians and if they stem from the Jewish nation who have, or will, come to the city of Ancona." In comparison to the charters at Antwerp, the language of this charter is extraordinarily explicit. The papacy not only admits the origins of the group it refers to as "so-called New Christians"; it even acknowledges that some were practicing Jews while others were Christians. In civil and criminal matters they were to be subject to the same jurisdictions as the Levantines, and when it came to religious crimes, they were

to be subject to the reigning pope rather than to any other civil or ecclesiastical official.

In the next few years, the Portuguese would successfully negotiate an even more generous charter. By 1552 one hundred sixty "Portuguese families" were licensed to settle in Ancona for five years. They could openly practice Judaism and were guaranteed that their previous religious lives would not be subject to inquisitorial investigation. Should the papacy withdraw its permission, the Portuguese would have a full year within which to close their affairs and leave the city.[39]

Precedent had been set, even if legal progress was not without its reversals. An observer at mid-century might well have concluded that the legalization of tolerance had come to an abrupt end in both the north and south. Imperial officials canceled all charters and expelled Antwerp's New Christians in 1550. It was even worse at Ancona. In 1555 New Christians there were suddenly arrested, and some two dozen were eventually burned at the stake publicly in Rome's Campo dei Fiori. But the papal paradigm had already been followed in other developing commercial cities: in Ferrara (1538 and 1550), Pesaro (1548), Pisa (1549), and even French Bordeaux (1550).[40] For the most part these charters remained in effect even after the imperial and papal reversals. Explicitly relying on papal precedent, the dukes of Ferrara and Savoy issued toleration decrees for "Portuguese and Spaniards of the

[39] The above paragraphs are summarized from my study, "Portuguese Conversos in Ancona: Jewish Political Activity in Early Modern Italy," in *Iberia and Beyond. Hispanic Jews between Cultures*, ed. B. Cooperman (Newark and London 1998), pp. 297–352. Detailed references to the extensive relevant bibliography up to that date can be found there.

[40] See the sources cited in my "Portuguese Conversos in Ancona," pp. 328–29. The exact terminology varied slightly from place to place but remained within the parameters we have seen already. Pisa, 1549: "Anyone and everyone from the Lusitanian kingdom, cities and places that people call Portugal, whether born there, deriving from there, or having lived there [*sive orti, sive oriundi, sive ibi larem habuerint*]" (L. Frattarelli Fischer, "Gli ebrei, il principe e l'inquisizione," in *L'Inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia*, ed. M. Luzzati [Rome 1994], p. 228). Ferrara, 1538: "Spaniards and Portuguese as well as all those who speak Spanish or Portuguese who come to live and trade" (*BAA* 7, p. 436); 1550: "Portuguese and Spaniards of the Hebrew race . . . in so far as they declare that they are of the Jewish faith and have never been baptized" (A. Leoni, "Gli ebrei sefarditi a Ferrara da Ercoli I a Ercole II, Nuove Ricerche e interpretazioni," *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 52 [1987], p. 445); and 1555: "Portuguese and Spaniards of the Jewish race" relying explicitly on the papal bull of Dec. 6 1552 that had allowed similar Portuguese and Spaniards to live as Jews at Ancona and the rest of the Papal States without fear of any inquisition or trials for apostasy "even though at other times they shall have lived as Christians" (Leoni, *La Nazione ebraica spagnola e portoghese negli stati estensi* [Rimini 1992], p. 214).

Jewish race" in 1555 and 1572, respectively.[41] But the best euphemism seems to have been developed in Venice when, in the 1589 residence charter to the Levantines, the *Serenissima* simply added a category of "Ponentines." This label, totally unspecific and therefore thoroughly unobjectionable, was an instant success. It was included, for example, in the catch-all invitations Ferdinando I issued to "all merchants of whatsoever nation—Levantines, Ponentines, Spaniards, Portuguese, Greeks, Germans and Italians, Jews, Turks, Moors, Armenians, Persians, and others" who might settle in Pisa and help develop his new port at Livorno.[42]

Amsterdam's Policy in Context

What emerges from our study so far is that during the first half of the sixteenth century various powers in Europe experimented gingerly with the practice of toleration towards New Christians, first tacitly, by including them within broader merchant charters, and then more openly, by expanding these privileges to provide New Christians with explicit protections. Paradoxically, it was the papacy that offered the greatest latitude, licensing the *conversos* to practice Judaism openly, something that never happened in Antwerp. At least one reason for this was that the general merchant community, to which the Portuguese were appended at Ancona, itself included foreign "infidels" who could claim powerful Ottoman protection. This link of "Ponentines" with "Levantines" was refined and repeated without comment when, at the end of the sixteenth

[41] These charters are conveniently reproduced as justification in another issued by the Estensi in 1652; see Leoni, *La Nazione ebraica spagnola e portoghese negli stati estensi*, pp. 214, 218, and 221. The terminology again reflects what we have seen already. Savoy, 1572: "Portuguese and Spaniards of the Jewish race" and promising that "they cannot be investigated for any crime of heresy or apostasy…even if they had lived as Christians or had other names before they came to Our state" (ibid., pp. 218 and 221); and 1648: "English, German, Dutch, Flemish, Portuguese and other nations, especially Jews"—and later: "Merchants, traders and Jews of the abovementioned nations" (ibid., pp. 223–24.)

[42] The invitation, one of three issued between 1591 and 1595, was published in *Le "livornine" del 1591 e del 1593* by P. Castignoli and with an introduction by L. Frattarelli Fischer (Livorno 1987). The better-known decree of 1593 was similarly addressed. The terms are noticeably absent from an earlier charter issued to Levantine merchants by Ferdinando's father, Cosimo, in 1551; U. Cassuto, *Gli ebrei a Firenze* (Florence 1918; reprint 1965), document 54, pp. 409–13; Hebrew edition (Jerusalem 1967), p. 336.

century, Italian governments issued general charters that allowed the establishment of prosperous Portuguese New Christian communities.

It is not a coincidence that these were the same years that Amsterdam began to allow New Christian settlers.[43] We have not yet found a charter specifically admitting the newcomers to Amsterdam or defining their legal position, and it seems likely, moreover, that no such document was issued. Quite the contrary, we find that Amsterdam used exactly the same back-handed mechanism that had been well established for close to a century. On September 14, 1598 city officials simply allowed "Portuguese merchants" to acquire citizenship, warning them not to deviate from officially acceptable Christian identity.[44] It was likely in order to acquire a more formal charter that the New Christians then turned to the officials of neighboring towns. For example, the 1604 negotiations with Alkmaar were "on behalf of several Jews of the Portuguese and other nations who live in the east and elsewhere"—that is, on behalf of ostensibly Levantine Jews.[45] The next year, Amsterdam Jews petitioned the burgomasters of Haarlem in the name of "the Portuguese and Spanish nation descended from the nation of Levantine and Ponentine [*orientaulx et occidentaulx*] Hebrews or Jews" who live and profess the Hebrew or Jewish faith in Italy and various locations in Turkey."[46] The elaborate terminology is not merely decorative. It is an indication that in Holland as elsewhere, legal tolerance grew not from formal theories or new religious sensitivities. Rather, tolerance was firmly anchored in a long, careful heritage of legal discourse and practical solutions to intractable problems. What may appear to be contradictory or hesitating in Amsterdam's practice vis-à-vis the Jews stems from this basic fact.

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[43] It goes without saying that there were other factors, especially economic and political, that initiated the New Christian immigration into Amsterdam from the mid 1590s. See e.g. J. I. Israel, "Sephardic Immigration into the Dutch Republic, 1595–1672," *StRos* 23 (1989), pp. 45–53. But Israel has also commented on the coincidence of timing in the foundation of "western Sephardi Jewry's four principal communities in the seventeenth century—Amsterdam, Hamburg, Livorno and Venice" and posited causal links among them; see idem, *Diasporas within a Diaspora. Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden 2002), especially Chapter 2: "Venice, Salonika and the Founding of the Sephardi Diaspora in the North (1574–1621)," pp. 67–96. Our argument is focused on the remarkable similarity of legal rhetoric and practice.

[44] Cited by Huussen, "Legal Position of Sephardi Jews," pp. 20–21.

[45] Ibid., p. 22.

[46] The French text of the Haarlem privilege was published in ibid., pp. 30–35, and see also idem, "De toelating van Sefardische Joden in Harlem in 1605."

A Final Note

We began this discussion with the observation that Amsterdam is famous in Jewish historiography not only for its toleration but also for its Jewish community's well-known authoritarian structure and power to excommunicate members. I would like to end by suggesting a direct relation between these two elements. If we are correct in seeing tolerance towards New Christians as subsumed under, or predicated upon, recognition of trading nations, we may have an explanation for this unusual level of autonomy. Western Europe had a long tradition of tolerating individual Jews, but had historically been less willing to recognize them as a jurisdictional unit. The Jews of Amsterdam, however, were being admitted as a trading community—as a "nation" like many others, and there were ample precedents for granting autonomy to such merchant communities. We have already mentioned, for example, imperial recognition of the judicial authority of the Portuguese consul as part of the legalization of New Christian settlement in Antwerp almost a century earlier. Such merchant "nations" required structure since they had not only to adjudicate internal disputes among members but also to guarantee the commercial probity of each individual to the outside. Thus when Alkmaar authorities issued their invitation to the "members of the Spanish and Portuguese nation" they demanded that every immigrant provide "sufficient testimony from the *Parnacim et Mamonim* [i.e., *parnassim* and *memunim*] . . . of their last place of residence . . . that they were people of property who live properly. . . ."[47] May we not conclude, therefore, that the extensive authority of Amsterdam's lay *Mahamad* was not so much a product of Jewish internal tradition as it was the result of the conditions of tolerance in Amsterdam? It is, moreover, not a coincidence that we see similar patterns of strong lay leadership in other communities of the western Sephardi diaspora that sprang up as trading nations in these years.

[47] Idem, "Legal Position of Sephardi Jews," p. 31. Even though the charter uses the term "synagogue" to describe Jewish communities, it is the lay elected officials rather than any religious authority that is to provide this legitimizing testimony.

THE BOUNDARIES OF COMMUNITY: URBAN SPACE AND INTERCULTURAL INTERACTION IN EARLY MODERN, SEPHARDI AMSTERDAM, AND LONDON

Adam Sutcliffe

The widespread cultural acceptance of Jews in seventeenth-century Amsterdam posed both opportunities and problems for the Sephardi community leadership of the city. The Sephardi elite eagerly seized the economic and also the social possibilities made possible by Amsterdam's distinctive, even unprecedented, cosmopolitan energy: Amsterdam was uniquely open to outsiders, and the Sephardim were a particular focus of fascination and even pride for the city's native citizens. However, the Sephardi leadership, in their struggle to assert the authority of communal institutions, also arduously sought to strengthen the boundaries of the Sephardi sphere, and to regulate interactions with members of other cultural groups. The attitudes that enabled the Sephardim to flourish in Amsterdam also simultaneously challenged the religious normativeness and cultural cohesiveness of the community.

In this article I will attempt to explore this tension between cosmopolitan integration and communal cohesiveness from the perspective of urban space and through a comparison between Amsterdam and London. While the broad pattern of Sephardi social transformation in early modern Amsterdam and London was very similar, there were also significant points of difference. A comparison between these two cities at their highest points of economic exuberance, therefore, can reveal a great deal about the dynamics of Jewish acculturation in dynamic urban environments.

London's Jewish community, semi-formally established in the 1650s, was at first a satellite outpost from Amsterdam, very much oriented towards that larger and more venerable community. However, after the Glorious Revolution, as London increasingly eclipsed Amsterdam as the leading world entrepôt, London's Jewish community—with only a small delay—also grew in size and confidence. (The institutional independence of the London community from Amsterdam gradually strengthened in the eighteenth century, too, as the valuable work of

Evelyne Oliel-Grausz shows.)[1] The pressures on community cohesiveness were very similar in both cities. In spatial terms, however, a significant distinction is notable. At its height, Amsterdam was—and has essentially remained—a compact city. Eighteenth-century London, in contrast, was a more disaggregated place, and the cultural impact of the city's vastness and spatial expansiveness was heightened by the tendency of its elite to flee the city in favor of the more exclusive villages and rural areas that surrounded it. London's Jewish elite eagerly joined the rush of the newly wealthy to establish country estates. This phenomenon—which appears to have been significantly more pronounced in London than in Amsterdam—accelerated and intensified the erosion of religious observance and communal solidarity in the British metropolis.

Amsterdam

Seventeenth-century Amsterdam was a city of great demographic diversity. Flemish, English, and German migrants, sailors often from Germany or Norway, Huguenots, Mennonites, Quakers, Catholics, Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews, and Blacks from Suriname and other colonial outposts mingled daily with each other and with the native Dutch in a routine and unremarkable way.[2] In a sense, the Sephardim were just one among many minority groups in Amsterdam. However, because of their economic importance, and also because of their religious, cultural, and political significance to the Calvinist Dutch, both as refugees from Iberia and as theologically resonant reminders of the biblical past, the Sephardim were a particularly prominent and valued presence in the city. The detailed, respectful, and elaborate manner in which Jewish customs, buildings, and monuments were represented by Dutch artists, most famously exemplified by the meticulous depictions by Emanuel de Witte and Romeyn de Hooge of the grandiose Sephardi synagogue, reflected the emphatic celebration by Amsterdam's elite of the presence of this prosperous and respectable—though still

[1] See E. Oliel-Grausz, "A Study in Intercommunal Relations in the Sephardi Diaspora: London and Amsterdam in the Eighteenth Century," in *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others*, ed. Ch. Brasz and Y. Kaplan (Leiden 2001), pp. 41–58.

[2] On the black presence in Amsterdam, see A. Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (Bloomington 1993), esp. pp. 225–27.

somewhat exotic—community in their city.[3] The Sephardim reflected back to the patricians of Amsterdam the values with which they most wanted their city to be associated: affluence, stability, and cosmopolitan tolerance.

Filip von Zesen's *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam* [Description of the city of Amsterdam], published in 1664, offers a valuable window onto the perception of the Sephardim by their non-Jewish neighbors, and the cultural interface between these two groups. Like most modern guides, Zesen's *Amsterdam* was written by an informed non-native for use by his compatriots: though he had lived in the city for about thirty years by the time he wrote his guide, by origin Zesen was, like his intended readers, German. His volume opens with an extensive historical overview, and then leads us off on a walking tour of the highlights of the city, with abundant commentary on Amsterdam's most significant churches, civic institutions, and curiosities.

Almost four pages of this four-hundred-page text are devoted to the exploration of the Sephardi community. He introduces the Sephardi neighborhood along the Breestraat undramatically, noting that the Jews had arrived there several decades earlier in order to escape persecution in Iberia.[4] He carefully describes their synagogue—the "Grosse Juden-Kirche"—which had been constructed from two houses, and thus had two entrances. He explains why visitors will notice a hand-pump and towel outside the synagogue: this is so that congregants can wash their hands before services.[5] He then gives a detailed description of the interior: Zesen clearly assumes that his readers will have no hesitation in entering. He explains that the balcony is for women, and that the wooden ark contains the books of Moses, in their elaborately embroidered cover.[6] He also provides a brief account of Sabbath customs.[7] For the curious tourist, it seems, a visit to the Sephardi neighborhood was both architecturally and ethnographically interesting. Zesen anticipates a broad curiosity on the part of his readers not only in the

[3] See R. I. Cohen, *Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1998), pp. 34–43; S. Schama, "A Different Jerusalem: The Jews in Rembrandt's Amsterdam," in *The Jews in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. S. W. Morgenstein and R. E. Levine (Rockville, Md. 1981), pp. 3–17.

[4] C. Gellinek (ed.), *Europas Erster Baedeker: Filip von Zesens Amsterdam 1664* (New York 1988 [1664]), p. 191.

[5] Ibid., p. 192.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

built infrastructure, but also in the basic history and traditions of the Sephardim. He does not, however, inflect his descriptions with a tone of exoticism or distance: his account is straightforwardly informative, mixing the explication of the contemporary city with cultural and historical context.

Zesen also provides a brief account of the nearby neighborhood of Flöhenburg (Vlooienburg), which he identifies as predominantly inhabited by Polish and German Jews. However, the most intriguing sightseeing tip Zesen offers for this part of the city relates to one of its most prominent Sephardi residents. Here was the home of the famous rabbi Jacob Judah Leon. In the 1640s, Leon had famously constructed a meticulously detailed model of Solomon's Temple, which had attracted widespread attention not only in Holland but also in England, when it was briefly on display in London. The model is now housed, Zesen tells his readers, in the rabbi's home. Visiting procedures are not quite made clear, but the guide's users are implicitly invited to call on Rabbi Leon, with the expectation that he will offer them a private viewing of his model. Leon's model was perhaps the earliest example of an initiative that, while in part an intellectual and religious exercise, was also an explicit tourist attraction, capitalizing on Protestant interest in Judaica. Zesen's guide shows the endurance of this interest, and its incorporation into the cosmopolitan tourist trail of 1660s Amsterdam.[8]

Zesen reflects the general sense in Amsterdam in this period of a fairly sharply demarcated zone of "Jewish space." Vlooienburg was by no means exclusively Jewish or unwelcoming to non-Jews: the confident, casual, matter-of-fact incorporation of the neighborhood into Zesen's guide underscores the easy permeability of its cultural boundaries, which were in no sense imagined as mental barriers to urban circulation. Sephardi and Ashkenazi zones were contiguous and overlapping, while rich and poorer Sephardim were also not sharply segregated from each other. Zesen corroborates the impression of a compact Jewish spatial presence in Amsterdam, fully interwoven into the city's multiethnic urban flows, and yet dense and distinctive enough to define and sustain a powerful sense of neighborhood.

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[8] Zesen, *Beschreibung*, p. 198. See also A. K. Offenburg, "Jacob Jehuda Leon (1602–1675) and His Model of the Temple," in *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents*, ed. J. van den Berg and E. G. E. van der Wall (Dordrecht 1988), pp. 95–115.

However, the fluidity of movement and cultural interaction in the city also posed problems for the Sephardi leadership. The research of Yosef Kaplan has highlighted the repeated and arduous attempts by the patrician *parnassim* to impose disciplinary norms on the community, particularly through the unusually extensive use of the *herem* [ban].[9] It is striking how many of the points of contestation that recur in the community's *livros de escamoth* [regulation books] relate to the efforts of the *Mahamad* to discourage forms of intercultural contact that they regarded as dangerously intimate: activities such as entering Christian churches (whether during services or simply to listen to the organ), passing Jewish religious texts to non-Jews, purchasing bread products from non-Jewish bakeries, and purchasing meat from the Ashkenazi or even non-Jewish butchers, were all forcefully condemned.[10]

The regulation of public social interaction with non-Jews was also a particular concern of the *parnassim*. In 1655, the *Mahamad* pronounced against members of the community gathering with non-Jews on the "Lions' Bridge," on both Saturdays and Sundays. This behavior, the ruling warned, could provoke scandals that would "damage our nation."[11] Thirty years later, the *herem* was declared against those guilty of "insolence", either in taverns or in the streets of the city. Such rowdy miscreants, it was implied, endangered the security of the whole community, which, the edict reminded, was only present in Amsterdam thanks to "the benevolence of the very noble and magnificent magistrates of this city."[12]

The fact that these pronouncements were considered necessary corroborates the general impression that, by the late seventeenth century, social contact between Jews and non-Jews in Amsterdam was a routine occurrence. The authorities sought to discourage all overly intimate or high-spirited conviviality with non-Jews. Their overriding practical concern, as Yosef Kaplan has compellingly argued, was with the impact of the behavior of poorer Sephardim on the public reputation of the community. Elite social life, mostly taking place in private homes, was

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[9] Y. Kaplan, "The Social Functions of the Herem," in his *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden 2000), pp. 108–42.

[10] See Y. Kaplan, "Deviance and Excommunication in the Eighteenth Century," in his *Alternative Path*, pp. 143–52; D. M. Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans: The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam* (London and Portland, Oreg. 2000), p. 199.

[11] *Compendio de escamoth* (1728), GAA PA 334, no. 22, p. 60; *Escamoth* A, ibid. no. 19, fol. 320.

[12] *Escamoth* B, ibid. no. 20, fol. 92; *Compendio*, pp. 60–61.

thus largely ignored by the *Mahamad*. Younger and poorer Sephardim, who were more likely to gather in taverns or on the streets, were more closely scrutinized.[13] The compression of urban space, and the visibility of social relations in the public realm, made the policing of the boundaries of community, both literally and figuratively, an operation that impacted, above all, on poorer Jews, for whom street-life was central to everyday experience. The Sephardi elite, pampered by servants and increasingly removed from the popular, public sphere, progressively distanced themselves from the everyday, visible dynamics of urban relations between Jews and non-Jews, and grew socially and culturally closer to their non-Jewish economic peers.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, as the Dutch economy sank into recession and the Amsterdam Sephardi community declined both demographically and economically, these assimilationist trends among the Sephardi elite only intensified. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the richest Sephardim were markedly less willing than their forefathers had been to take on membership of the *Mahamad* or other leadership roles in a community that was now afflicted with considerable poverty.[14] Increasingly remote from collective Jewish life, the Sephardi elite, many of whom were still immensely wealthy, aspired above all to emulate the lifestyle of their non-Jewish economic peers. A vignette of their success in this respect is provided in the diary of Moses Cassuto, a Florentine Jew who visited Amsterdam for business reasons between 1741 and 1743, and who vividly recounts his visit to the country estate of David de Pinto at Overton, two hours from Amsterdam. Profoundly impressed by De Pinto's gracious hospitality in his gardens, which were sumptuously landscaped with tree-lined avenues, grottoes, pools, and floral arrangements, he also proudly notes that this same ground had been trodden by such notable previous guests as the grand duke of Tuscany and the electress of the Palatinate.[15] The social acceptance

[13] This class distinction in the social policing of the community is excellently explored in Y. Kaplan, "The Threat of Eros in Eighteenth-Century Sephardi Amsterdam," in his *Alternative Path*, pp. 280–300.

[14] See J. I. Israel, "The Republic of the United Netherlands until About 1750: Demography and Economic Activity," in *The History of the Jews in the Netherlands*, ed. J. C. H. Blom, R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, and I. Schöffer (Oxford 2002), pp. 85–116, esp. 113–15.

[15] R. Barnett, "The Travels of Moses Cassuto," in *Remember the Days*, ed. J. M. Shaftesley (London 1966), pp. 73–121, esp. 111–12.

that such visits indicated, it seems, was, for the Amsterdam Sephardi elite, the highest mark of success.

London

These processes of elite Jewish acculturation, accompanied by a increasingly carefree approach to religious observance, reached their fullest extent in the city that, in the eighteenth century, assumed Amsterdam's mantle as the world's primary port: London. From the time of its foundation, the Sephardi community of London was subject to the same underlying pressures as those experienced in Amsterdam, but to an intensified degree. This initially, very small settlement was, from the outset, powerfully shaped by the long-standing crypto-Jewish background of its membership, and by the commercial dynamism and flexibility of London.[16] A significant proportion of the Portuguese *Naçāo* [Nation] of London did not affiliate with the synagogue, or did so only sporadically. Nonetheless, and despite the attempt of the rabbinical leadership to discourage the social acceptance of those on the margins of the community, these "semi-Jews," Yosef Kaplan has shown, continued to constitute an important element within the Sephardi world.[17] "Semi-Jews" were also present in Amsterdam in significant numbers, but they seem to have been proportionately a good deal more numerous in London, where their presence both reflected and heightened the blurring of the boundaries of Sephardi Jewish identity in this booming, bustling metropolis.

The London census lists of 1695 indicate a Jewish population of about six hundred Sephardim and two hundred and fifty Ashkenazim: far fewer than the numbers in Amsterdam at this time.[18] At this stage, the Jewish community was also heavily concentrated. Six hundred and eighty-one of these Jews were recorded by the census as residing in six of London's one hundred and ten parishes, while two hundred and sixty-four Jews lived in the St. James Duke Place parish alone,

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[16] See T. M. Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History 1656–1945* (Bloomington 1990), pp. 9–33, esp. 24–25.

[17] Y. Kaplan, "The Jewish Profile of the Spanish-Portuguese Community of London during the Seventeenth Century," in his *Alternative Path*, pp. 155–67; M. Goldish, "Jews, Christians and Conversos: Rabbi Solomon Aailion's Struggles in the Portuguese Community of London," *JJS* 45 (1994), pp. 227–57.

[18] D. S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England 1485–1850* (Oxford 1994), p. 184.

where both the Sephardi and the Ashkenazi houses of worship were located, and where Jews numbered over twenty-five percent of the residents.[19] However, the rising prosperity of the Anglo-Jewish elite very soon began to erode the traditional cohesiveness of the Sephardi *kehillah*. By the early eighteenth century, several of the most successful Anglo-Jewish financiers and traders were already largely assimilated into English gentry society, retaining only loose ties with traditional Judaism. Most significantly, elite families such as the Mendes da Costas and the Salvadors were quick to imitate their non-Jewish commercial peers in buying elegant country estates in Surrey or Hertfordshire where, largely isolated from most other Jews, they acquired social respectability and essentially mingled as equals with their Anglican neighbors.[20] This spatial distancing, so crucial in the establishment of English class hierarchies, was also a key centripetal force in Sephardi community life. The relative density and smallness of Amsterdam to some extent counterbalanced the erosion of community boundaries. In London, however, the lure of rusticity and the ease of class segregation enabled the richest Sephardim to assimilate into the gentile mainstream much more rapidly and intensively.

The establishment of country residences was, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a powerfully seductive fashion among London's newly wealthy merchants, bankers, and brokers, who flocked to establish weekend retreats in the villages of Middlesex and Surrey. The richest Jews were part of this trend almost at its outset. Already before the end of the seventeenth century, the financier and military contractor Solomon de Medina had established a residence in Richmond, where, in November 1699, he hosted to dinner no less a personage than King William III.[21] Conveniently connected to London by regular boat service on the Thames, Richmond was the most fashionable of the satellite centers of gentry conviviality in the eighteenth-century, and probably also the most significant location of early Jewish entry into English elite social circles. As Rachel Daiches-Dubens has aptly noted, Richmond was for London's Jewish plutocrats "a handy side-entrance into English

[19] Ibid.

[20] Endelman, *Radical Assimilation*, pp. 11–19.

[21] Katz, *Jews in England*, p. 188; R. Daiches-Dubens, "Eighteenth Century Anglo-Jewry in and around Richmond, Surrey," *TJHSE* 18 (1958), pp. 143–168, esp. p. 144.

society."[22] Around 1710, Solomon de Medina was joined by Moses Hart, a leading figure in the establishment of London's first Ashkenazi synagogue, the Great Synagogue, while later arrivals included the Franks family, which established itself across the river, in Isleworth.[23]

While Richmond and neighboring communities to the southwest of London were particularly popular because of their prestige, there was no real clustering of Jewish country homes, which, over the first half of the eighteenth century, scattered in almost all directions. In 1736, the financier Joseph Salvador inherited his grandfather's estate in Tooting, which he greatly extended in 1752;[24] another branch of his Rodrigues family settled further south, in Epsom, while to the north and northwest there were the Mendes da Costas at Highgate, the Capadose and Pereira families in Stanmore, Joseph d'Almeida at Watford, and the Da Costas in Totteridge.[25]

These retreats were primarily used (at least by heads of households) as weekend and summer homes. It was essential for Jews active in commerce and finance also to maintain a city residence, from where they would conduct business: these homes were generally in or near London's Jewish heartland, at the eastern end of the city, often above their counting houses around Bishopsgate or Broad Street.[26] The establishment of a country residence did not, therefore, automatically imply severance from the Bevis Marks synagogue community, of which these individuals typically regarded themselves as fully-fledged and prominent members. However, geographical separation inevitably distanced them from community life, to some degree. When, in the late spring of 1755, Rabbi Azulay, a fund-raising emissary from the community of Hebron in Palestine, arrived in London after an arduous journey, he was disappointed to find that all the worthies of the community had left the city, in order to "visit their gardens."[27]

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[22] Daiches-Dubens, "Eighteenth Century Anglo-Jewry," p. 144.

[23] Ibid., pp. 145–53. See also H. F. Finberg, "Jewish Residents in Eighteenth-Century Twickenham," *TJHSE* 16 (1952), pp. 129–35.

[24] M. Woolf, "Joseph Salvador 1716–1786," *TJHSE* 21 (1968), pp. 104–37, esp. 104, 108.

[25] V. D. Lipman, "The Rise of Jewish Suburbia," *TJHSE* 21 (1968), pp. 78–103, esp. 79–80; C. Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry* (London 1950), p. 16.

[26] T. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714–1830* (Philadelphia 1979), pp. 127–28.

[27] R. D. Barnett, "Anglo-Jewry in the Eighteenth Century," in *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History*, ed. V. P. Lipman (London 1961), pp 45–68, esp. 56.

In choosing to center their social life away from the Jewish heartland, surrounded not by the wider community, or even by each other, but by non-Jews, these members of the Anglo-Jewish elite were essentially declaring a new social allegiance. Their eager rush into suburban rusticity both reflected their desire to integrate themselves into English high society, and also undoubtedly accelerated this process. Jewish religious observance, to which these relatively isolated locations were scarcely conducive, became increasingly erratic. London's Sephardi elite became, in general, not totally heedless of the laws of Sabbath observance and of *kashrut*, but considerably inconsistent in their interpretations of them; as Todd Endelman has observed, the religious laxity of Jews of eighteenth-century England was, at least outside the New World, without parallel.[28] Moses Cassuto of Florence, who visited London in 1741 before progressing to Amsterdam, was struck by the high status and geographic dispersion of the city's Sephardi Jewish population. He noted that the London Jews "do not become excited in matters of religion,"[29] and observed that they were so comfortable among non-Jews that they even entrusted their children to them:

> The Jews have Protestants in their employ as maid-servants, waiters, servants, and coachmen, even as wet-nurses, and entrust to them without any trouble their own little children to be brought up, the suspicion that they might baptise them never occurring to them. [...] So without concern they send their little girls to Protestant women teachers, and little boys to Protestant teachers, to acquire manners and good qualities and learning.[30]

This practice, as Cassuto himself discerns, revealed not only the high degree of mutual trust between Jewish employers and Protestant employees, but also a belief within the Anglo-Jewish elite that it was from non-Jews that their children could best acquire a suitably English patina of refinement.

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[28] Endelman, *Georgian England*, p. 132.
[29] Barnett, "Travels of Moses Cassuto," p. 103.
[30] Ibid.

Conclusion

The trend towards assimilation among the Sephardi elite in London in the eighteenth century, in many respects simply furthered a trend already clearly in evidence in late seventeenth-century Amsterdam. However, particular aspects of the social configuration and cultural preferences of London high society intensified the softening of Sephardi identity. Most conspicuously, the phenomenon of the country house, although not alien to the Dutch Republic (as we have seen), was not as pronounced there. The lure of rusticity was less intense in Holland's strongly civic-oriented culture; and, even if it had been, relatively few members of the Sephardi community, which was stagnating both economically and demographically in the eighteenth century, were in a position to take part. While intercultural social contacts certainly grew more frequent and in the coffee houses, Masonic lodges and private homes of eighteenth-century Amsterdam, specifically Sephardi institutions such as Hebrew literary societies also endured, and in general the process of Sephardi assimilation was much less pronounced than in London.[31]

Differences in the place of the Sephardim in the economic life of the two cities is also significant in this regard. The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam were, in the seventeenth century, heavily concentrated in a relatively narrow range of commercial activities. On the Amsterdam stock exchange, although most officially licensed brokers were Calvinists, by the 1670s Sephardi Jewish *accionistas* [share dealers] dominated day-to-day dealings.[32] This domination is reflected in Joseph Penso de la Vega's *Confusión de Confusiones* (1688), his famous guide to the hidden workings of the stock exchange, written without any specific Jewish content but in an intensely Iberian cultural idiom that would have been mystifying to all but a Sephardi readership: the performative composure of stock speculators, for example, is compared to that of a toreador.[33] In London, in contrast, the concentration of Jews in the financial sector was capped by their rival merchants. In 1697 the number of licensed Jewish brokers at the Royal Exchange was set at

[31] See R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, "Enlightenment and Emancipation from c. 1750 to 1814," in *History of the Jews in the Netherlands*, pp. 164–191, esp. 167–71.

[32] J. I. Israel, "The Amsterdam Stock Exchange and the English Revolution of 1688," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 103 (1990), pp. 412–40, esp. 416–17. See also Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, pp. 102–64.

[33] J. Penso de la Vega, *Confusión de Confusiones*, ed. and trans. H. Kellenbenz (Cambridge, Mass. 1957), esp. p. 54.

twelve, out of a total of one hundred and twenty-four. Three attempts to increase this number, in the 1720s and 30s, failed, and the cap remained in force until 1830.[34] There was debate over this policy of limitation: in 1714, John Toland eloquently argued for the elimination of such constraints.[35] However, as the controversy of the Jew Bill in 1753 highlighted, the anxieties and prejudices that lay behind such policies were deeply rooted in England.[36] While the disadvantages of these restrictions for Jews are self-evident, it is also true that they intensified the degree to which those Jews working in the financial sector did so in close interaction with non-Jews. This made them subject to heightened assimilatory pressures and temptations.

The urban configuration of intercultural contact was, then, significantly different in these two cities during their respective economic heydays. In a certain sense it might be argued that Amsterdam, despite its smaller size, at its mid seventeenth-century peak attained a cosmopolitan vibrancy never quite matched by London. The Sephardim of Amsterdam, while intimately woven into the economic weft of the city, never came close to losing their sharp distinctiveness: they remained geographically and economically highly concentrated, and retained an intensely proud sense of their Iberian identity, reflected in their language use and in their patterns of cultural consumption.[37] In the eighteenth century, Jews in Amsterdam, London, and elsewhere drifted towards an increasingly assimilated and secular lifestyle.[38] However, nowhere was this trend more pronounced than in London; the specific geographic character of elite social life in that city was in large measure the reason for this.

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[34] Endelman, *Jews of Georgian England*, p. 22.

[35] J. Toland, *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland* (London 1714).

[36] On the "Jew Bill" controversy, see T. W. Perry, *Public Opinion, Propaganda and Politics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study of the Jew Bill of 1753* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962); J. Champion, "Toleration and Citizenship in Enlightenment England: John Toland and the Naturalization of the Jews, 1714–1753," in *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe*, ed. O. P. Grell and R. Porter (Cambridge 2000), pp. 133–56, esp. 136–39.

[37] See M. Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington 1997), pp. 76–95.

[38] See J. I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750*, 3rd ed. (London 1998), pp. 254–57; C. Abramsky, "The Crisis of Authority within European Jewry in the Eighteenth Century," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History*, ed. S. Stein and R. Loewe (Tuscaloosa, Ala. 1979), pp. 13–28.

While in seventeenth-century Amsterdam a multiplicity of ethnic groups jostled together within relatively limited, urban confines, in the much vaster expanse of London Jews tended either to be somewhat ethnically isolated or highly assimilated. For the Sephardi community (and later for the Ashkenazi community, too), the choice was essentially between living in the East End, in an intensively Jewish environment and in close proximity to other recent immigrant groups—but distant, not only geographically, but also economically and culturally from the burgeoning West End districts of Georgian London—or moving west or outward to the rustic suburbs, thus asserting Jewish comfort and security in English society but, to a large degree, also assimilation into it. The more compact, watery configuration of Amsterdam, and its more powerfully civic spirit, produced an urban culture that was less dramatically segregated by ethnicity and economics, and these spatial differences contributed to a less dramatic process of elite assimilation there.

AMSTERDAM, THE FORBIDDEN LANDS, AND THE DYNAMICS OF THE SEPHARDI DIASPORA

Yosef Kaplan

The Western Sephardi Diaspora was established by New Christians from Spain and Portugal who abandoned Iberia in order to affiliate with Judaism. However, it should be noted that only a minority of the Iberian New Christians of Jewish descent left Iberia, and not all who did so reverted to Judaism in their new places of residence. Moreover, those who chose to live openly as Jews in communal frameworks did not do so for the same reasons, nor did all of them find sought-after spiritual tranquility in their old-new faith. While many hundreds of *conversos* were absorbed within Judaism and adopted a way of life based on honoring the halakha and on identification of some sort with the Jewish people, the encounter with the Talmudic-rabbinical tradition caused severe crises of identity for not a few of these "New Jews," bringing them into intellectual confrontation with the community leadership. The Christian concepts that they had imbibed did not facilitate the transition to Judaism, and the skepticism that gnawed at the hearts of some of them ultimately distanced them from any affiliation with the Jewish people.[1]

But even those who reached a safe haven in the "lands of liberty" and decided to live openly as Jews did not necessarily sever themselves from connections with the lands of their Iberian origins. The burden of fear to which they had been subject as members of a discriminated and persecuted community did not erase their longings for their original homes and for the landscapes of their childhood. From Amsterdam,

[1] Y. Kaplan, *The Western Sephardi Diaspora* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv 1994); idem, "The Sephardic Diaspora in North-Western Europe and the New World," in *The Sephardi Legacy*, vol. 2, ed. H. Beinart (Jerusalem 1992), pp. 240–42; Y. H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to the Italian Ghetto. Isaac Cardoso: A Study in Seventeenth Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics* (New York and London 1971), esp. pp. 1–50; Brian Pullan's insights regarding the variety of religious identities among the *marrano* immigrants in Italy are valid regarding the whole Western Sephardi diaspora; see B. Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice 1550–1670* (Oxford 1983), pp. 201–312.

Hamburg, Leghorn, and London their hearts were still drawn to the towns and villages of Spain and Portugal.[2]

The former *marranos* maintained an affiliation with Iberian culture even after their return to Judaism. They continued to write in Spanish and Portuguese, and they took note of every new creative development in the Iberian culture of their time. They collected the best works of Spanish and Portuguese theological thought in their impressive libraries, the literary academies that they established were a perfect copy of the Hispanic academies of their time, and the theater that they fostered until the early eighteenth century remained Spanish in content and form.[3]

Most of the members of the Western Sephardi Diaspora who fled from Iberia left behind family members and relatives, and they retained their business connections, which frequently led them to return to the ports of Andalusia and Portugal. The members of the Sephardi diaspora called those forbidden countries "*terras de idolatria*" [lands of idolatry], both because they were Catholic countries—and they defined Catholicism as idolatry—and also because those who sojourned there were required to deny their Judaism and publicly observe Christian ceremonies.[4] The phenomenon was also familiar among the *marranos* who were absorbed by the Sephardi communities in the Ottoman Empire and in North Africa, though one gets the impression that it

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[2] Y. Kaplan, "Una diáspora en exilio: actitudes hacia España entre los sefardíes de la edad moderna," in *Marginados y minorías sociales en la España Moderna y otros estudios sobre Extremadura. VI Jornadas de Historia en Llerena* (Llerena 2005), pp. 9–25.

[3] D. M. Swetschinski, "The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam. Cultural Continuity and Adaptation," in *Essays in Modern Jewish History. A Tribute to Ben Halpern*, ed. F. Malino & P. Cohen Albert (London and Toronto 1982), pp. 56–79; idem, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans. The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth Century Amsterdam* (London and Portland, Oreg. 2000), pp. 278–314; H. den Boer, *La literatura sefardí de Amsterdam* (Alcalá de Henares 1996).

[4] On the attitude toward Catholicism as idol worship among the *marranos* who returned to Judaism see Y. Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism. The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro* (Oxford 1989), pp. 259–61. The Portuguese concept *terras de idolatria* usually refers to Spain and Portugal, though it also refers to other Catholic countries where the Jewish religion was prohibited. The Spanish expression *vivir en idolatría* ("to live in idolatry") was used by the Spanish Jews to condemn the New Christians of Jewish origin who denied the Jewish religion in their way of life. See Abraham Israel Pereyra, *La Certeza del Camino* (Amsterdam 5426 [1666]), pp. 141–47. Pereyra devoted Chapters Two and Three in the sixth part of his book to condemning this phenomenon: *De la miserable vida de los que viven en idolatria* (On the miserable life of those who live in idolatry). See the new edition published by H. Méchoulan, *Hispanidad y judaísmo en tiempos de Espinoza* (Salamanca 1987), pp. 203–7; see also Y. Kaplan, "The Travels of Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam to the 'Lands of Idolatry' (1644–1724)," in *Jews and Conversos. Studies in Society and the Inquisition*, ed. Y. Kaplan (Jerusalem 1985), pp. 197–224.

was on a much more modest scale there.[5] The risks inherent in trips to forbidden lands did not deter many dozens of these New Jews to return to Iberia, or to settle in a colony in the New World. Others, for various reasons, preferred to live in the southern Netherlands, which were under Spanish rule, or in towns in France, which still forbade open Jewish settlement. The New Christian community in London before 1656, when Jews were not yet allowed to live in England, also attracted isolated individuals, who moved there after returning to Judaism and living openly as Jews in an organized and recognized Jewish community. The case of Simon de Cáceres, who arrived in London from Hamburg, is the most prominent example, but not the only one.[6]

The Inquisition archives in Spain and Portugal provide much information about the many divided souls whose absorption within Judaism was unsuccessful. Many of those suspended between Christianity and Judaism offered detailed testimony before the tribunals of the Holy Institution, of their own free will or against their will, concerning the upheavals they and other Sephardi Jews had undergone. Thus, for example, from the testimony of Hector Mendes Bravo before the Inquisition court in Lisbon in 1617 we learn of his return to Portugal from Amsterdam (where he had lived as a Jew under the name of David Levi Bravo) and of his return to Christianity. The account he gave before his interrogators indicates that at that time a Jew from Fez named Abraham Reuben had arrived to Lisbon, and that he had previously served as a *roby* [elementary school teacher] in the Talmud Torah in Amsterdam. Abraham had been baptized in Antwerp, had changed his name to Francisco de San Antonio, moved to Portugal, and finally settled in Spain.[7]

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[5] See e.g. H. Beinart, "Moroccan Jews in Spain in the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century" [in Hebrew], in *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (Jerusalem 1974), pp. 15–35; idem, "A Salonikan Jew in Seventeenth Century Spain" [in Hebrew], *Sefunot* 12 (1971/8), pp. 189–97; J. Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos en la España Moderna y Contemporánea*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Madrid 1978), pp. 539–51.

[6] On Simon de Cáceres see L. Wolf, "Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth," *TJHSE* 1 (1893/4), pp. 56, 58, 65, 68, 72 ff., 76, 79, 85. On his political service for Oliver Cromwell, see idem, "American Elements in the Re-Settlement," *TJHSE* 3 (1896/8), pp. 87, 95–100; in an official document from early 1656 he was already mentioned in London as a Jew. See D. S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603–1655* (Oxford 1982), p. 235; A. M. Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England* (London 1951), p. 12.

[7] C. Roth, "The Strange Case of Hector Mendes Bravo," *HUCA* 18 (1943/4), pp. 211–45; Beinart, "Moroccan Jews," p. 17; cf. H. P. Salomon, "The Case of Luís Vaz Pimentel. Revelations of Early Jewish Life in Rotterdam from the Portuguese Inquisition Archives," *StRos* 21 (1997), pp. 7–30.

In the anti-Jewish literature written in Iberia during the seventeenth century one also comes upon the testimony of New Christians who fled from there and openly returned to Judaism. Later they were disappointed with the step they had taken and returned to their native land and to Christianity. These works sometimes recount the deeds of children who abandoned their parents after the latter joined a Jewish community, and they describe the dramas that took place within the families in the wake of the religious schism that disrupted their lives. The anti-Jewish, Christian apologetics that imbue these works need not deter the historian from seeking the authentic reality that they reflect. Most probably even the following passage from the work of Benito Remigio Noydens, written in the mid-seventeenth century, bears the echo of an event that actually took place:

> I shall tell what happened here in Spain: one of the Jews who fled to Amsterdam had a son, and after he was taught the Law of Moses and the Hebrew language, he became very expert in their ceremonies, until he became the rabbi of many of them. But once God illuminated his path, and after he accepted the truth of the New Testament, and persisted in the study of the words of the prophets, the young man changed his heart, fled from his parents' home, and returned to Spain. There he confessed his sin and returned to the bosom of the Church. When poverty oppressed him, he sent a friend to ask for cloth for a garment for him from a cousin of his mother's, who was very wealthy, but his relative refused and reprimanded him: "I have no interest in scoundrels nor in family members who do not behave as they ought."[8]

The Sephardi establishment generally related with strict severity to those who abandoned Judaism and returned to the "lands of idolatry." When they were able to do so, they exercised economic sanctions against them and deprived them of their inheritances. In many wills we find clauses stating that bequeathal of the property to offspring and relatives in those communities is conditional upon the ties to Judaism of the potential heirs and with their residence in places where they can live openly as Jews.[9]

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[8] B. R. Noydens, *Visita general y espiritual colirio de los iudíos y promptuario católico de los mas principales fundamentos de la Fe y Religión Christiana* (Madrid 1662), p. 210. This paragraph is cited in Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos en la España Moderna,* vol. 1, p. 280, n. 43.

[9] See e.g. the will of Rebeca Carneira of Amsterdam of 1651 (8 Adar 5411), GAA PA 334, no. 19. *Livro de Escamoth* A, fols. 301 ff.: "A meus sobrinhos filhos do d[ou]tor meu yrmão Mendo Lopez del Campo, que deos tem, os quais estão oye em Yndias, e esta eransa se entenda vindo todos o qualquer delles a esta terra, ou a parte done houvier judesmo […] bem entendido que sua vinda de qualquer delles seja para tomar

It is no coincidence that a very considerable number of the condemnation ceremonies and requests for forgiveness, as we shall see below, were directed at fence squatters. Travel to the forbidden countries, even for a short while, was regarded as a dangerous expression of the weak allegiance to the Jewish faith that characterized many of the former *marranos*.

The reasons that impelled individuals from the Western Sephardi diaspora to return to the lands of the Inquisition were many and various, and the routes that returned them from the "*terras de judezmo*"[10] to the lands of idolatry were often winding and complex. In order to understand the full extent of the phenomenon, we must take note of the intricate economic structure that linked the members of the "Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Nation" to Spain and Portugal.

For many years Iberian *marranos* in partnership with Sephardi Jews played a central role in the commercial ties between the Iberian Peninsula and northwestern Europe in general, and the Dutch Republic in particular. These merchants established a commercial network that included the most important ports in Western Europe and focused on colonial and Iberian trade.

In a series of detailed studies, Jonathan Israel has shown how cooperation between Sephardi Jews (former *marranos*) in Western Europe and New Christians in Iberia, France, and the southern Netherlands created a widespread international commercial network, which played vital roles in the Western European economy during the mercantile era. The Jewish merchants and their New Christian partners successfully managed their businesses both in peacetime and during crises caused by the unstable international situation and by the struggles and warfare between the various European states. Despite the shadow of the Inquisition, which threatened the New Christians and hampered their movements, efforts were made by both Jews and *marranos* to bring about a change in Spanish policy toward them.[11]

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o santo firmamento e seguir nossa santa ley, e sem ysso não lhe darão nada." See other examples in my book, *Judíos Nuevos en Amsterdam* (Barcelona 1996), pp. 111–13.

[10] This is what the members of the Western Sephardi communities called the countries where it was permitted openly to lead a Jewish way of life. See I. Bartal and Y. Kaplan, "Emigration of Indigent Jews from Amsterdam to Eretz Israel (Palestine) at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century" [in Hebrew], in *Shalem. Studies in the History of the Jews in Eretz Israel* 5, ed. J. Hacker (Jerusalem 1992), p. 176.

[11] See J. I. Israel, "Spain and the Dutch Sephardim 1609–1660," *StRos* 12 (1978), pp. 1–61; idem, "The Economic Contribution of Dutch Sephardi Jewry to Holland's

Between 1609 and 1621, during the armistice between Spain and the Dutch Republic, Amsterdam and Rotterdam took the lead in commerce with the Iberian Peninsula. In those years, most of the foreign ships that anchored in the ports of Spain and Portugal were Dutch, and the young republic also retained hegemony over commerce between southwestern Europe and the Baltic region.[12] In this commercial organization, which was consolidated early in the seventeenth century, the Sephardi Jews of Amsterdam played a primary role. Affluent merchants like Baruch (Bento) Osorio, Samuel Abrabanel, Isaac Israel Nunes, and Tobiahu Israel da Silva, were closely involved in ties with Iberia.[13] Along with them stood out financiers such as Emanuel Rodrigues Vega, whose father, Luís Fernández, had served for many years as the consul of the "Portuguese Nation," i.e. the community of New Christians in Antwerp.[14] Emanuel's uncle, a wealthy merchant named Joshua

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Golden Age, 1595–1713," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 46 (1983), pp. 505–35. These two articles were reprinted in idem, *Empires and Entrepots. The Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy and the Jews, 1585–1713* (London and Ronceverte 1990), pp. 355–447; idem, "Some Further Data on the Amsterdam Sephardim and Their Trade with Spain during the 1650s," *StRos* 14 (1980), pp. 7–19; idem, *Diasporas within a Diaspora. Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden 2002). Cf. D. M. Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, pp. 102–64; O. Vlessing, "Light on the Earliest History of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jews," in *Dutch Jewish History* 3, ed. J. Michman (Jerusalem 1993), pp. 43–75; idem, "The Portuguese-Jewish Merchant Community in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times. Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, ed. C. Lerger and L. Noordegraaf (The Hague 1966), pp. 223–43.

[12] J. I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585–1740* (Oxford 1989), pp. 80–120.

[13] Baruch Osorio (1560–1644) was perhaps the richest Jew in Amsterdam toward the end of the 1620s, and his connections extended to Spain, Portugal, North Africa, the Baltic Sea, and even to the Levant. He was in fact the founder of the Beth Israel congregation, the third Sephardi congregation to be established in the city, following a split in the Beth Ya'acov congregation in 1618. See E. M. Koen et al., "Notarial Records in Amsterdam relating to the Portuguese Jews before 1639," *StRos* 1 (1967)–32 (1998), nos. 411, 425, 459, 475, 495, 532, 533, 540, 547, 584, 668. Samuel Abrabanel was also a member of the Beth Israel congregation, and as a Christian he had been called Jerônimo Rodrigues de Sousa. He was active in trading wheat; see Koen et al., "Notarial Records," nos. 97, 285, 312, 366, 372, 422, 492, 556, 563, 569, 623, 632, 642, 681, 691, 697, etc. Isaac Israel Nunes, who was known as Sebastian Nunes when he was a Christian, traded with Pontevedra and Vigo; see Koen et al., "Notarial Records," nos. 762, 768, 770. Tobiahu Israel da Silva had been called Diego da Silva. He maintained close commercial ties with Lisbon; see Koen et al., "Notarial Records," nos. 411, 455, 516, 530, 538, 546, 552, 586, 596, etc.

[14] Koen et al., "Notarial Records," nos. 1–6, 8–10, 13, 14, 16, 47, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 58, 60, 62, 64, 67–70, etc. H. Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567–1648). Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit* (Wiesbaden 1977), pp. 66–68, 161–63, 169–71, 186, 199, 202, 206, 229, 231, 268, 280, 344, 353–54, 363.

Habilho (known as Duarte Fernández when he lived as a Christian, a name he continued to use afterwards in his economic dealings), was also among the central figures in the early days of the Sephardi community in Amsterdam.[15] García Pimentel and his brother Manuel, who were active with him, had formerly been the spokesmen of the Portuguese in Antwerp.[16] After moving from Antwerp to Amsterdam, these merchants continued to import sugar, diamonds, precious stones, and lumber from Brazil to northwestern Europe and to export textiles, refined sugar, wheat, and other commodities to Iberia. They were able to exploit their family ties with New Christian merchants and bankers who lived within the great Hispanic kingdom, and in partnership with them they managed a significant part of their international trade. The bankers and merchants living in Spain and Portugal who were members of the "Nation" were not all of a kind. Some of them were secret Judaizers, while others showed no real interest in Judaism and spared no effort in seeking to assimilate entirely within Christian society. Nevertheless their ethnic and family ties sometimes overrode other differences and helped to preserve the common economic interests that linked the Western Sephardi diaspora with the New Christian centers in the Iberian world.[17]

At that time a small group of Spanish statesmen showed great interest in the economic activity of the Jews of Western Europe, trying to divert it to serve Spanish interests. In 1619 the state counselor Martín González de Cellorigo, in one of his well-known memoranda for the improvement of the economic situation of the Spanish Crown, proposed investing effort into bringing the *converso* refugees, including the Jews of the Netherlands, or at least some of them, back to Spain and to the Christian fold. He was firmly convinced that in addition to the blessing that this would bring to the precarious Spanish economy, it would also weaken the Dutch Republic. Other state officials and political counselors held similar opinions.[18]

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[15] E. M. Koen, "Duarte Fernandes, Koopman van de Portugeese Natie te Amsterdam," *StRos* 2 (1968), pp. 178–93.

[16] Pohl, *Die Portugiesen*, pp. 96, 223, 345, 353–55; Koen et al., "Notarial Records," nos. 11, 25, 30, 32, 36, 40–43, 55, 57, 61, etc.

[17] Israel, "Spain and the Dutch Sephardim," pp. 7 ff.

[18] I. S. Révah, "Le plaidoyer en faveur des 'Nouveaux Chrétiens' portugais du licencié Martín González de Cellorigo," *REJ* 122 (1963), pp. 279–398; J. H. Elliott, *The Count–Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven and London 1986), pp. 117 ff.; J. I. Pulido Serrano, *Injurias a Cristo. Religión, política y antijudaísmo en*

In addition to the memoranda written on this subject, actual contacts were held with individual Jews regarding the possibility of renewing Jewish settlement in Spain. In 1623 Jacob Cansino made his first visit to Madrid. He was a Jew from Oran who became associated with the count-duke of Olivares, the prime minister of King Philip IV. About eleven years later, in one of his last visits, Cansino proposed to Olivares that he should permit limited Jewish settlement in Madrid, in a separate quarter that would be created especially for Jews.[19] These and other contacts, which continued until the end of Olivares' tenure, created the impression that the possibility had been raised in the Spanish royal court that a group of Jews might be given the opportunity of living in Spain with the right to observe their religion. It may be assumed that the Portuguese merchant Manuel López Pereira, who returned to Seville with his family after a long sojourn in Holland and became Olivares' economic advisor, was also privy to the secret, and he might have supported the initiative to bring back the Jews. There is undoubtedly a connection between those initiatives and the fact that during the early part of Philip IV's rule, Portuguese bankers of Jewish extraction, whose religious loyalties were not clear or unequivocal, sought to attain general pardon for all those accused by the Inquisition of Judaizing. Activities in this cause on the part of such financiers as Duarte Fernández, Manuel de Paz, Juan Nunes Saravia, Duarte Brandon Suares, and, above all, the extremely wealthy Manuel Cortizos, aroused the ire of the Inquisition. Nevertheless the protection afforded by Olivares encouraged them to continue and persevere in these efforts, which contributed in one way or another to strengthening ties with the Western Sephardi diaspora.[20]

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el siglo XVII (Alcalá de Henares 2002), pp. 59–65; cf. F. Cantera Burgos, "Dos escritos inéditos sobre los Judíos y España durante el siglo XVII," in *Scritti sull'Ebraismo in memoria de Guido Bedarrida* (Florence 1966), pp. 33–47.

[19] Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, pp. 330 ff.; Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto*, pp. 167–68; J. I. Israel, "The Jews of Spanish North Africa," *TJHSE* 26 (1979), pp. 74 ff.; Pulido Serrano, *Injurias a Cristo*, pp. 46–47; idem, "Consentir por necesidad. Los judíos de Orán en la Monarquía Católica durante los siglos XVI y XVII," in *Entre el Islam y Occidente. Los judíos magrebíes en la Edad Moderna. Judíos en Tierras de Islam*, vol. 2, ed. M. García-Arenal (Madrid 2003), esp. pp. 211–18; cf. J. F. Schaub, "D'Almosnino à Cansino: un livre et ses contextes," ibid., pp. 189–200.

[20] Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos en la España Moderna*, vol. 2, pp. 59 ff., 115 ff.; A. Domínguez Ortiz, *Política y Hacienda de Felipe IV* (Madrid 1960), pp. 139 ff.; J. I. Israel, "Manuel López Pereira of Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Madrid: Jew, New Christian and Adviser of the Conde Duque de Olivares," *StRos* 19 (1985), pp. 109–26; Schreiber, *Marranen in Madrid*, pp. 30–40.

In Philip IV's court at that time, some believed that it was possible to bring back a considerable part of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews from Holland, and not only to the borders of the Spanish kingdom but also to the bosom of Catholicism. This hope was nourished by the apparently paradoxical fact that the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, including refugees from the Inquisition who had settled in northwestern Europe, maintained uninterrupted contact with representatives of the Spanish government and cooperated with the Spanish Crown. Some of those Jews provided sensitive information to the Spanish authorities regarding the trade of the Jews in Western Europe and about contacts they made with Jews resident in Amsterdam, Hamburg, and other places, who traded with the Iberian Peninsula. Not only merchants and adventurers who vacillated between their new identity and their affiliation with the Iberian world tended to cooperate with the Spanish Crown. Others, too, whose connections with Judaism did not appear doubtful, and who were involved in the life of the new communities, did not sit idly by, but also were co-opted on behalf of the political goals of the Spanish Crown.[21]

Duarte Nunes da Costa was, for more than twenty years, the faithful servant of the interests of the Spanish Crown. His Jewish name was Jacob Curiel and he was one of the founders of the Sephardi community in Hamburg. His great wealth and extensive connections made him one of the main suppliers of the Spanish war fleet, which at that time was preparing for the decisive confrontation with the Dutch army.[22]

The revolution of 1640 that brought the Duke of Braganza to the Portuguese throne inspired new hopes in the Western Sephardi diaspora. Portugal once again became an independent state, and its liberation from the Spanish yoke brought the immediate renewal of commercial and official relations with Holland. As early as 1643–1645, more than fifty percent of the foreign ships that anchored in Lisbon flew the Dutch flag, and the presence of Jews in the commercial relations between

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[21] Israel, "Spain and the Dutch Sephardim," pp. 8 ff., 13 ff.; Salomon, "The Case of Luis Vaz Pimentel," esp. pp. 27 ff. On the connections of the Pallache family with the Spanish Crown, see the fascinating work of M. García-Arenal and G. Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds. Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*, trans. M. Beagles (Baltimore and London 1999).

[22] J. I. Israel, "Duarte Nunes da Costa (Jacob Curiel) of Hamburg, Sephardi Nobleman and Communal Leader (1585–1664)," *StRos* 21 (1987), pp. 14–34; H. Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der Unteren Elbe* (Wiesbaden 1958), v. index.

Holland and Portugal was more impressive than ever.[23] Moreover, rumors spread among the members of the "Nation" regarding the intentions of the new king, João IV, to restrain the policy of the Inquisition toward New Christians, and there were expectations of a general change in the relation of Portugal toward its Jewish refugees.[24]

Jacob Curiel, who had supported the Spanish Crown several years earlier, now became an important supplier of arms to the new Portuguese regime. He also invested great effort in the liberation of the prince don Duarte, the brother of João IV, who had been arrested by the German emperor and was held in captivity in Milan. As early as 1641 he was rewarded for his services with a title of nobility by the Portuguese Crown: *cavaleiro fidalgo da Casa Real*. From his secure place of refuge in Hamburg, he could enjoy the honor that had come his way and reflect upon his eventful fate: two years earlier his effigy had been burned at an *auto-da-fe* in Lisbon, after the Inquisition found him guilty of Judaizing and sentenced him to death. In 1644 he was officially appointed as the agent of the Portuguese Crown in Hamburg and served in that capacity until his death, twenty years later.[25] His son Moses Curiel, otherwise known as Jeronimo Nunes da Costa, was one of the prominent magnates of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam, and in 1645 he was appointed to a function in Amsterdam parallel to that of his father's in Hamburg and given a title of nobility equal to that of his father.[26] At that time David Curiel, Jacob's brother, who had reached Amsterdam in 1614, was a consistent supporter of the Portuguese, but in 1645 he reversed his position and joined the supporters of Spain. In 1642, at the peak of pro-Portuguese enthusiasm among the Western Sephardi communities, David, too, who was known in Portugal and

[23] Israel, "Spain and the Dutch Sephardim," pp. 29 ff.

[24] Idem, "Duarte Nunes," p. 23.

[25] Ibid., p. 23.

[26] D. M. Swetschinski, "An Amsterdam Jewish Merchant Diplomat: Jeronimo Nunes da Costa alias Moshe Curiel (1620–1697), Agent of the King of Portugal," in *Neveh Ya'akov. Jubilee Volume Presented to Dr. Jaap Meijer on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. L. Dasberg and J. N. Cohen (Assen 1982), pp. 3–30; J. I. Israel, "The Diplomatic Career of Jeronimo Nunes da Costa: An Episode in Dutch-Portuguese Relations in the Seventeenth Century," *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 98 (1983), pp. 167–90; idem, "An Amsterdam Jewish Merchant of the Golden Age: Jeronimo Nunes da Costa (1620–1697), Agent of Portugal in the Dutch Republic," *StRos* 18 (1984), pp. 21–40.

in the merchant community as Lopo Ramirez, was granted a title of nobility because of his faithful service to João IV.[27]

In the early 1640s many members of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Nation were encouraged to strengthen their economic ties to the Lusitanian kingdom. But the commercial ties of the Jews of Amsterdam with their agents in Spain were also renewed after the partial removal of the blockade against Dutch ships. The Jewish community of Amsterdam prepared itself for a new era in relations with Iberia and showed great excitement in anticipation of the encouraging changes that appeared to be in the offing.[28]

It appears that these changes not only strengthened commercial ties between the Sephardi Jews and Iberia, but they also increased the number of those who were willing to risk traveling to Spain and Portugal for business or other reasons.

This is the background against which one must view the regulation instituted by the Sephardi community of Amsterdam on 12 Sivan 5404 (16 June 1644) against "any circumcised Jew who abandons Judaism and goes to a country belonging to Spain or Portugal, or of whom it is known that he committed idolatry somewhere." The purpose of this regulation was to deter members of the congregation, including former *marranos* who had not yet sunk roots in Judaism, from going to Catholic countries where the Jewish religion was forbidden. Precisely with the growth of optimism regarding the possibilities of renewed economic impetus, serious concern arose among the Jewish community leadership regarding an increased flow of travelers to Iberia, especially to Portugal. The regulation was aimed against people who went to the "lands of idolatry" without the intention of remaining there, for the community, which numbered slightly more than two thousand, could take no measures against those who returned for good, of whom there were apparently scores.

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[27] Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, v. index; J. I. Israel, "Lopo Ramírez (David Curiel) and the Attempt to Establish a Sephardi Community in Antwerp in 1653–1653," *StRos* 28 (1994), pp. 104–6.

[28] One must also view the millenarian hopes of the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio Viera against this background. He visited Holland in 1640 and 1648, conversed with Menasseh Ben Israel, and hoped that the Jews would convert and that the former *conversos* would return to Portugal; see A. J. Saraiva, "Antonio Viera, Menasseh Ben Israel et le cinquième empire," *StRos* 6 (1972), pp. 24–57; E. Lipiner, *Os baptizados em pé. Estudos acerca da origem e da luta dos Christãos-Novos em Portugal* (Lisbon 1998), pp. 329–51.

The leaders of the Nação felt the urgent need to emphasize repeatedly that travel to the Iberian Peninsula was a severe infraction that entailed denial of Judaism, since those who went there were forced to conceal their Jewish identity and to lead an openly Christian way of life. The prohibition was not limited solely to travel to Iberia but included all countries where Judaism was forbidden. As a condition for return to the bosom of the community, even as a condition for acceptance as a member of a prayer quorum, the regulation required transgressors to request forgiveness from the podium of the synagogue immediately upon their return to Amsterdam. Similarly, for four years it was forbidden to honor them by calling them to read from the Torah or to perform any other commandment during services, not even at festive events of their own family. The *haskama* also stated that during the entire period of their punishment, they could not serve as cantors or in any other communal office. Only after four years, and only after full repentance according to the instructions of the rabbis, could they enjoy the full privileges of community membership.[29]

This *haskama* was signed by the seven members of the *Mahamad*, including David Curiel, the acting agent of the Portuguese Crown in Amsterdam, who had been chosen to serve as a *parnas* for that year only two months earlier![30] As we shall see below, this *haskama* did not deter him from settling in Antwerp several years later, while that city was still under Spanish rule, although, surprisingly, even there he managed to maintain his Jewish identity openly, without hindrance.

Starting in 1644, it became customary to list in the register of the community of Amsterdam the names of those transgressors who had gone to the "lands of idolatry" and who, upon their return, were commanded to express public remorse for their deeds. Thanks to the bureaucratic thoroughness of the community syndics over the generations, we know the names of eighty-five Sephardi Jews from Amsterdam who were required to ask for forgiveness between 1644 and 1747 for traveling to places where they were forced to deny their Judaism. I have analyzed elsewhere the status and position of these Jews inside the Jewish community.[31]

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[29] *Livro de Escamoth* A, fol. 172; Kaplan, "The Travels of the Portuguese Jews," pp. 205 ff.

[30] *Livro de Escamoth* A, fol. 167; Israel, "Lopo Ramírez," pp. 105 ff.

[31] Kaplan, "The Travels of the Portuguese Jews," pp. 212–24; idem, "Eighteenth Century Rulings by the Rabbinical Court of Amsterdam's Community and their

In 1682 they exempted Elihau, the son of Matatia Aboab, from asking for forgiveness and the other punishments, since the members of the rabbinical court were convinced that he had already repented in another community.[32] Indeed, at that time there were three other western Sephardi communities that had passed regulations against going to the "lands of idolatry." On 18 Iyyar 5415 (28 March 1655), the heads of the Sephardi community in Leghorn, which was the same size as that of Amsterdam, drafted a regulation stating "that anyone who goes to the lands of the West where it is forbidden for Jews to dwell, from the time of his return and during a period of two years, will not be called to the Torah and will not pronounce the public benediction for being saved from danger, and will not exercise any function in this holy community, nor will he receive any title."[33] About three years later, on 17 Tevet 5418 (23 December 1657), the *parnassim* of the Beth Israel community of the Sephardi Jews of Hamburg, which then numbered about six hundred, passed a regulation similar to that of Leghorn: "Anyone who leaves Judaism and goes to Spain or Portugal, after he returns from there, will not go up to the Torah for two years, and during that time he will not be honored with any commandment [in the synagogue]."[34] The leadership in Leghorn and Hamburg

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Socio-Historical Significance" [in Hebrew], in *Studies in the History of Dutch Jewry* 5, ed. J. Michman (Jerusalem 1988), pp. 28–30.

[32] GAA PA 334, no. 20, *Livro de Escamoth* B, fol. 47. This refers to the fifth son of Matatia de Isaac Aboab. The *parnassim* also turned to a rabbinical court headed by Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca on this matter. See Kaplan, "Eighteenth Century Rulings," p. 29, n. 112.

[33] R. Toaff, *La Nazione ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa (1591–1700)* (Florence 1990), p. 561. This is regulation no. 25 in the collection of the regulations of the Leghorn community, which was ratified that day: "Que qualquer que for aas partes de ponente, donde não poden estar judeos, não possa ser chamado a Sefer Tora nem fazer agomel por dous anos desde que tornar e asi mesmo não posa ter oficio nem grado neste KK por dito tempo de dous anos."

[34] According to a photocopy of the *Livro da Nação* of the Sephardi Community in Hamburg in the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem for the years 5412–5442 (1652–1681), which was deposited in the State Archive in Hamburg, with the call number 993 I–II, fol. 104: "Tambem se ordenou que toda a pessoa que for de judeismo a Espanha ou Portugal e tornase o não chamarão a sepher thora em 2 annos nem neles gozara de misva algua." On this register and on the community of Hamburg, see B. Z. Ornan Pinkus, "The Portuguese Community of Hamburg in the Seventeenth Century" [in Hebrew], in *East and Maghreb. Researches in the History of the Jews in the Orient and North Africa* 5, ed. A. Toaff (1986), pp. 7–51; idem, "Die Portugiesische Gemeinde in Hamburg und Ihre Führung im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Die Sefarden in Hamburg. Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit*, ed. M. Studemund-Halévy and P. Koj (Hamburg 1994), pp. 3–36.

apparently exempted the transgressors from the public ceremony of asking forgiveness, but they did deny them the honor of being called to the Torah and other honors in the synagogue. At the same time, unlike Amsterdam, these sanctions were reduced to only two years. In Hamburg they did not deny the transgressors the possibility of being elected to community positions during that time, apparently because the congregation had relatively few members and it was difficult to find enough candidates to serve as *parnassim*.[35]

In comparison to the relatively short and moderate regulations of Leghorn and Hamburg, the one passed by the general meeting of the Sephardi community in London was detailed and severe. In the summer of 1677, when the members of the Sha'ar Hashamayim congregation convened to amend and extend the basic regulation of 1663, they saw fit to add a specific regulation against those who went to Spain and Portugal. *Haskama* 33 of the new community regulations stated: "A circumcised Jew who goes to the lands of Spain and Portugal and later returns to Judaism from there will not be accepted [in the community] until he mounts the podium and asks publicly for forgiveness, from the blessed Lord and from the congregation, for the scandal he has committed, and he must obligate himself to repent according to what is imposed upon him." Like the community of Hamburg, that of London could not permit itself to forbid transgressors from being chosen immediately for community positions: their congregation then numbered fewer than four hundred, and many of the members had not shown enthusiasm for filling public positions, which entailed an economic burden and heavy social responsibility.[36] In contrast, with respect to being called to the Torah and honors in the synagogue, the regulation was a compromise between the approach of Amsterdam and that of Leghorn and Hamburg: the period of suspension was three years.

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[35] In Leghorn they formulated another ordinance identical to the one enacted in 1656 in a collection of ordinances dated 17 Adar 1, 5437 (4 February 1677). See Toaff, *La Nazione ebrea a Livorno*, p. 605. The new ordinance states that the members of the *Mahamad* had the right to determine the sum of the fine to be paid by the delinquent in every single case: "soto la pena que pareciere a los Señores del Maamad."

[36] *Ascamot B* (5435–5488), in the Archive of the Sephardi Congregation of London, no. 129, p. 9 (my numbering, Y.K.): "Todo o Judeu que depois de circuncidado for a Terras de Espanha e Portugal tornando a Judesmo, não sera admitido, sem que prim[ei]ro suba a Teba a pedir perdão em publico a Deos Bendito e ao Kahal pello escandalo que cauzou, e resseba a penitensia que lhe for dada."

The regulation of the Sha'ar Hashamayim community is distinguished by its final clause. The legislators emphasized specifically that punishment would also be imposed upon those who went to live in France and Brabant (the southern Netherlands, which were under Spanish rule), "unless it is proven beyond all doubt that in those places they conducted themselves as Jews, meaning that they ate kosher [food], did not have their children baptized [as Christians], and did not commit idolatry."[37] It appears that when the Jews of London came to institute their regulation, the new situation in France and the southern Netherlands was known within the Western Sephardi diaspora. Indeed, in those places it was still officially forbidden to practice Judaism, but local *marranos* and New Christians did not find it difficult to live a Jewish life rather openly, if they wished to do so. Their behavior was not a secret, and the authorities, which knew about their hidden religious identity, preferred to ignore it for reasons of economic utility.

In France, until the beginning of the eighteenth century, they were described as members of the "Portuguese Nation," or simply "Portuguese merchants." At the same time, as we have learned from Gerard Nahon's exhaustive studies, *marranos* and New Christians who lived there were able to make their affiliation with Judaism public without fearing adverse effects, especially from the mid-seventeenth century onward. In the towns of Peyrehorade, Labastide-Clairence, and especially in Bidache the Jewish expressions of the members of the "Portuguese Nation" took on a rather open character. This was even more evident in Bayonne.[38]

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[37] Ibid.: "E o mesmo se endendera com os que depois de Judeus circuncidados forem estar de asento en terras de França e Brabante done não consintem Judeus se não for que conste com toda a certeza que nas ditas partes se portarão como Judeus comendo caser, não bautizando seus filhos nem se ajoelhando a Ydolatria, e em quanto não constar isto serão julgados como os que vão a Espanha." That is to say, if they go there to settle and live there, unlike what was written regarding those who went to Spain and Portugal, for there the very act of going was regarded as a sin. It is possible that, with respect to France and Brabant, the leaders of the London community distinguished between passing through or making a temporary stay and settling there for a longer time. In the ordinances enacted in early 5454 (October 1693), this ordinance appears as no. 29, with the following small addition: not only France and Brabant but also any place else where they could not live as Jews: "ou quaisquer otras partes onde não (consintem) Judeus." Ibid., see pp. 10 ff. (the numbering is in the MS).

[38] G. Nahon has written a long series of studies and survey articles about the Portuguese New Christians in France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among others, see G. Nahon, *Métropoles et périphéries Sefarades d'Occident* (Paris 1993), pp. 95–183, 235–59. See also the recent book by D. L. Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute. Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1580–1700* (Philadelphia 2004), which sheds

The situation was no different in Antwerp. In 1653 a group of Sephardi Jews from Amsterdam sought permission from Duke Leopold Wilhelm, the governor general of the southern Netherlands, to live openly as Jews in Borgerhout, in the vicinity of Antwerp, in their desire to strengthen commercial relations with Spain. However, the sums of money that they promised to pay in return for the privilege were of no use, and their initiative was thwarted by church officials in Brussels and Madrid.[39] Although they did not receive an official permit to reside in Antwerp as Jews, some of them remained there. The most prominent among them was Lopo Ramirez, otherwise known as David Curiel, who had signed the *haskama* of the Amsterdam community, dated 1644, against going to "lands of idolatry." He quarreled with the *Mahamad* of the Talmud Torah community and left Amsterdam in 1653. He did not return until 1666, toward the end of his life, when Sabbatian fervor aroused him to repent. While residing in Antwerp he behaved as a Jew in every respect. He had his two sons who were born there circumcised, Samuel in 1655 and Isaac in 1659, and he even insisted upon being sworn in "according to Jewish custom" when he appeared before a local court. He apparently also refrained from attending the stock exchange on the Sabbath.[40] A New Christian named Gaspar López Pereira testified under interrogation before the Inquisition in the Canary Islands that in 1658, while he was in Antwerp, he had seen sukkahs (booths) built in one of the city parks by David Curiel and his family in order to fulfill the commandments of their religion. On the Passover holiday he had dined with other Jews and eaten according to Jewish law. Gaspar also told about an inn where Jewish travelers were accustomed to stay upon their arrival in the city. Isaac de Matatia Aboab, a relative of David Curiel's, also arrived from Amsterdam to

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new light on the special status of France in the Western New Christian and Sephardi Jewish Diaspora.

[39] L. Dequeker, "Heropleving van hat Jodendom te Antwerpen in de zeventiende eeuw?" *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 5 (1989), pp. 154 ff.; Israel, "Lopo Ramírez," pp. 113 ff.

[40] On the controversy between David Curiel and the *Mahamad* of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam, see L. Fuks, "Een rechtsstrijd onder Amsterdamse Sefardim in de 17e eew," *"T Exempel dwinght": Opstellen aangeboden aan I. Kisch ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag* (Zwolle 1975), pp. 175–89; L. Hagoort, "A Restless People: Conflicts between the Jewish Merchants Lopo Ramirez and Manuel Dias Henriques and the 'Parnassim' of the Portuguese Nation about the Inheritance of Rebecca Naar," *StRos* 32 (1998), pp. 115–72; Israel, "Lopo Ramírez," pp. 113, n. 64, 115–18; L. Wolf, *Jews in the Canary Islands, Being a Calendar of Jewish Cases Extracted from the Records of the Canariote Inquisition in the Collection of the Marquess of Bute* (London 1926), pp. 190 ff., 194.

reside in Antwerp, and at that time Miguel de los Ríos also lived there. He was the son of Joseph de los Ríos, a member of the *Mahamad* of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam in 1658! Moreover, Judah da Vega of Amsterdam customarily visited the Curiel home "on holidays and other occasions, as a Jew among Jews"![41] Even Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel visited Antwerp in early August 1654, when he came to meet Queen Christina of Sweden. He remained there for two weeks, although he was then one of the four rabbis of the Sephardi community in Amsterdam![42] Two years later *Hakham* David ha-Cohen of Hamburg arrived there for a brief visit. For that purpose he asked for permission from the *parnassim* of the Beth Israel community in his city.[43]

These facts explain very well the meaning of the wording of the London regulation of 1677, "unless it is proven beyond all doubt that in those places they conducted themselves as Jews." At that time it was already possible to maintain a Jewish way of life under rather reasonable conditions in certain places in France and also in Antwerp. However, in each and every case, the *parnassim* of London demanded proof from the person returning regarding his religious behavior during his stay there. The members of the *Mahamad* in Amsterdam acted similarly. They did not punish Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel or Isaac de Matatia Aboab for traveling to the Spanish Netherlands, because they possessed certain proof that the two men had conducted themselves there as Jews.

In contrast to them, the poet Daniel Levi de Barrios was required to beg forgiveness in the Sephardi synagogue of Amsterdam in 1664 because he had gone to Brussels, which, unlike Antwerp, was not regarded as a place where one could live openly as a Jew. Although De Barrios's Christian hosts knew about his identity very well and were aware that he was a member of the Sephardi Jewish community of Amsterdam, he was prevented from behaving publicly as a Jew in the capital of Spanish rule in the Netherlands. It is not mentioned in the community register that he stayed in Brussels (this is known to us because his writings were published there), but it is written that he went to "a land of idolatry and violated the Sabbath." Therefore he was required, on the eve of Yom Kippur 5425 (29 September 1664)

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[41] Wolf, *Jews in the Canary Islands*, pp. 184 ff.; Israel, "Lopo Ramírez," pp. 116 ff.

[42] A. K. Offenberg, "Menasseh ben Israel's Visit to Christina of Sweden at Antwerp," *LIAS* 16 (1989), pp. 265–74.

[43] *Livro da Nação* of the Hamburg community (n. 34 above), p. 79.

to repeat in Spanish the Portuguese words of the standard declaration and "to ask forgiveness from the Lord of the world and from His holy Torah for the evil act that I did in going to a land of idolatry."[44]

The men of the *Mahamad* in Amsterdam also punished those who returned from places where they could live as Jews but nevertheless refrained from doing so. In late September 1656 they ruled that for two years Abraham Gabbai Mendes "shall not be called to the Torah or to perform any other commandment . . . and he will serve in no post," since they had learned "from men who cling very closely to their faith," that he had gone to London "at a time when the observance of our holy faith was already permitted there, and a prayer quorum was there," but "he never prayed with our brethren and did not present himself as a Jew like all the rest." This is perhaps the first indication of the existence of a prayer quorum in London without the official approval of Cromwell's regime, a short time after the Withall convention, regarding the return of the Jews to England, had adjourned without reaching a decision. This testimony also shows that the heads of the Nation had spread a network of social control over all the centers of the Sephardi diaspora.[45] Gabbai Mendes himself had come to Amsterdam from Antwerp and had been called to the Torah on Yom Kippur. His arrival from Antwerp raised no difficulty in the minds of the *parnassim*, for they apparently knew about the connections he had made with the Jewish congregation there.[46] However, someone apparently informed against him that he had concealed his Judaism in London. Therefore, two days afterward, they decided to punish him, imposing a punishment somewhat more lenient than that imposed on those who went to "lands of idolatry." Several years later, in 1659, they required Jacob Sobrinho to request forgiveness for going to France and for having his son baptized as a Christian there. With this deed, which was not necessitated by the new conditions then obtaining in France, Sobrinho incriminated himself and

[44] *Livro de Escamoth* A, fol. 555; on the books of De Barrios, which were printed in Brussels in 1665–1680, see den Boer, *La literatura sefardí de Amsterdam*, pp. 352, 356, 357, 360, 361.

[45] *Livro de Escamoth* A, fol. 43.

[46] Ibid. In contrast, they punished David Aboab on 1 Shevat 5412 (11 January 1652). Next to his name it states that he came from Antwerp. Most probably prior to 1653, before Curiel and his group settled there, Antwerp was still considered a "land of idolatry." See ibid., fol. 317.

proved that he did not meet even the minimal conditions required of someone who went to France for a short time.[47]

It is no coincidence that specifically between 1644 and 1677 the four most important communities of the Western Sephardi diaspora passed regulations against traveling to "lands of idolatry." In those years the commercial activity between the centers of the Nation in Western Europe and the Iberian Peninsula reached a peak. The political changes that took place following the Peace of Münster in 1648 and the end of the war between Spain and Holland made a great contribution toward establishing the economic power of the Sephardi Jews in Amsterdam. The political and economic ties between Spain and the Dutch Republic grew stronger, and the Jewish merchants exploited their experience to fortify their position within the new commercial order. The involvement of members of the Nation in importing wool from northern Spain and precious metals from the colonies in South America increased greatly, and at the same time their part in the export of textiles from northwestern Europe to southern Spain also grew.[48]

However, not only the peace contributed to the increased economic weight of the Sephardi Jews, but also the uncompromising war declared by the Spanish Inquisition upon New Christians during the 1640s and 1650s. The renewed campaign against the New Christians caused hundreds of Jews to emigrate from Castile and return openly to Judaism.[49] Some of these refugees from the Inquisition were merchants and financiers of the first rank, who had played a key role in financing the activity of the Spanish Crown under Philip IV. However, in certain cases, the fall of Count-Duke Olivares and the economic crisis that struck Spain in 1646, no less than the acts of the Inquisition contributed to their decision to leave Madrid and Antwerp and join the Jewish communities in Western Europe. Among those who fled were the prominent bankers Diego Teixeira de Sampayo, who became Abraham Senior in Amsterdam, and the brothers Manuel and Rodrigo Alvares Pinto, who took the names Abraham and David de Pinto after returning to Judaism in Rotterdam. Another one was Tomás Rodriguez Pereyra, who changed his name to Abraham Israel Pereyra in Amsterdam.

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[47] Ibid., fol. 460.

[48] Israel, "Spain and the Dutch Sephardim," pp. 29–61; idem, "Some Further Data," pp. 7–19.

[49] H. Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London 1985), pp. 226–32.

Other wealthy financiers left the Spanish empire with them, including Antonio López Suasso, who came to be known as Isaac Israel Suasso as a Jew, and also several members of the Cortisos family, bankers of legendary wealth. Their adhesion to Judaism brought the influx of huge amounts of money to the finances of the Sephardi centers in Western Europe, making possible the expansion and deepening of the Nation's commercial activities.

At that time dozens of refugees from northeast Brazil arrived in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. They were fleeing from the Portuguese conquest of the Dutch colony of Pernambuco, which destroyed the Jewish community in Recife and put an end to the most important economic foothold in the New World of the Jews of Amsterdam. This crisis caused deep shock in the Sephardi diaspora, but at the same time it brought to Holland a group of very experienced people who sought alternative ways to continue their activity in the Caribbean region.

These events aroused enormous ferment within the Western Sephardi communities, who hoped to exploit the opportunity that had come their way with the renewal of relations between Holland and Spain. However, to do so they had to overcome the obstacles that had been placed before the activities of New Christians within the borders of Spain, after the Inquisition took a harder line.

In those years of great geographical mobility between Iberia and northwestern Europe and Italy, and of strengthening ties with Spain and Portugal, it was only natural that there was an increase in instances of travel to the "lands of idolatry," despite the risks this entailed. Not a few Sephardi Jews returned to Spain and were caught by the authorities and delivered into the arms of the Inquisition. One of the most dramatic episodes took place in the mid-1640s, when four Jews from Amsterdam, Jacob and Abraham Bueno and David and Moses Cohen, were captured by the Spanish, and all efforts to obtain their release were unsuccessful: Jacob Bueno took his own life in a Franciscan monastery in Andalusia, and the three others were baptized and spared. The *parnassim* of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam obtained the support of the regime in Holland, but in this affair, which took place shortly before the peace treaty was signed, the intervention was unsuccessful, and the prisoners were not released.[50]

[50] J. A. Cid, "Jacob Bueno, mártir: cuatro judíos portugueses ante la razón de Estado," *Sefarad* 47 (1987), pp. 283–99.

The situation did not change substantially even after 1648, although the Dutch government in the Hague began to demand of the Spanish Crown that the rights given to all Dutch subjects regarding commercial ties with Iberia should also be given to Jews. The Dutch demanded of the representatives of Madrid that Jewish merchants from their country should also be ensured the right to trade openly with Spain. Although they were willing to accept the condition that the Jewish merchants must act in Spain only through local agents, they still persisted in demanding that protection should be granted to those Jews who were constrained to anchor in Spanish ports because of storms or other accidents. The Spanish Crown was unwilling to compromise, and on 9 July 1650 Philip IV sent a stern letter to Antoine Brun, his ambassador in The Hague, in which he emphasized that the Jews "would not be granted the right to enter my port cities in cases of storm, because it is difficult to confirm the evidence presented in such instances."[51] On 17 July 1657, the Estates General in The Hague declared that "the members of the Jewish nation who live in these regions are faithful subjects and residents, and they are to enjoy the conditions, rights, and privileges that were ratified in the treaties of peace and commerce with Spain." However, this declaration changed nothing. The *parnassim* of the Amsterdam community did view it as a most important political achievement, but it could not help the Jews who found their way to Iberia and were caught by the Inquisition.[52]

It is against this background that one should also examine Baruch Spinoza's attitude toward Spain. In 1658, two years after his excommunication, and after he had completely severed all ties with the Jewish community, he met a Spanish captain named don Miguel Pérez de Maltranilla in Amsterdam. From testimony given by that man a year later to the Inquisition in Madrid, we learn that the young Spinoza told him on that occasion that "he had never seen Spain and wished to do so."[53]

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[51] Israel, "Spain and the Dutch Sephardim," pp. 33 ff.

[52] On the impression made by this declaration in the historical memory of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam see D. Franco Mendes, *Memorias do Establecimento e Progresso dos Judeos Portuguezes e Espanhoes nesta famosa cidade de Amsterdam*, ed. L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld in *StRos* 9 (1975), p. 63.

[53] I. S. Révah, *Spinoza et le Dr. Juan de Prado* (Paris and The Hague 1959), p. 68. The testimony was given on 9 August 1659. On the question as to whether Spinoza had ever been in Spain, he answered: "y que de la pregunta no save otra cosa mas de averle oido decir a el mismo que nunca havia visto a España y tenía deseo de berla."

Spinoza apparently retained a lively interest in Spain and its culture. Of the hundred and fifty-nine books that were found in his small library, seventeen were in Spanish, and these included the writings of some of the greatest authors of Spain in the early modern period, such as Francisco de Quevedo, Luis de Góngora, Miguel de Cervantes, Baltasar Gracián, Juan Pérez de Montalván. However, it is also remarkable that in this great philosopher's relatively small collection of books—where Greek and Roman classics predominated, along with books on philosophy and science, a selection of Christian theological works, and a few works in Judaica, one book stood out from all the others: Antoine de Brunel's *Voyage d'Espagne, curieux, historique et politique*, which was printed in The Hague in 1666. Brunel was a French traveler who toured Spain in 1651–1655 and described the places that he saw there at length.[54]

Spain is mentioned only once in Spinoza's work, at the end of the third chapter of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, which was first printed in 1670. Here is what he wrote:

> When the King of Spain formerly compelled the Jews to embrace the religion of his kingdom or else to go into exile, a considerable number of Jews accepted Catholicism. Now since all the privileges of native Spaniards were granted to those who embraced their religion, and they were then considered worthy of full civic rights, they were so speedily assimilated to the Spaniards that after a short while no trace of them was left, nor any remembrance.[55]

The tone of this surprising passage is entirely positive: the Jews of Spain assimilated completely and no trace of them was left, because the kings of Spain gave the descendants of the forced converts "full civic rights," in contrast to the *marranos* in Portugal, as is implied by the end of the passage:

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[54] On Spinoza's library see A. J. Van Rooijen, *Inventaire des livres formant la bibliothèque de Bénédict Spinoza* (The Hague and Paris 1988); A. K. Offenberg, "Spinoza's Library. The History of a Reconstruction," *Quaerendo* 3 (1973), pp. 309–22. On books in Spanish and about Spain in Spinoza's library, see Y. H. Yerushalmi, "Propos de Spinoza sur la survivance du peuple juif," in his *Sefardica. Essais sur l'histoire des juifs, des marranes et des nouveaux-chrétiens d'origine hispano-portugaise* (Paris 1988), esp. pp. 206–33. This article was first published in Hebrew in 1984 in the *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 6 (1984), pp. 171–213. On Brunel's book see B. and L. Bennassar, *Le voyage en Espagne. Anthologie des voyageurs français et francophones du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle* (Paris 1998), p. 1208; Yerushalmi, "Propos de Spinoza," p. 216.

[55] B. Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico Politicus* (Gebhardt Edition, 1925), trans. S. Shirley (Leiden 1988), pp. 99–100.

> But just the opposite fate befell those whom the King of Portugal compelled to embrace his country's religion. Although converted to this religion, they lived on their own, because the king declared them unworthy of civic rights.[56]

It should be pointed out that the comparison made by Spinoza between the state of the *marranos* in Spain and those in Portugal is completely erroneous. His optimistic and idealized description of the liberal attitude of the kings of Spain to the *marranos* was intended to prove that a solution to "the Jewish question" had been found there. According to Spinoza, the gentiles' hatred for the Jews is what keeps them in existence, and from the moment that Spain succeeded in removing that hatred for the *marranos*, and in abolishing discrimination against them, complete integration into Spanish society became possible.[57] While the excommunicated Spinoza was formulating his political philosophy regarding the separation of church and state, he purchased a copy of Brunel's book, and, through it, he traveled to Spain in his imagination, a place "he had never seen . . . and wished to do so."

At that very time, Dr. Juan de Prado, Spinoza's friend who was also excommunicated by the Sephardi Jews of Amsterdam a short time after Spinoza because of his heterodox views, tried to reach Spain in the most concrete way. Prado, who was born and grew up in Spain as a *marrano*, fled from there around 1650, when he sensed that the Spanish Inquisition was on his trail. After despairing of his isolation as a rootless immigrant in a foreign country, he turned to the tribunal of the Inquisition of the Canary Islands, requesting pardon for his transgressions against the Catholic religion and expressing remorse for having converted to Judaism and for his apostasy.[58] Unlike his friend Spinoza, he knew that the descendants of Jews did not enjoy "full civic rights" in Spain, and that the way back to the longed-for homeland necessarily passed through an Inquisition tribunal.

Nevertheless, in 1664 the Spanish Crown, which did not waver in its hostile attitude toward the Jews, was not deterred from appointing don Manuel de Belmonte, who was known as Isaac Nunes Belmonte in

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[56] Ibid., p. 100.

[57] Yerushalmi, "Propos de Spinoza," pp. 185–204; cf. Kaplan, *Judíos Nuevos en Amsterdam*, pp. 58–60.

[58] N. Muchnik, *Une Vie Marrane. Les pérégrinations de Juan de Prado dans l'Europe du XVII^e siècle* (Paris 2005), pp. 328–40; cf. Y. Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism. The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro* (Oxford 1989), p. 158.

the Sephardi community in Amsterdam, as its agent in Holland. Ten years later, after he had proven his loyalty and diplomatic skill, he was promoted to the post of *residente*, slightly below the rank of ambassador, and in 1693 the Spanish king gave him the title of baron. Earlier to be promoted to that title was Antonio López Suasso, mentioned above. In 1676 he received the barony of Avernas-le-Gras in the southern Netherlands from the ruler of Spain, Carlos II, because of the important financial services that he had provided.[59] Thus the relations between Spain and the Sephardi diaspora were more complex and intricate than is usually supposed, and one finds in them contradictions and surprises galore.

The severe policy of the leaders of the Sephardi communities regarding travel to Spain and Portugal was clearly contrary to the general economic interests of the Nation. The economic ties with Iberia, which often required Jewish merchants to travel there to promote their business, were the mainstay of these communities and the source of their political and social power. Under certain circumstances, the regulations against travel to "lands of idolatry" could have been an obstacle to advancing the interests of the Jewish merchants in northwestern Europe, whose international trade demanded direct contacts with their agents and partners in Iberia. However, on this delicate issue it appears that religious considerations outweighed all others, though in some instances, when the men involved were members of the economic elite, one gets the impression that the leaders held their peace and failed to respond with their ordinary vigor.

The communities of the Western Sephardi diaspora regarded travel to Catholic countries such as Spain and Portugal as an expression of blatant contempt for what they viewed as a supreme value: unswerving identification with Judaism and absolute separation from Christianity and its symbols and ceremonies. Anyone who went to the "lands of idolatry" was viewed as denying his Jewish identity of his own free will, without external compulsion or necessity. Indeed, the wording of the request for forgiveness recited by those who were compelled to mount the podium in Amsterdam was intended to emphasize the gravity with which the community regarded this transgression. The guilty parties

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[59] Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos en la España Moderna*, vol. 2, pp. 164–69; J. I. Israel, "Gregorio Leti (1631–1701) and the Dutch Sephardi Elite at the Close of the Seventeenth Century," in *Jewish History. Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky*, ed. A. Rapoport-Albert and S. J. Zipperstein (London 1988), pp. 271 ff.

had to mention that they had gone to the "lands of idolatry" and fallen into "great sins and transgressions," that "they had gone from Judaism to idolatry," "violated the Sabbath," "abandoned the Torah of God," and the like. Most of them were required to mention the "scandal" they had caused, and every case was regarded as a blow both to the Jewish integrity of the entire community and also to the good name of the man involved.[60]

The regulations of Amsterdam, Leghorn, and Hamburg were drafted during the peak years of commercial activity between Iberia and Western Europe, whereas that of London was drafted later. It is important to note that in London this regulation was included in the renewed basic regulations of 1677, indicating that the topic was a central one in the agenda of the young community that was having to cope with the embarrassing presence of Portuguese New Christians who had arrived in London with the retinue of Catherine of Braganza and showed little interest in joining the new Sephardi community.[61] The arrival of men such as Duarte da Silva, who was responsible for transporting the dowry of the princess, and Fernando Mendes da Costa and his son Alvaro, among the richest men of Lisbon at that time, created a Portuguese focus of attraction within the local Sephardi community. In some cases this was translated into full identification with the Portuguese homeland, with no positive Jewish affiliation.[62]

At that time some members of the Sephardi community in London still refused to be circumcised, and Rabbi Jacob Sasportas, who served as the *hakham* of the congregation in 1664–1665, waged a stubborn struggle against them, to prevent their entry into the synagogue. The refusal of the uncircumcised to submit to the rabbi's demands derived, among other things, from a desire not to obligate themselves to full identification with Judaism, and not to deny themselves the possibility

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[60] See for example *Livro de Escamoth* A, fols. 181, 182, 183, 184, 193, 210, 460, 465, 555, etc. It should be pointed out that in the three cases from the years 1746–1747 the formula of asking for pardon was shortened considerably, and the transgression was defined in terms of "a sojourn in a land of idolatry" ("com haver feito demora en terra de idolatria"). See GAA PA 334, no. 112, fols. 144, 149, 157.

[61] L. Wolf, "The Jewry of the Restoration 1660–1665," *TJHSE* 5 (1902–1905), p. 8.

[62] Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*, pp. 21 ff. Alvaro da Costa and his sons were mentioned in a group of uncircumcised Portuguese men in the list of the 414 Sephardi Jews in London compiled by a Jew from Amsterdam, Israel Zagache, between 1680 and 1684; see L. D. Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records* 1 (Oxford 1940), p. 19.

of returning to Spain and Portugal.[63] For example, in a letter written in 1663, Fernando Mendes da Costa expressed his unequivocal hope that when Portugal received political recognition by the Pope, it would change its policy toward New Christians and put an end to discrimination against them. "Eight or nine hundred people now in Castile and France, will go to that kingdom [Portugal], and many from the North here."[64] His words indicate that he would not deny the possibility that in the foreseeable future many Portuguese would return to their homeland, including not only New Christians from Spain and France, but also Sephardi Jews from London. His hopes were not realized, and his strong tie with Portugal was of no use to his wife, who was burned at the stake by the Inquisition in Lisbon three years later.[65]

Some members of the Nation in London continued to retain views of this kind even in the 1670s. The close connections between England and Portugal also encouraged some members of the Sha'ar Hashamayim community to visit their native country, despite the dangers involved in travel to the land of the Inquisition. However, unlike Amsterdam, the *parnassim* of London did not make a point of listing the names of those who were required to ask forgiveness from the podium of the synagogue. Perhaps they were not always so hasty to enforce the regulation against travel to the "lands of idolatry." For one reason or another, in the documents of the community there is no mention of concrete cases of travel to Iberia during the entire seventeenth century. In 1733 we find the first listing in the registry of the *Mahamad* in London of three transgressors who were punished and forced to repent "because they went from this city to Portugal after being circumcised."[66] In that year the community leadership again ratified the revised communal regula-

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[63] I. Tishbi, "New Information on the 'Converso' Community in London According to the Letters of Sasportas from 1664/1665" [in Hebrew], in *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People Presented to Professor Haim Beinart on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. A. Minsky et al. (Jerusalem 1988), pp. 476 ff.

[64] This letter was published by Wolf, "The Jews of the Restoration," pp. 130 ff. Wolf mistakenly concluded from it that Fernando da Costa was trying to organize the emigration of *marranos* from Spain and Portugal to Italy and England; cf. E. R. Samuel, "The First Fifty Years," in *Three Centuries of Anglo Jewish History*, ed. V. D. Lipman (London 1961), pp. 33 ff.

[65] E. R. Samuel, *The Portuguese Jewish Community in London (1656–1830)* (London 1992), p. 5, n. 6.

[66] *Livro do Mahamad* B, in the Archive of the Sephardi community of London, MS 24, fol. 79 a–b: on 27 Nissan 5493 (18 April 1733), Mosseh Rodrigues da Costa and David Orobio Furtado were forbidden to enter the synagogue, and on 29 Iyyar (13 May) Rafael Rodrigues Dias was also forbidden to do so.

tions, including the one forbidding travel to Spain and Portugal. The regulation was copied again in full.[67] In each of the following two years a similar case was noted.[68] These are the only five cases known to us in the history of the Sephardi Jews of London, and all five guilty parties went to Portugal. Perhaps the sensitivity of the community leadership was reawakened for a short time because of the economic flourishing of the Lusitanian kingdom in the middle years of the reign of João V, and the impression this made on some of the merchants of the Sephardi community of London.[69] The prosperity of Portugal might have attracted a stream of visitors and even returning emigrants, and the leadership of Sha'ar Hashamayim sought to prevent this phenomenon and to reduce the damage as much as possible.

The slight increase in the number of punishments during the last years of the seventeenth century, and especially in the beginning of the eighteenth century, may perhaps be interpreted as a result of changes that took place in Spain following the wars with France, and especially after the increased French intervention that led to the coronation of the duke of Anjou as the king of Spain. During the first days of Philip V's reign, especially during the rise of the Spanish statesman Melchor de Macanaz, discussions were apparently renewed regarding the establishment of a Jewish quarter in Madrid and granting permission for limited Jewish settlement in certain Spanish ports. Macanaz, who was known for his hostility toward the Inquisition (and who was even suspected of being of Jewish descent), was closely associated with the Carrillo family, wealthy New Christians who had connections at the royal court. These events might have aroused a new wave of returnees

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[67] *Escamot* 5493, in the Archive of the Sephardi community of London, MS 130, regulation 25, 6 Iyyar 5493 (21 April 1733). The only addition stated that the delinquent must repent in the manner that the *hakham* and the rabbinical court would impose upon him.

[68] *Livro do Mahamad* B, fols. 91b, 102a.

[69] On the reign of this ruler see Visconde de Carnaxide, *D. João V e o Brasil* (Lisbon 1952); H. V. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal* (Cambridge 1969), pp. 205–12. In Amsterdam, where no cases of requests for pardon were noted between 1725 and 1745, in 1732 the *parnassim* were aroused to investigate David, the son of Mosseh Salom, who was suspected of going to a forbidden country. They addressed the rabbinical court and asked it to discover whether firm proof had been found against him. The rabbis of the court decided, after discussing the case, that the suspect should not be prevented from attending synagogue, because no clear proof had been found that he indeed "had sinned in idolatry according to the rumor that was circulating." However, "if one day proof should be found that he did indeed do this, he will be required to mount to the pulpit."

to Spain, a wave that ceased following the final determined attack of the Inquisition against the remaining Judaizers, which took place between 1718 and 1725.[70]

"They are in the habit of traveling to Portugal to see their relatives." Thus testified Abraham López Raphael of Bayonne on 20 October 1745 before the Inquisition tribunal in Logroño regarding the Sephardi Jews of his community.[71] Thus even toward the mid-eighteenth century there were Sephardi Jews who continued to take the risk of traveling to Spain and Portugal while disguising their identity. One gets the impression that the main reason that impelled them to act that way was their desire to meet relatives among the *marranos*. The economic motive, which played such a central part among those who went to "lands of idolatry" during the seventeenth century, gradually lost importance toward the second third of the eighteenth century. Members of the economic elite of the Nation no longer played a leading rule in Iberian and colonial commerce and in trade between northwestern Europe and the American continent. The aggressive mercantilist policies of absolutist states such as Prussia, Sweden, Denmark-Norway, and Russia brought the collapse of the sugar refining and tobacco industries, which had earlier been concentrated largely in the hands of the Sephardi Jews of Amsterdam and had been nourished until then by the import of raw materials from the colonies in the New World and from trade with Spain, which retained its vitality until 1720.[72] Material ties with Spain lost their previous impetus, and the process of acculturation of the Sephardi Jews in the Western diaspora gradually distanced them from the culture of Spain and Portugal. The attraction of these countries decreased, and the concern of the *parnassim* and rabbis about travel by members of the Nation to the Iberian "lands of idolatry" became more moderate. Assimilation, which affected a considerable part of the Sephardi Jewish community, was expressed in waves of conversion in their countries of residence, especially Holland and England, but not

[70] M. Alpert, *Crypto-Judaism and the Spanish Inquisition* (Houndmills and New York 2001), pp. 154–57.

[71] C. Roth, "Les Marranes de Guyenne et l'Inquisition," *REJ* 92 (1932), pp. 164 ff., 171 ff.; G. Nahon, "Yshak de Acosta et David Silveyra. Mémoire rabbinique, mémoire politique de l'Espagne (1722–1790)," in *Mémoires juives d'Espagne et du Portugal*, ed. E. Benbassa (Paris 1966), p. 156.

[72] Israel, "The Economic Contribution," pp. 690 ff.

in travel back to Iberia.[73] The moral panic that struck the Sephardi communities in connection with travel to Spain and Portugal by scores of their members during the seventeenth century, and especially from 1644 to 1676, was still somewhat in evidence during the first third of the eighteenth century, but it died out completely from mid-century on. Similarly, the sacral character of the condemnation ceremonies and the requests for forgiveness—though they continued to be practiced in all the communities of the Nation—was somewhat diminished in the wake of secularization processes, and their principal meaning was now merely social.

Just one instance of someone begging for forgiveness for severing himself from Judaism in a voyage to foreign parts is listed in the community of Amsterdam on 16 Elul 5424 (13 September 1764). David Frois "asked to repent for what he had done [while absent from Amsterdam, Y.K.], and he was ordered to ask forgiveness from God and from this holy congregation and to mount the podium and to promise that he would observe precisely the atonement that our lord the *Hakham* would impose upon him."[74] However, David Frois had not returned from Spain or Portugal, but from India. It appears that, in the minds of the members of the Nation, the presence of Iberia and its attraction had ceased to perturb the leaders.

Nevertheless, in the Sephardi community of London they still saw fit to formulate an entire section on travel to the "lands of idolatry" in the revised regulations that were printed in 1784. The lawmakers again condemned those who went to Portugal and Spain (and, unusually, Portugal is mentioned first), because they "were required to keep the Christian religion, and that causes severe and clear damage to other members of our Nation who dwell there."[75] That is to say, not only did those who traveled to Iberia profane their own faith, but they also served as a negative example to members of the Nation who lived there. In response to their behavior the Iberian New Christians received the mistaken impression that there was nothing shameful about leading an openly Christian life or in squatting on the fence between Judaism and Christianity. Although those who revised the regulation repeated the

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[73] Israel, "The Economic Contribution," p. 692; T. M. Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History 1656–1945* (Bloomington 1990), pp. 9–33.

[74] GAA PA 334, no. 26, fol. 246.

[75] *Ascamot para o Governo de Congrega Saar-Ashamaim de Londres 5545* [London 1794], pp. 133–35, Chapter 21.

main features of the earlier one, against anyone who went to Iberia or "to any country and lives there openly as a Christian," several important differences are noticeable in the wording. The public forgiveness and repentance ceremony are still a compulsory condition for renewed acceptance in the community, but nothing is said about denying functions or honors in the synagogue. It appears that such things were no longer especially significant at a time when, in any event, a large portion of the community members avoided service in the *Mahamad* or in other communal offices, and the synagogue service had also lost its centrality for many. In contrast, the revised regulation states that the delinquents were to pay a monetary fine, depending upon their financial situation, not to exceed two hundred pounds sterling. Similarly it was emphasized that the delinquents who did not meet the stated conditions—meaning that they did not ask forgiveness and did not repent and did not pay the fine—would not be buried in the Sephardi cemetery and would be denied the customary funeral.[76] Those who revised the regulation were well acquainted with the souls of their flock, and they knew what sanctions would deter the members of the community: at a time when Jewish life was gradually being emptied of its traditional characteristics, most of the Sephardi Jews of London still wished to die and be buried as Jews.

[76] Ibid., p. 135, article 3: "e se morrer na sua contumacia, nam sera sepultado na carreira do nosso Enterro, nem o seu corpo será acompanhado pello Hazan da Hebra á sepultura." The authors of the regulation distinguished between delinquents who were born in Spain and Portugal and returned there and those who were born in countries where Judaism was tolerated. However, with respect to the punishments imposed on them, there was no difference. They saw fit to indicate that someone who argued in his defense that he had gone to forbidden places against his will and was constrained to act like a Christian there should bring conclusive proof of that. See ibid., pp. 134 ff., article 2.

MOSSEH PEREYRA DE PAIVA: AN AMSTERDAM PORTUGUESE JEWISH MERCHANT ABROAD IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Jonathan Schorsch

In this essay I explore a fascinating moment of Dutch Sephardi history and identity-formation, one linked to the increasing awareness of global Jewry in the wake of overseas European expansion as well as the rise of color-consciousness. In 1685, a merchant traveler, an upper-class Portuguese Jew born in Amsterdam, aged thirty-four years, set out for India to seek fortune and perhaps fame as a trader in diamonds. Before reaching Surat, his goal, the traveler visited, seemingly with premeditation, the Jewish community of Cochin—hitherto primarily known as an exotic locale in medieval travel tales and the provenance of lost tribes with possibly messianic powers. Cochin had been absorbed into Europe by the Portuguese some two centuries earlier and, only some twenty years earlier than this Sephardi adventurer's departure from Amsterdam, captured by the Dutch themselves—his thriving (but exiled) family's new hosts. He mailed a report of his visit to Cochin back to Amsterdam and paid to have it published. Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva, this young merchant, sailed into distant seas, in conceptual vessels that, though adaptive to external stimuli, were very much constructed at home. This is a study of the sailor and some of the oceans upon which he sailed.[1]

In the 1680s, we find certain Jews of Cochin, India, mostly of Sephardi extraction, defining themselves as White in contrast to other Jews of Cochin who are called Black.[2] This is about the same time that the

[1] This essay presents reworked material from J. Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (New York 2004), pp. 204–13. I make no pretense of covering all of the many interesting features of Pereyra de Paiva, his journey, or the Cochin community. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. I am grateful to Yosef Kaplan for his critical editorial aid.

[2] I have chosen to capitalize these terms to indicate their constructed nature, as well as to avoid having to use quotation marks each time.

term White became current in the English colony of Virginia.[3] The term's first use in a Virginia statute "to designate European-Americans as a social category occurred in 1691."[4] Of course, the trajectory and timing of the color-complex differed in each colonial situation, but it usually reflected a similar mix of clashing Europeans and dark natives, whose darkness turned the former from "Christians" to "Whites." Nancy Shoemaker thinks that Barbados, the first slave-dependent English colony, may have been "the first English colony to experience the transition in identity from 'Christian' to 'white.'" Meanwhile,

> the Dutch in New Netherland called themselves "Christian" for the duration of their control over the colony, and the English [there] continued with "Christian" until about the 1730s, when the term "white people" began to appear with more frequency. As in Barbados, black slavery seems to have caused the transition from "Christian" to "white."[5]

Similarly, in Cochin, though some local residents and European explorers had described various Jews as Black or White for some time, it was not until the seventeenth century that these became categories of social legislation (even of an informal nature) within the Jewish community itself. The use of these categories in Cochin indeed derived in part from Dutch Sephardi visitors.[6] Concerning the most important of these visitors from the perspective of this study, Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva, little is known for certain, other than that he visited the Jews of Cochin in November 1686 and authored a brief report of his brief experiences, *Notisias dos judeos de Cochim* [News of the Jews of Cochin].[7] An attempt at a biographical sketch appears as the Appendix.

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[3] W. D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Baltimore 1969), p. 97; T. W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, vol. 1: *Racial Oppression and Social Control* (London 1994), p. 261 n. 76.

[4] Allen, *Invention of the White Race*, vol. 1, p. 261 n. 76.

[5] N. Shoemaker, "How Indians Got to be Red," *American Historical Review* 102 (1997), p. 631.

[6] Much of what follows thus agrees with the conclusions of J. B. Segal, "White and Black Jews at Cochin, The Story of a Controversy," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1983), p. 232.

[7] Reprinted in modern times with an introduction by Moses Bensabat Amzalak, as Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva, *Notisias dos judeos de Cochim [1687]* (Lisbon 1923). Given that Pereyra de Paiva's *Relasão* (this is the title he gave his journal; ibid., p. 3) takes the form of a daily diary that mentions only five days—from 21 November to 26 November—I take it that he stayed only five days. The diary format is one recommended by Ramusian instruction guides for travelers with literary inclinations or aspirations (see J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800* [Chur, Switzerland 1995]). Pereyra de Paiva switched after a few days' entries to a thematic order, going through

The actual or legendary origins of the Malabar coast Jews is beyond the scope of this paper, but suffice to say that they were clearly established by the end of the first millenium.[8] There seems to be no doubt that there were indeed Jewish "chiefs" or "nobles" at Cranganore, though the town was abandoned for Cochin, some few miles away, between 1344, the first exodus, and 1565, when Jews left en masse.[9]

Of the medieval references to Jews in India, only one, that of Benjamin of Tudela, mentioned Black Jews.[10] Further, none of the early non-Jewish mentions of South Indian Jews (the Arab geographer Abû Sa'id al-Hassan, Ibn Wahab of Bassora, al-Idrisi, Ibn Battuta, Marco Polo, Oderic of Pordenone, John of Montecorvino, Muhammad b. Abi Talib al-Dimashqi, Pedro Alvarez) referred to skin color. The visit of the Yemenite poet Zacharia ben Sa'adia ben Jacob al Zahari (or al-Dahri) in the first half of the sixteenth century (J. B. Segal placed it at 1570)[11] produced no mention of color, though it was one of the earliest mentions of there being two distinct Jewish communities. The Yemenite poet concisely summed up what was to become (what already was?) a major bone of contention between the two communities. Although these "other congregations" were not called Black, they were here said to be descendants of Kushite and Canaanite slaves:

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a number of topics of interest. Perhaps in this, too, he was following the Aristotelian method, as advanced by Peter Ramus and later René Descartes, of beginning with the simple and moving toward the complex.

[8] In any case, the earliest Jews dwelled in places such as Cranganore (or Shingly), Palur, Madai, Calicut, Muttam (or Muttath), and perhaps other places on the Malabar coast. The concentration of Jews in and near Cochin came only after 1341, when a flood changed the shape of the coastline, silting up the once thriving port of Cranganore and opening Cochin as a major harbour for trade (see J. B. Segal, *A History of the Jews of Cochin* [London 1993]; D. G. Mandelbaum, "Social Stratification among the Jews of Cochin in India and in Israel," in *Jews in India*, ed. T. A. Timberg [Sahibabad, India 1986]).

[9] S. S. Koder, "Saga of the Jews of Cochin," in *Jews in India*, p. 137 n. 32. As noted above, a flood "created" the port town of Cochin in 1341. Cranganore was sacked by the Portuguese in 1504, by the Muslims in 1524 (who sought to oust the Jews and then the Portuguese), and again by the Portuguese in 1565/6 (N. Katz and E. S. Goldberg, *The Last Jews of Cochin: Jewish Identity in Hindu India* [Columbia, S.C. 1993], pp. 6, 64). For historical reference, the Portuguese arrived in India in 1498, the Dutch ousted them in 1663, and the British expelled the Dutch in 1797.

[10] Benjamin's description was quite positive. It is unlikely, however, that Benjamin visited the region himself. He probably merely reported information he had heard (Y. Levanon, *Jewish Travellers in the Twelfth Century* [Lanham, Md. 1980], p. 139), unless like other so-called "travel liars," he invented things when convenient.

[11] Segal, *History of the Jews of Cochin*, p. 23.

A congregation of Sephardim from the Jewish stock
With other congregations
But they are proselytes
And converted in earlier times
From the Kushites[12] and Canaanites
[They are] knowers of practice and law
And the laws of the Torah they acknowledge.[13]

Color crept in more frequently with direct European contact and conquest in the fifteenth century, in an effort to situate these "exotic" Jews.[14] A former Portuguese *converso* named Hayim Franco, possibly a member of Vasco da Gama's second expedition to India, related his experiences of the Jews in Cranganore to Yohanan Alemanno while visiting Mantua in 1503–1504. Franco stated that the Jews "are black and white, like the other Indians." Arthur Lesley, who discovered Franco's testimony in a manuscript note of Alemanno's, suggested that it "may mean as little as that the Jews were indistinguishable from other Indians in their appearance, or as much as that they, like other Indians, were divided among themselves according to color."[15] The Portuguese explorer Duarte Barbosa mentioned Jews at Cochin as "natives of the country" in 1516.[16] Already in the late 1550s Portuguese inquisitors in Goa who were investigating the activities of various New Christians with the Jewish community of Cochin, as well as some of

[12] Segal read this as "Cochinis" (ibid.).

[13] Cited in N. Bar-Giora, "Source Material for the History of the Relations between the White Jews and the Black Jews of Cochin" [in Hebrew], *Sefunot* 1 (1956), p. 247. The conflict between those alleged to be descendants of slaves (*lo* or *einan meyuhasin*) and other Jews in the community (*meyuhasin*) generated enough passion, and possibly violence, that a missive seeking a resolution was sent early in the sixteenth century to R. David ibn Zimra in Cairo and another around a century later to his successor. Again, though the issue of the disputed manumission of these slaves was raised, color was never mentioned (see Segal, "White and Black Jews," pp. 230–31; idem, *History of the Jews of Cochin*, pp. 24–25).

[14] This is not to say that the Blackness of the one group did not play a role in their contemptuous treatment by the other group. The visiting Yemenite poet also related the story of a Jew who had come from abroad and was betrothed to marry a woman whom he ultimately rejected because of her Blackness and her being a "despised slave woman" (Segal, "White and Black Jews," p. 233).

[15] A. M. Lesley, "Shingly in Cochin Jewish Memory and in Eyewitness Accounts," *Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies* 3 (2000), pp. 8, 17, 14.

[16] Segal, *History of the Jews of Cochin*, p. 107 n. 91. Shortly after the Portuguese arrival in India, Yitshak Abravanel mentioned reading a missive brought back from India by Portuguese mariners who saw many Jews there, along with a letter from one of their sages. Nowhere was skin color raised (Yitshak Abravanel, *Perush al ha-Torah* [Commentary on the Torah], 3 vols. [Jerusalem 1963], comm. to Jer. 3:18).

the New Christians themselves, described some of the Cochini Jews as "whites" and others as "blacks" [*pretos*] or "malabars."[17] Jan Huygen van Linschoten, a Dutch traveler visiting India in 1584, noted that the Jews outside of Cochin "are most white of color, like men of *Europa*, & haue many fair women."[18] Another Dutch traveler, Baldaeus, wrote that "In and around the city of Cochin live [...] also some Jews who even have a synagogue allowed them outside the fortifications; they are neither white nor brown, but quite black."[19] The Portuguese friar António de Gouveia, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, described the Jews of Malabar as "of the color of those of the land, excepting some whites of upper Cochin, who come from other parts, or sons of those who arrived from [elsewhere], & they are very ancient in Malabar."[20] Finally, Portuguese authorities in Goa employed terms of color to describe the differing Jewish communities. In 1636, the Viceroy of Goa wrote to the king of Portugal seeking a course of action regarding "the synagogues of the white and black Jews that the king of Cochin permitted in his territory."[21]

With the arrival of European residents and colonists, Jews as well as Christians, the categorization of black/white evidently became more useful in understanding and depicting the Cochin Jewish community. Certainly, in part, this development stemmed from the increasing color consciousness of these Europeans themselves. Perhaps the most prominent example of this growing usefulness can be found in Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva's, *Notisias dos judeos de Cochim*. In this slim travel report, Pereyra de Paiva provided a list of Cochin's Jewish householders, noting in front of some of them a "B" for "*branco*" [white].

About Pereyra de Paiva's biography much remains uncertain, though he came from one of the most prominent and wealthy families among the Amsterdam Sephardim.[22] According to the approbation by Rabbi

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[17] J. A. R. da Silva Tavim, "Os Judeus e a expansão portuguesa na Índia durante o século XVI. O exemplo de Isaac do Cairo: Espião, 'Língua' e 'Judeu de Cochim de Cima'," *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian* 33 (1994), pp. 189–90, 200.

[18] Iohn Huighen van Linschoten, *His Discourse of Voyages Unto Ye Easte & West Indies* (London: Iohn Wolfe, n.d. [1598]), p. 79.

[19] Cited in Segal, *History of the Jews of Cochin*, p. 29.

[20] Cited in Tavim, "Os Judeus e a expansão portuguesa na Índia," p. 152.

[21] Governo Geral do Estado da India, *Assentos do conselho do estado*, 5 vols., ed. Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar (Bastora, Goa 1953), vol. 2, p. 159 (doc. 45).

[22] See Appendix. We know from the frontispiece of the *Notisias* that Pereyra de Paiva paid for the text's publication, itself an indication of the financial resources at his disposal.

Isaac Aboab da Fonseca prefacing the *Notisias*, Pereyra de Paiva's report conveys an accurate and publishable ethnography of "our brother inhabitants" in the recently Dutch, Asian subcontinent.[23] Pereyra de Paiva left Amsterdam on 26 November 1685 and arrived in Cochin on 21 November 1686 (*Notisias*, 5). According to some scholars, the Amsterdam *parnassim* sent Pereyra de Paiva, with some other men, to India in order to investigate the Cochin Jewish community.[24] Nonetheless, I have found no evidence to support the assertion that Pereyra de Paiva came with a "delegation" bearing an official mandate from the *parnassim*. A Hebrew letter, *c.* 1787, from a member (members?) of the Paradesi or White Jews of Cochin to the Portuguese Jewish community in New York contained the following depiction:

> And in 1686 according to the Christians four people from Amsterdam came here to Cochin: Moses Pereyra, Isaac Orgas [Ergas?],[25] Abraham Burta, Isaac Mocat.[26] And they were Jews, Sephardim, merchants, and they saw all the places where Jews live, and they were glad, and wrote to Amsterdam all the matters and also the lack of books. And because they heard they sent from the Holy Community of Amsterdam a gift to the Holy Community of Cochin: humashim [Pentateuchs], mahzorim [Holiday prayerbooks], and the Shulhan Arukh, and some other books and the whole congregation rejoiced. And from that time we had friends in Amsterdam and we write to them and they bring books which we need until today.[27]

The ethnological gaze of the "developed" Jewish community intertwined from the start with philanthropy. The ethnological import of this first mission to this "exotic" Jewish community can be further gleaned from the twelve historical and thirty-five ritual questions put to the

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[23] From the approbation of Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, 9 Elul 5447 (1687), in Pereyra de Paiva, *Notisias*, p. 2. Hereafter, page references will be given in the text.

[24] Amzalak, "Introduction," *Notisias*, p. 17; S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York 1952–), vol. 18, p. 406.

[25] In his report, written in the second person plural, Pereyra named none of his companions. If Ergas is the correct name here, this traveler might be the son of the Amsterdam *parnas* David Hergas.

[26] Possibly the name Mocatta is meant here, of which there were families in Amsterdam and London. An Isaac Mocatta established a sugar refinery in Amsterdam in the late 1660s or early 1670s, a refinery that remained in the family's hands at least through 1710 (D. Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans: The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam* [London 2000], p. 154).

[27] G. A. Kohut, "Correspondence between the Jews of Malabar and New York a Century Ago," in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut*, ed. G. A. Kohut (Berlin 1897), p. 428.

community by Pereyra de Paiva, which he appended to the end of his report along with the rather laconic answers.[28] The "questionnaire" constituted one of the forms of surveillance developed by and in the early modern era, especially by ecclesiastical authorities.[29] Though today Pereyra de Paiva's report appears obscure, within twenty-five years of its publication no fewer than three Yiddish editions came out, one but a few days after the original Portuguese version.[30] Pereyra de Paiva's report presents a form of Jewish colonial travel literature, its wider dissemination curtailed probably only by the thinness of the text. Yet in the eighteenth century, the *Notisias* was cited by Tuvya ha-Cohen in a scientific treatise, and excerpted in Bernard Picart's well-known survey of world religions.[31]

Pereyra de Paiva's text constitutes a fascinating auto-ethnographic Jewish text. Auto-ethnographic texts, writes Mary Louise Pratt, are not "what are usually thought of as 'authentic' or autochthonous forms of self-representation," but rather involve "partial collaboration with and appropriation of the idioms of the conqueror." Often, "the idioms appropriated and transformed are those of travel and exploration writing, merged or infiltrated to varying degrees with indigenous

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[28] There is no proof that the Amsterdam *parnassim* or *hakhamim* knew in advance of Pereyra de Paiva's journey. His statement at the end of the questions implies that he concocted them in light of his exposure to the local customs and not in advance: "All these questions I put to them notwithstanding that they follow our *minhag*, because I am in favor of informing myself with a foundation in order to proceed securely" (*Notisias*, p. 15).

[29] See P. Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge 1987), chap. 4 ("The Bishop's Questions and the People's Religion"). Burke here treats the Italian Church's late seventeenth-century implementation of surveys that parish priests filled out about their parishioners. Church "visitors" to the "heathen" south of Italy compiled similar surveys on local popular religion and heresy. Questionnaires were used even earlier by the Spanish monarchs in their efforts to administer their American colonies.

[30] See L. and R. Fuks, "Jewish Historiography in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. S. Lieberman (Jerusalem 1975); Amzalak, in Pereyra de Paiva, *Notisias*, p. 19. The first Yiddish edition was Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva, *Kennis der yehudim fun Kushim o der Zeitung aus Indien* (Amsterdam: Uri Phoebus, 1687); a second edition was *Wahrhaftige Kantschaft oder Hidushin aus Ostindia* (1688); the first Yiddish edition was reissued in 1713. Mendes dos Remedios mentions a Spanish translation in the Montezinos/Ets Haim Library in Amsterdam, without dating its production (J. Mendes dos Remedios, *Os Judeus portugueses em Amsterdam* [Coimbra 1911], p. 112).

[31] Tuvya ha-Cohen, *Ma'ase Tuvya o Sefer ha-Olamot* (Venice: Bragadina 1707), p. 71b; Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et Costumes Religieuses de Tous les Peuples Du Monde* (Amsterdam: J. F. Bernard 1723), in the chapter on the Jews in China and Hindustan.

modes."[32] Of the genesis of Pereyra de Paiva's feelings, well in tune with his time, of "fraternal love [...] always, with living truth, to see for myself our brothers of Cochim," we know nothing (p. 3). Nonetheless, using the format of the travel report genre, he cast his gaze at these other Jews who, in his eyes, wavered between the categories of "same" and "different." The rites and ceremonies stood mostly parallel with "ours," those of western Sephardim, other than in a handful of cases, which Pereyra duly recorded, "more for reason of curiosity than importance" (p. 8).[33] Pereyra de Paiva captured a glimpse of these Indian Jews through a discourse more "scientific" than that which reported on the Lost Tribes for medieval readers. Though he indeed asked his informants "whether they have any notice of the 9 tribes" (p. 13)—nine because these Cochini Jews constitute the tenth?—these Cochinis presented a more complicated "modern" Jewish community than the mirage-inf(l)ected medieval "lost tribespeople." For one thing, Cochin boasted "eastern" Jews and "western" Jews, colonial Jews and Jews of the metropole.[34] Still, Pereyra de Paiva provided several indications of

[32] M. L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London/New York 1992), p. 7.

[33] Curiosity, of course, served as a driving force behind overseas expansion and travel and for the literary and information industries feeding off of them (Stagl, *History of Curiosity*). Travelers who sought adventure, exoticism, and distance frequently came from the ranks of the urban middle classes, such as did our author, often questing after a less humdrum existence and larger horizons. Additionally, most such travelers in this age of the expanding self desired, as did René Descartes, "to search for no knowledge other than what could be found within myself, or else in the great book of the world" ("Discourse on the Method for Conducting One's Reason Well and for Seeking the Truth in the Sciences," in *Discourse on Method and Meditations on First Philosophy*, trans. D. A. Cress, 4th ed. [Indianapolis 1998], p. 5). At the end of his list of the questions he put to the community (and its answers), Pereyra de Paiva apologized for subjecting his "brothers" to the instruments of the ethnographic speculum, that is, for doubting their kinship (see the passage quoted above, in n. 28).

[34] The mechanisms allowing Pereyra's look at the Cochin Jews formed his knowledge differently from the medieval "Prester John" model, a difference appearing in the *Notisias*. Pereyra's informants told him (in response to one of his questions) that they first got notice of the Amsterdam Sephardi congregation in the 1620s (p. 13), that is, when Dutch mercantile and colonial agents began to appear in India. His question marked a cognizance of the "simultaneity" then embodied in Dutch and English newspapers, with their bourgeoning nationalism and overseas extensions. In Pereyra de Paiva's report we see a Jewish nation looking at itself anew in a changing global diaspora (see B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* [London/New York 1991], pp. 187–92). Pereyra's question about whether or not the informant community had been well-treated by "the ministers of the Company," i.e. the Dutch East India Company, shows this newly-developing "simultaneity" as a kind of opportunity for minority counter-surveillance (p. 13).

their exoticism. "The women do not go out [of their houses], nor are seen in their homes," wrote Pereyra de Paiva (p. 7). The hosts presented a concert for the visitors, whose "harmonies were pleasing enough, even if it [the concert] was too long" (p. 4), a curiously restrained description given the florid language throughout the *Notisias*. Pereyra de Paiva evidently did not fully appreciate this "Indian" music.

One of the most significant elements of Pereyra de Paiva's construction of Cochini identity consisted of his detailing which community members were White. Here, then, is Pereyra de Paiva's list of the heads of families:

List of the Heads of Families

*B. H[aham]. R. Haim Belilia—his great grandfather from safet. (*c.* 1566)
B. David Levy Medulhar—his grandfather from Germany. (*c.* 1596)
B. Haim Belilia, teacher, scribe—his great grandfather from Alepo. (1566)
B. David Raby—from Alepo. (1646)
B. H. Hia Pinto—from Damascus. (d. in Cochin 1689)
Elia and David Castiel—his great, great, great grandfather from Castella (Spain). (*c.* 1566)
Jeuda and David Asquenazim—sons of the distinguished H. Mosseh Asquenaz
—his grandfather from Germany. (d. in Cochin 1646)
Semtob Castiel has retired to Paru by order of Batavia, owing to some unpleasantness he had with David Levy whose post he occupied before. (some branches of the family said to have come in 1511)
Mosseh Aleva—his grandfather from Alepo. (1606)
B. Joseph and Zacharias Zackay—descendants of the first families from Cranganore, their grandfather the distinguished H. Selomo Zackay.
B. Semuel Barrioti—his father and grandfather from Constantina. (1578)
David Belilia—his grandfather from Jerusalem. (1596)
B. Elia a Reuyaly (Reby) his great grandfather from Jerusalem and the first foreigner in Cochin. (*c.* 1566)
Ishac and Abraham Aleva—their grandfather from Alepo. (1596)
B. Sason Michael from the city of Xiras in Persia.

B. Joseph Susany (Guer [proselyte]) from Susan the capitol [Persia].
Aaron of Cranganore of the first families.
B. Isaque Toby from Berberia.
Mosseh and Meyr, from the seed of the [Cranganor?] royalty on the mother's side.
B. Joseph Asury from Babel
* N.B. the "B" denotes Whites (p. 6).[35]

Several conclusions can be tentatively drawn from this text. First, one should note that the community was "quite cosmopolitan."[36] The population included Jews from Germany, Spain, Damascus, Aleppo, Safed, Jerusalem, Turkey, Persia, Iraq, Berberia, etc. Interestingly, Pereyra de Paiva listed as White some Jews from Middle Eastern countries and North Africa, and left out some Jews from Germany and even Iberian lands! Jews derived from the families at Cranganore—and therefore earlier arrivals than those who seem to have fled the Iberian persecutions—were also called White. Second, it appears that non-White Jews also belonged to this Paradesi community (the name *Paradesi* means "foreigner," and refers to those who came from abroad to India, especially from the west). It is unclear whose "voice" the listing of Whites represents. Perhaps the listing was Pereyra de Paiva's concoction, or perhaps he was told by members of the Paradesi synagogue who was White and who not.

But questions regarding this list abound. Pereyra de Paiva's taxonomy does not correspond exactly to similar taxonomies said by the Frenchman François Pyrard de Laval—who was in South India around 1608—to have been used in the area by the reigning Portuguese. Pyrard de Laval described the social structure as follows:

> To the Portuguese the most esteemed are those who have come from Portugal and are called "Portuguese of Portugal," next are those born in India of Portuguese father and mother and called *castici*…; the least esteemed are the offspring of a Portuguese and an Indian parent and called *Metices*, that is *Metifs*, or mixed. Those born of a Portuguese father and a caffre or African *negro* mother are called *Mulestres* are held in like consideration with the *Metifs*.

[35] The parenthetical dates for the arrival of the ancestors in Cochin come from S. S. Koder, "Saga of the Jews of Cochin"; the asterisked note is Pereyra de Paiva's.
[36] Katz and Goldberg, *Last Jews of Cochin*, p. 92.

Not surprisingly, Pyrard de Laval related that the Portuguese

> will not that any Portuguese or other [European] should do any vile or dishonourable work, nor should beg his livelihood; they will rather maintain him to the best of their power. Insomuch that the greatest of them treat the lowliest with honour, and they infinitely prize the title "Portuguese of Portugal," calling such a one *Homo blanco* or white man, all the poor Indians they despise, as though they would trample them under their feet.[37]

Pereyra de Paiva's Whites should thus have corresponded with those born outside of India, to the "purely foreign-born" in the Portuguese scheme.[38] But if the dates of the families' arrival in India given by Koder are accurate, then some of those listed as Whites must have been born in India. "White" could indicate "of foreign extraction," as some of those listed were Sephardim and we know that the sixteenth-century Yemenite poet al-Zahari called the *meyuhasin* Jews "Sephardim," while in the seventeenth century the *meyuhasin* were known as "Majorcan" Jews.[39] Yet the list of Whites does not correspond to the "First Spanish Jews" (p. 8) who arrived in Cochin in the year 5373 (1513/14).[40]

J. B. Segal stated that the "White" heads of households designated those families that "had not acquired an Indian strain."[41] But this does not come across clearly in Pereyra de Paiva's account of the heads of the Paradesi households:

> All of these people are very well disposed, and by nature gentle, Great Jews, and *ba'alei* Torah, and Lesser Merchants could not puncture them, and by color they have become mulattos, which certainly proceeds from the climate, seeing that they are totally separated from the Malabars, […] that there is Great disgrace in marrying them [Here Pereyra de Paiva inserts a note in the margin: "They cite as a Reason that they are slaves of slaves, and that they are mixed with Canaanites, Converts and Muslims."], they do not eat from their butcher nor count them as one of the ten men needed for prayer, even though they observe in everything, all of them, the same rites and ceremonies as do the others (pp. 6–7).

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[37] Cited in Segal, *History of the Jews of Cochin*, p. 22.

[38] As suggested by Segal, *History of the Jews of Cochin*, p. 43.

[39] Segal, *History of the Jews of Cochin*, p. 42; Bar-Giora, "Source Material," p. 246.

[40] My reading of the list in the *Notisias* found corroboration in that of Tavim, "Os Judeus e a expansão portuguesa na Índia," pp. 194–97, which I received only after the preparation of my manuscript.

[41] Segal, "White and Black Jews," p. 237.

Phenotypically, even the Paradesi Jews were not White, as Pereyra de Paiva himself noted, though he was careful to ascribe their color to the accident of the "environment" and not to miscegenation with people who were dark "by nature." Visiting community leader David Raby (i.e. David Rahabi), Pereyra de Paiva was able "with great difficulty" to see his two daughters.[42] They were, he wrote, both "gentle, young, white and beautiful [*Alvas, e lindas*]" (p. 7). As explained above, the children would darken as they grow under the Indian sun. These were yet White, since the girls were young and the women in general never left their houses. Yet Whiteness often served as a trope that ironically had little to do with skin color; Pereyra de Paiva's list proves no exception. Pereyra de Paiva described *all* of the heads of households as having avoided intermarriage with the "Indian," Black Jews. Hence, again, we are left with the difficulty that some of these leaders were not listed as White.

Pereyra de Paiva's taxonomy fails to fully correspond to the Indian caste system or, at least, to such a system as it is usually understood.[43] For one thing, the complicated, historical unfolding of the caste structure leaves it uncertain whether caste meant very much in early colonial, southern India. During the seventeenth century, socio-political organization based itself increasingly—but loosely and hardly in a uniform fashion—on ties of blood and privileged, client-sponsor relations with elite lineages. The fractured multiplicity of urban merchants, priests, warrior groups, courtiers, etc., relied more and more on the asserted superiority of their groups over the rural peasantry and lower classes, but again, the notion of castes among Indian collectives, especially in the south, was probably still less systematic than that constructed by Portuguese colonists.[44] Even so, while many castes and sub-castes differed from one another in custom and habit, Pereyra de Paiva and others attested to the identical Judaisms of the two Jewish communities; only in economic focus and power did the two communities differ.

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[42] On the prominent merchant David Rahabi, who was not Sephardi, see B. Weinstein, "Jewish Pepper Traders of the Malabar Coast: The Rahabis," *Indo-Judaic Studies Journal* 5 (2002), pp. 40–54.

[43] The literature on Indian castes—the term derives from the Portuguese *casta*—is vast. See, among recent titles, S. Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age*, The New Cambridge History of India, pt. 4, vol. 3 (New York 1999); C. Smaje, *Natural Hierarchies: The Historical Sociology of Race and Caste* (Malden, Mass. 2000); R. Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford 1990).

[44] Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics*, chap. 1, esp. pp. 32, 35.

Ultimately, one has a circularly-defined sub-caste of "elite" Jews, despite the fact that even Pereyra de Paiva described the Jews from "the other side" of the river as equally wealthy. All evidence suggests that what distinguished the *meyuhasin* from the non-*meyuhasin* was that the former claimed "unquestioned Jewish status" and "attested lineage."[45] This is more than likely the (self-)articulation of their difference from the "other" Jews—who, they allege, "are slaves of Slaves, and are mixed with Canaanites, Gerim [converts] and Ishmaelites" (p. 7, sidebar note)—though even with this explanation one sees that yet another, different and not fully consistent distinction has been made between Whites and non-Whites. Pereyra de Paiva himself presented the already well-attested history of the Black Jews in a paragraph entitled "Their Origin." They

> proceeded from the fact that The Jews of Cranganore possessed Great prosperity and numbers of Slaves, and among them a Ba'al Torah, a Prime citizen and powerful, who taught Judaism to 25 of his [slaves], giving them liberty and a synagogue. Some time passed, the Masters of Cranganore, dying and becoming fewer, the slaves were annexed to them, increasing in the manner presently seen (p. 8).

It must be noted that nowhere does Pereyra de Paiva mention any halakhic impropriety. Improper or unclear manumission of these slaves could have provided a valid halakhic reason to object to their or their descendants' inclusion in community ritual life. Such charges indeed constituted a large part of the two queries sent from Cochin to Rabbi David ibn Zimra and his student, Rabbi Jacob Castro, in the sixteenth century.[46] Immediately following Pereyra de Paiva's brief history of the Malabar Jews, in the same section devoted to "Their Origin," comes a paragraph that completes the implied merism encompassing the community: "In the era of 1512. Arrived The First Spanish Jews at Cochin, in whose Place they Took Root, with their Synagogue, which today they keep very pretty, and of the size of that of London" (p. 8). Unlike the Malabaris, these Sephardi Jews warrant pleasing adjectives, possess civility, and their achievements can be compared with those of European Jews. In the sense that the Paradesi community represented a self-willed political assemblage of a subject-citizenry with particular

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[45] See Katz and Goldberg, *Last Jews of Cochin*, p. 133.

[46] The former was published from manuscript in A. Marx, "Contribution à l'histoire des Juifs de Cochin," *REJ* 89 (1930), pp. 297–301; the latter appears in Jacob Castro, *Ohalei Ya'akov* (Livorno 1783), responsum no. 99.

interests, which based its claims on genealogy (i.e. not having mixed with former slaves or converts), place of family origin (abroad, Cranganore), and skin color (White), we arrive at a general parallel to Indian castes.[47] In Pereyra de Paiva's list, one sees this self-representation reflected through the eyes of the Portuguese *sistema de castas*, though no apparent systemization of Pereyra de Paiva's list of Whites fully resolves the list's gaps and contradictions. Finally, it seems that the situation generated by freeing slaves and intermingling with them in Cochin struck Pereyra de Paiva as an intriguing parable; Amsterdam during the mid and late seventeenth century experienced its own troubles with Black servants and ex-slaves, who had been excluded by a series of communal ordinances from conversion or absorption into the congregation and from participation in certain aspects of its ritual life.[48]

Commercial ties and aspirations, often one of the defining factors in the differentiation of Indian urban groups, might have made a subjectively-defined affinity for Europe the most salient factor in attaining Whiteness. Pereyra de Paiva's designation of *branco* in his 1686 list of householders was hardly the first such usage regarding the Cochin community, since many descriptions by Europeans since the sixteenth century, especially those by Portuguese witnesses, employed the color schema of the *sistema de castas*. To some degree, however, Bar-Giora holds Pereyra de Paiva's usage to be the one that established the trend considering the Paradesi (foreign) Jews to be Whites.[49] More important than its possible primary status, though, is what it reveals concerning the turn to color or race in the distinctions being made between the two communities. Segal cites a 1676 letter to Amsterdam from the Paradesi Jew David Rahabi, whom Pereyra de Paiva visited in Cochin, reporting that the majority of Jews in Cochin were "black like Ethiopians except

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[47] See Inden, *Imagining India*, pp. 217–28, 239–44; Smaje, *Natural Hierarchies*, p. 181. One author who read the behavior of the Paradesi Jews as "accept[ing] the Indian mode of social stratification" is D. G. Mandelbaum, "Caste and Community among the Jews of Cochin in India and Israel," in *Caste Among Non-Hindus in India*, ed. H. Singh (New Delhi 1977), pp. 107–40.

[48] Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World*, chaps. 7–8. In a similar manner, local concerns in Amsterdam led Pereyra de Paiva to ascertain whether the Cochinis have knowledge of Shabbetai Zevi (pp. 9, 13).

[49] Bar-Giora, "Source Material," p. 247. Elsewhere Bar-Giora writes that it was another Dutch immigrant, Moshe Sargon (Surgun?), who came to Cochin shortly after Pereyra, who first used the term "Blacks" as a derogatory epithet for the local Jews who were not *meyuhasin* (Bar-Giora, "Source Material," p. 249). Unfortunately and disappointingly, Bar-Giora fails to produce any documentation.

for some twenty-five families who are of white or whitish complexion, *some of them eager to claim European descent*."[50] Linschoten's full comments on the Jews outside of Cochin reiterated the connection between Whiteness and Europe: "they are most white of color, like men of *Europa*, & haue many fair women. There are manie of them that came out of the country of *Palestina* & *Ierusalem* thether, and speake ouer all the Exchange verie perfect and good *Spanish*."[51] Rahabi's above-mentioned letter may very well have provided the impetus for the Indian voyage of Pereyra de Paiva and his colleagues. Yet another letter (or a Portuguese translation of it) from the same year, 1676, authored by the Cochini Jews Venbeniste Hain Belilho and Mosseh Asquenazi, can be found in the incoming correspondence of the Amsterdam *parnassim*.[52] This second letter made no mention of the two Cochin communities or any conflict, but did allude lamentingly to the absence of direct contact with the Dutch Sephardim, something Pereyra de Paiva also raised in the *Notisias* (p. 4).

Earlier commercial partnerships between Cochini Jewish merchants and Portuguese *conversos* in Cochin had not withstood the growing inquisitorial persecution within Portuguese society in India, nor did Jewish commerce in general succeed in staving off Portuguese competition.[53] The timing of Pereyra de Paiva's journey may thus have had something to do with the changing face of commerce in colonial India. After the Dutch conquest of 1663, Jewish merchants were again able to take advantage of commercial opportunities. Indeed, it was the Rahabi family, who arrived in Cochin only in the late 1640s, that

[50] My emphasis; Segal, *History of the Jews of Cochin*, pp. 53–54.

[51] Linschoten, *Discourse of Voyages*, p. 79.

[52] GAA PA 334, no. 66, unbound items; CAHJP microfilm HM2 1565a, no pagination.

[53] Some of these are described in J. A. R. da Silva Tavim, "From Setúbal to the Sublime Porte: The Wanderings of Jácome de Olivares, New Christian and Merchant of Cochin (1540–1571)," in *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco da Gama*, ed. S. Subrahmanyam (New Delhi 1995), pp. 94–134. In the early seventeenth century, Samuel Castiel, an influential merchant and relative of the Castiels' listed by Pereyra de Paiva, served the ruler of Cochin as interpreter to the Portuguese, while according to various testimonies to the Goa Inquisition, "the Jews of India" had sent letters to Yosef Nassi (alias João Miguez or Micas) in Constantinople (Tavim, "From Setúbal," pp. 118, 120). In a culmination of anti-Jewish sentiment based on commercial competition, Castiel was murdered by Portuguese residents in 1643; see S. Subrahmanyam, "Cochin in Decline, 1600–1650: Myth and Manipulation in the *Estado da Índia*," in *Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)*, ed. R. Ptak (Stuttgart 1987), p. 82.

soon dominated the local mercantile landscape.[54] In the early 1680s the Dutch East India Company attempted to bolster trade of pepper and other commodities at Cochin, which at the time stood as the sole recognized point of export for pepper, providing passes to Malabar—as of 1683—only to Cochini merchants. The same years saw the Dutch grudgingly accepting the end of the monopoly system, as far as pepper was concerned.[55] Meanwhile, the English East India Company was making efforts to manage its own monopoly of the diamond trade from India. In the 1680s, Jewish Sephardi agents first received permission from the company to operate at Madras, and then, under Dutch protection, in Surat.[56] Among these agents was a possible relative of Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva's, Jaques (or Isaque or James) de Paiva (or de Paiba), who in 1684 was permitted to go to Madras to trade in diamonds. Perhaps, ultimately, Pereyra de Paiva's "codification" of White Jews in Cochin reflected the need in Sephardi Amsterdam and London for trustworthy kin with whom to trade in India. His entire venture to Cochin and his conveyance of White Jewish potential trading partners may even have been part of an attempt to strengthen his own position in the India trade. Perhaps for this reason Pereyra de Paiva began his text with an "Account of the Affectionate Reception we experienced among our Brothers The Inhabitants of upper Cochin" (p. 3; this is his actual title for the whole text), repeatedly emphasized in the *Notisias* the Mallorcan origins of the community and the date of the arrival of "the first Sephardim," the year 1512 (p. 8), and stated allusively that the Cochinis' welcome of these Dutch visitors was such "that I assure Your Graces [his report was addressed to the Sephardi community's *parnassim* in Amsterdam] Sirs Brothers that were the King Messiah to enter through the door it could not have been done Better" (p. 4). Already in 1676 Pereyra de Paiva's uncle, Mosseh, had become a partner along with another uncle, Aron Pereyra, in a consortium of Amsterdam jewel buyers. If the historian Edgar Roy Samuel is correct in his assertion that our Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva operated as a jewel trader in Surat

[54] Subrahmanyam, "Cochin in Decline," pp. 84–85.

[55] H. K. s'Jacob, *The Rajas of Cochin, 1663–1720: Kings, Chiefs and the Dutch East India Company* (New Delhi 2000), pp. 61–64, 88.

[56] G. Yogev, *Diamonds and Coral: Anglo-Dutch Jews and Eighteenth-Century Trade* (Leicester/New York 1978), p. 37; E. R. Samuel, "Diamonds and Pieces of Eight: How Stuart England Won the Rough-Diamond Trade," *Jewish Historical Studies* 38 (2003), p. 32; W. J. Fischel, "The Jewish Merchant Pedro Pereyra in Surat" [in Hebrew], *Sefunot* 9 (1965), pp. 249–62.

under the name Pedro Pereyra, then he did so just after his Cochin adventure, during the late 1680s and early 1690s. Citing among other evidence James or Jacques de Paiva's published will, which mentioned "my Couzin Moses who goes with us to the Indyes," Samuel believes this Moses to be our Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva.[57]

The color-coded list of householders produced by Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva appeared amid a series of statements articulating anew the difference between the two Cochin communities, between two kinds of Jews ("color" vs. "status"), through the lens of an imported local situation (race and color as understood in various European metropoles). The distance between Rahabi's 1676 letter (the vague "white or whitish complexion," *their* unauthorized claim to Whiteness) and the list of Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva (with the categorical fixity of its bureaucratic marker "B" and its legitimizing repetition of Paradesi claims of European status) points to the transformation of this communal conflict under the gravitational pull of European empire and Sephardi international commerce. For some Sephardi Jews in India, the Netherlands, and elsewhere, European Whiteness seemed imperative.

Appendix: Toward a Biographical Sketch of Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva

Our author, Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva, is almost certainly the alias of jewel merchant Pedro Pereyra. Edgar Roy Samuel first suggests this connection, which, if true, means that our author operated as an agent at the Dutch East India Company factory at Surat, India, trading jewels with/for the Amsterdam firm of Athias and Levy in the late 1680s and 1690s.[58] Already in 1676, Pereyra de Paiva's uncles, Mosseh and Aron Pereyra, both active Amsterdam merchant jewelers, became partners in

[57] See Appendix; personal communication (Nov. 2004). I am grateful to Mr. Samuel for kindly alerting me to this reference. Throughout, I have seen Pereyra de Paiva and/or Pedro Pereyra through the lens of recent analyses of seventeenth-century merchant capitalism such as M. Nerlich, *Ideology of Adventure: Studies in Modern Consciousness, 1100–1750*, vol. 1 (Minneapolis 1987); J. Adams, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca 2005).

[58] E. R. Samuel, "Manuel Levy Duarte (1631–1714): An Amsterdam Merchant Jeweller and His Trade with London," *TJHSE* 27 (1978/1980), p. 28, n. 101. I have not had a chance yet to systematically retread the relevant archival sources, as I stumbled onto Pereyra de Paiva backwards, as it were, in the course of a project on Black-Jewish relations. I am therefore all the more grateful to Mr. Samuel for generously sharing with me his knowledge of the archival materials on which I rely.

a consortium of Amsterdam jewel buyers.[59] His father, Jacob Pereyra, an army contractor, was "a regular trader in jewelry."[60] Mosseh/Pedro's brother Isaac was an army contractor like their prominent and wealthy father, Jacob.[61] Jacques de Paiva, a London trader in diamonds, went to India to buy rough jewels for the Antonio Rodrigues Marques syndicate; he mentioned in his 1685 last will and testament, "my Couzin Moses who goes with us to the Indyes."[62] Samuel believes this to be a reference to Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva. The same will shows that Mosseh left for the Indies while still a bachelor, since De Paiva stated that, in the event that no family survives him, he bequeaths his remaining goods to one Mariana Gonsales, if her father would permit her to marry "my Couzin Moses." In the *Notisias*, it should be noted, Pereyra de Paiva made no

[59] The two Pereyras shouldered one third of the partnership's joint account, another third going to Jacob and Selomoh de Lima, and the final third to the firm of Athias and Levy (Buyers' Cartel Agreement, 2 Aug. 1676, cited in Samuel, "Manuel Levy Duarte," p. 29 [Appendix 2]); Fischel, "The Jewish Merchant Pedro Pereyra in Surat," p. 251.

[60] Samuel, "Manuel Levy Duarte," p. 28, n. 120; GAA PA 334/858/79, 589.

[61] According to D. S. Katz, *Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (Oxford 1994), p. 158, Jacob Pereyra "dispatched his relative Isaac Pereyra" to England "to look after the firm's interests there." A letter from the English ambassador to the Moghul king, Sir William Norris, whom Pedro Pereyra greeted with ceremony and honor when the former arrived in Surat in 1700, mentioned that "A brother of [Pereyra's] in London is a particular friend and an acquaintance of mine who I suppose had written to him to offer his service and show me all meane of respect" (quoted, in English, in Fischel, "Jewish Merchant Pedro Pereyra in Surat," p. 259). This would seem to refer to Pereyra's brother Isaac. According to Swetschinski, an Isaac and an Abraham Pereyra handled English and Irish operations for Machado & Pereyra (*Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, p. 139).

[62] See also Samuel, "Diamonds and Pieces of Eight," p. 32. De Paiva's will was published in C. Roth, *Anglo-Jewish Letters, 1158–1917* (London 1938), pp. 78–80. According to Richard Barnett, De Paiva came from Portugal in 1675 with his brother Abraham de Paiba (R. D. Barnett [ed.], *The Circumcision Register of Isaac and Abraham de Paiba [1715–1775] from the Manuscript Record Preserved in the Archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation of London Named* Sahar Asamaim, *Together with a Supplement Including A Record of Circumcisions 1679–99, Marriages 1679–89 and Some Female Births 1679–99 Compiled by Miriam Rodrigues-Pereyra*, vol. 4 of *Bevis Marks Records* [London 1991], p. 7). Also in 1675, according to Barnett, Isaque emigrated from London with his second wife, Jeronima, and his servants to Fort St. George (Madras) where he traded in diamonds in partnership with Abraham do Porto. Isaque died in 1687 on a visit to the diamond mines of Golconda, central India (ibid., pp. 7, 10). His will was written in 1685, the year before Pereyra de Paiva reached Cochin, and indicates that Jacques is about to leave for the Indies; hence either Barnett is wrong about an earlier stay at Madras or Jacques had already returned to England. According to Barnett and Samuel, James de Paiva's Jewish name was Moses Zagache. His father was Diego Nieto de Paiva. Samuel confessed to me that he does not know exactly how De Paiva/Zagache was related to Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva's mother, Ribca de Paiva (personal communication, November 2004).

mention of Surat. He did compare one of Cochin's synagogues to that of London, which I take to mean that he had been there.

In Surat, according to the Samuel hypothesis, Pedro/Mosseh traded in rough and prepared jewels with two other Portuguese Jewish partners, Antonio do Porto and Fernão Mendes Henriques. The latter's Hebrew name, according to Edgar Samuel, was none other than Isaac Ergas, a conclusive link between Pereyra de Paiva's party in Cochin and his colleagues in Surat.[63] In one of Antonio Gomes Serra's unpublished letters of 1685 to Manuel Levy Duarte (in Amsterdam), an officer of the firm Athias and Levy with whom Pedro Pereyra and his partners were trading jewels, Serra expressed his horror that Pedro should have left for India without asking for his father's blessing.[64] Letters to Pedro/Mosseh in India from Manuel Levy Duarte show that some dispute broke up the partnership between Pereyra, Do Porto, and Mendes.[65] In the letters, Levy Duarte made clear that business would continue with Pereyra, the other two partners having been relieved of their duties.[66]

Walter Fischel is the first scholar to provide a biography of Pedro Pereyra, as far as I know, in a piece in *Sefunot* in 1965.[67] Fischel writes unaware of the shared identity of Pedro, the jewel merchant, and Mosseh, the visitor to Cochin and author of the *Notisias*. Instead, Fischel, who often does not explicitly identify his sources, understands Pedro and Mosseh to be brothers. Nonetheless, his (earlier) piece corroborates much of what Samuel maintains: Pereyra was born in Amsterdam

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[63] Personal communication, December 2005.

[64] E. R. Samuel, personal communication, December 2005; letter of 22 December 1685 or 1 January 1686 (GAA 677/598). In the letter, Serra used Pedro's Jewish name, Mosseh, making it literally the only piece of evidence definitively marking Mosseh and Pedro as the same man (again, the *Notisias* never mentions Surat or jewel trading, while the Pedro Pereyra correspondence in the archives never mentions Mosseh or Cochin).

[65] Fischel, "Jewish Merchant Pedro Pereyra in Surat," relates the details of their careers as far as is known from the spotty archival record. In one place Samuel writes that there was "a dispute between do Porto and Pereyra" (Samuel, "Manuel Levy Duarte," p. 23), elsewhere that the three partners in Surat "quarrelled with each other" ("Diamonds and Pieces of Eight," p. 35). Antonio do Porto was the brother of the Domingo do Porto (alias Abraham do Porto) who had worked in Madras with James/Jacques/Isaque de Paiva (Samuel, "Diamonds and Pieces of Eight," p. 32).

[66] Letters of 3 January 1692, Manuel Levy Duarte, Kopieboek van uitgaande stukken, 1691–1707, GAA PA 334, no. 683, fol. 13; CAHJP microfilm HM2 2078–2079, no pagination. According to Samuel, "Manuel Levy Duarte," Athias and Levy ceased operations in 1690.

[67] Fischel, "The Jewish Merchant Pedro Pereyra in Surat," p. 251. Samuel writes unaware of Fischel's piece.

around 1652 (a 1690 certificate gives his age as thirty-eight years); his father was Jacob Pereyra, respected diamond merchant in Amsterdam; Pedro had three brothers, Abraham and Mosseh in Amsterdam, and Aron (also known as Francis Pereyra) in London. In addition, half of Pedro's fortune belonged to his *brother* Aron.[68]

Fischel states that Pereyra left Amsterdam for the Indies in February of 1686 (according to another source, he left in September of that year) and reached Surat at the end of 1686 (according to another source, on 7 January 1687). These dates obviously differ from those offered in the *Notisias*. News of his arrival in India spread rapidly among European jewel traders because of his stature (or because he posed a competitive threat?). In Surat, his Portuguese Jewish partners and he, and later he alone, acted as independent agents, trading with a variety of clients. Fischel writes that Pedro Pereyra was last heard from in 1721 and died in Surat the next year.[69]

Fischel finds some wonderful material in the letters that were exchanged between Europe and India, which paint Pereyra as a proud Jew and Dutchman who was conscious of his class and who presented himself as a pure-blooded Iberian. About one Dutch officer, who insulted him with an anti-Semitic epithet, Pereyra wrote: "He enjoys calling me 'the Jew' or 'the Sheeny Pereyra,' as if he knew neither me nor my family. I paid him back in kind, to show him that I was born to parents whose blood is unable to suffer such things. I have the honor to trade and do business with several of our rulers and kings and they always call me Pereyra."[70]

It was Pedro Pereyra who explained to Sir William Norris, the new English Ambassador to the Moghul king, what to expect and how to behave at the court: "the rules of etiquette" and "the ceremony for greeting guests," that "one does not remove one's hat when approaching the King," and that no one, not even the king's son, sits when the king stands.[71] From other incidents that Norris recounted in his diary, it is clear that Pereyra was a skilled translator, knowing at least enough to

[68] It is implied in Fischel's text that this information derives from a will or from a 1721 letter in the Dutch archives on Surat in which Pedro Pereyra asked a fellow Portuguese merchant to deliver nearly 40,000 rupees to Abraham Pereyra, whom Fischel holds to be Pedro's brother, along with Mosseh of Amsterdam and Francis of London ("Jewish Merchant Pedro Pereyra in Surat," p. 261).

[69] Fischel, "Jewish Merchant Pedro Pereyra," pp. 253, 261.

[70] Ibid., p. 258.

[71] Fischel, "Jewish Merchant Pedro Pereyra in Surat," p. 259.

avoid insulting the king.[72] All this might reflect an ethnographic interest on Pereyra's part, but it could as easily have been knowledge gathered in the interest of personal and commercial survival.

Portuguese scholar Moses Bensabat Amzalak, who reprinted Pereyra de Paiva's *Notisias* in 1923, with a bio-bibliographic introduction that he penned, seems not to have been aware at all of the existence of Pedro Pereyra.[73]

According to David Franco Mendes, Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva published the *Azharot* of the Yemenite Elias Adeni, which were sent from India by Moses Levy Belilio and printed in Amsterdam in 1688 by Uri Phoebus.[74] This Belilio was probably the same *hakham* Belilia met by Pereyra on the first page of his *Notisias*, the publication of the *azharot* likely an outcome of Pereyra de Paiva's visit itself. The Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva who wrote the *Notisias* clearly knew some Hebrew (it appears here and there, mostly in the guise of technical ritual terms) and evinced therein a fairly intimate knowledge of Judaism as a lived religion. Given the Sabbatian inclinations of his grandfather, Abraham Pereyra (and of his father, Jacob?), it is interesting to find Pereyra de Paiva, when he related that the Cochinis knew nothing about Shabbetai Zevi, waxing enthusiastic over the possibility that Shabbetai Zevi remained alive (p. 9).[75] In addition, Pereyra de Paiva noted that the Cochinis lacked the mystical work *Reshit Hochma* (p. 13) of Elijah de Vidas—an odd appearance alongside the Babylonian Talmud, "which they have only in fragments," and the midrashic anthologies *Yalkut*

[72] Ibid. The king would probably have spoken Farsi, not Gujarati, though Portuguese frequently served as the language of negotiation in Asian courts when Europeans were involved.

[73] Amzalak, "As 'Notisias dos judeos de Cochim mandadas por Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva'," *Notisias*, pp. 9–19.

[74] David Franco Mendes, "Memórias do estabelecimento e progresso dos judeus portugueses e espanhóis nesta famosa cidade de Amsterdam (Amsterdam 1769)," published with introduction and notes by L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfield, *StRos* 9 (1975), pp. 93–94.

[75] He called Zevi a "fidalgo," or gentleman, and hoped that "all the past," i.e. news of Zevi's forced conversion to Islam, "be the birth-pangs of the messiah [*Heble Massiah*]." On Abraham Pereyra and Shabbetai Zevi, see G. Scholem, *Shabbetai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626–1676* (Princeton 1973), pp. 219, 358, 529–30, 755, 760–61, 888 n. 163, 893; Y. Kaplan, *From New Christians to New Jews* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 2003), pp. 237, 245; idem, "Abraham Israel Pereya's Embarrassment of Riches" [in Hebrew], in *Religion and Economy: Connections and Interactions*, ed. M. Ben-Sasson (Jerusalem 1995), pp. 233–51.

Shim'oni and *Yalkut Re'weni*!, but one that testifies to Pereyra de Paiva's spiritual inclinations or heritage.

Mosseh/Pedro was the son of the prominent army contractor Jacob Pereyra of The Hague, and hence grandson of the Spanish-born Abraham Pereyra (also written as Pereyra, or Abraham Israel Pereyra or Thomás Rodríguez; he died in 1699), an extraordinarily wealthy leader of the Amsterdam community, writer of a number of ethical works in Spanish, founder of *yeshivot* in Amsterdam (1656) and Hebron (1659), and devotee of Shabbetai Zevi.[76] Pereyra, of Portuguese parents, fled Madrid and, apparently, the Inquisition, for Amsterdam. He arrived in 1646 and established a sugar refinery in 1655 or 1656 with his brother Isaac, also an Amsterdam resident, which they sold to a Dutchman in 1664 for over 45,000 guilders. According to Jonathan Israel, Abraham Pereyra came to Amsterdam bringing "important trading connections with [...] the Caribbean."[77] In Spain he had been a wool exporter and *asentista*, that is, he held contracts with the monarchy, usually monopolistic, to collect taxes, import/export slaves, market wool, or the like.[78]

Jacob Pereyra (Mosseh's father) was born in 1629 in Madrid, and in 1651 married Ribca de Paiva (b. 1631, Seville).[79] He furbished supplies to various armies and provided banking services through his firm, Machado & Pereyra.[80] Jacob Pereyra's partner, Antonio Alvares Machado, owned a plantation in Surinam and financed the business

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[76] On Pereyra, see H. Méchoulan, "Abraham Pereyra: esbozo bio-bibliográfico," in *Hispanidad y judaísmo en tiempos de Espinoza: estudio y edición anotada de* La Certeza del Camino *de Abraham Pereyra* (Salamanca 1987), pp. 49–54; Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, pp. 136, 211, 215 n. 170, 276, 279–80. In his moral works, Abraham Pereyra made extensive use of the Zohar-based book of De Vidas, *Reshit Hochma*, which had appeared in Spanish in Amsterdam in 1633 (Méchoulan, "Abraham Pereyra," pp. 72–73); hence perhaps its mention by Pereyra de Paiva.

[77] J. I. Israel, "Menasseh Ben Israel and the Dutch Sephardic Colonization Movement of the Mid-Seventeenth Century (1645–1657)," in *Menasseh Ben Israel and His World*, ed. Y. Kaplan, H. Méchoulan, and R. H. Popkin (Leiden 1989), p. 145.

[78] Idem, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden 2002), p. 230; see also p. 234.

[79] D. Verdooner and H. Snel, *Trouwen in mokum = Jewish Marriage in Amsterdam, 1598–1811* ('s-Grevenhage [1991]), vol. 1, p. 37; Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, pp. 15–17, 193, 207.

[80] D. M. Swetschinski, "The Portuguese Jewish Merchants of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: A Social Profile," (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1979), pp. 281–85; idem, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, pp. 138–40.

ventures of Curaçaon settler Manuel Alvares Correa, which included slave trading.[81]

The definitive identification of Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva and Pedro Pereyra as one man constitutes an exciting advance in our knowledge of the Amsterdam Sephardim of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Adding the documentation of the *Notisias dos judeos de Cochim* and its author to the paper trail of jewel merchant Pedro Pereyra yields a fairly rich life-portrait of a fascinating cultural ambassador. An ambitious, adventure-seeking, and perhaps headstrong young man from one of Sephardi Amsterdam's most successful bourgeois clans managed to become an amateur ethnographer and travel writer, as well as a scrappy, dignified, seemingly independent jewel merchant in far-off India. Mosseh/Pedro never returned from "the Indies," symbolizing, perhaps, the numerous questions remaining about this life known to us only in fragments. The report he wrote regarding the Jews of Cochin and the various documents concerning him in the archives enable us, in turn, to continue to discover new things about the lives and world that produced Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva/Pedro Pereyra and his colonial looking glass.

[81] D. M. Swetschinski, "Conflict and Opportunity in 'Europe's Other Sea': The Adventure of Caribbean Jewish Settlement," *American Jewish History* 72:2 (1982), p. 239.

AMSTERDAM AS "LOCUS" OF IBERIAN PRINTING IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Harm den Boer

Introduction

The Netherlands, and particularly Amsterdam, was rightly reputed as the center of Jewish book printing almost from the moment Menasseh ben Israel started his press in 1627. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic had developed a flourishing printing industry with a vast international reach. The Sephardi Jews who settled in Amsterdam at the beginning of the century found there the opportunity to have their prayer books and other works printed without major obstacles. They quickly established their own presses, which enabled them, and later also their Ashkenazi brethren, to obtain a dominant position in the Hebrew printing and book trade all over Europe.

The Sephardim who, as former New Christians, or *conversos*, had started printing in Spanish and Portuguese to overcome their lack of knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish tradition, continued to publish in their native languages throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The publication of Meyer Kayserling's *Biblioteca española-portugueza-judaica*[1] revealed the wealth of Jewish learning available in vernacular language among the Western Sephardim, and established the reputation of Amsterdam as a New Jerusalem, where a cultural and literary brilliance unparalleled in the Jewish world existed.

In this article I will discuss the results of my recently published bibliography of Spanish and Portuguese editions printed in the Northern Netherlands from 1584–1825.[2] Rather than comment on the details of the particular editions listed, the long sought after copies finally traced, or the new findings, I wish to elaborate on the overall relevance of

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***** See illustrations on pp. 453–460.

[1] M. Kayserling, *Biblioteca española-portugueza-judaica* (Strasbourg 1890).

[2] H. den Boer, *Spanish and Portuguese Printing in the Northern Netherlands 1584–1825*, CD-ROM (Leiden 2003) (hereafter cited as *SPPNN*).

Iberian printing in the Netherlands, more specifically, on the relation between "Jewish" and "non-Jewish" editions.

My reflections on the Netherlands as "locus" of Iberian printing will, I hope, also provide the reasons for the chronological, geographical, and linguistic criteria that have been followed in the present bibliography. Notwithstanding the heterogeneity of the works comprised in *Spanish and Portuguese Printing*, I argue that these reflect a meaningful cultural reality, and not merely an arbitrarily or positivistically gathered set of titles. This reality has made itself evident during the course of the project, the history of which I would briefly like to comment upon.

In 1981, the eminent bibliographer José Simón Díaz[3] encouraged me, the Dutch student in his course on *bibliografía española*, to look for the Spanish editions printed in the Netherlands that were extant at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. This exercise could be a starting point for a bibliographical research project that would complete the work undertaken by Jean Peeters Fontainas. The latter's *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays Bas* (1933) represented a first census of Spanish editions printed in both the "Southern" and "Northern" Netherlands—roughly corresponding to contemporary Belgium and The Netherlands—with a total of 1,484 entries.[4] Peeters-Fontainas afterwards published a more complete and descriptive bibliography, which dealt exclusively with the works printed in the Southern Netherlands.[5] The 1,413 works[6] brought together by the great bibliophile in this second volume had a huge impact in the Hispanic world; now it was possible to see how much Spain's Golden Age was indebted to the printing houses of the Southern Netherlands, where many of the classics of Spanish literature were produced in splendid editions, among them *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the works of Jorge Montemayor, Miguel de Cervantes, Baltasar Gracián, Francisco de Quevedo, and Santa Teresa de Jesús.

Peeters-Fontainas did not continue his bibliographical enterprise with a volume dedicated to the Spanish works printed in the Northern

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[3] José Simón Díaz is the author of *Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica*, 15 vols. (Madrid 1950–1992) and the still very useful *Manual de bibliografía española* (Madrid 1980).

[4] J. Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays Bas* (Leuven 1933).

[5] Idem, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays Bas Meridionaux* (Nieuwkoop 1965).

[6] Plus a few addenda; a supplement was printed, with the collaboration of A.-M. Frédéric, *Supplement a la Bibliographie des impressions des Pays Bas Meridionaux* (Antwerp 1977).

Netherlands. He realized, soon enough, that the books published in the rebellious Dutch Republic were of an entirely different nature than those issued in the "Spanish Netherlands." The Belgian bibliographer felt that he was too unfamiliar with the many Jewish works printed in Amsterdam, works in which were interspersed Hebrew words and religious references, and also frequently fashioning an exotic Spanish (the Ladino deriving from the Ferrara translations); all these elements, he realized, required very specific preparation.

In Spain's Golden Age, authors such as Quevedo had identified the Northern Provinces with "heretics" and "Jews" and deeply mistrusted whatever was published there.[7] For the Iberian world, the address of "Amsterdam" alone was sufficient to mark a publication as a challenge to state or religion—hardly surprising given the role of the Dutch presses in the anti-Spanish propaganda known as the "Black Legend." Although the Iberian perception of printing in the Dutch Republic did not entirely correspond with the reality, and in fact some "Catholic" works were printed in Amsterdam,[8] it cannot be denied that Spanish printing in the Northern Netherlands was largely an affair of the Sephardi Jews and (some) Protestants living there.

When I started my research at the Biblioteca Nacional, and came across one of the major collections of "Dutch Hispanica" in the world, I gradually became acquainted (and soon fascinated) with the culture of the Dutch Sephardim. Given the Portuguese identity of these Dutch Jews, reflected in their written and printed culture, I realized that the initial project of a bibliography including only Spanish editions was no longer an option.

Kayserling's bibliography presented an approach to Iberian printing from the Jewish perspective. His *Biblioteca española-portugueza-judaica* was, in this sense, more meaningful than the national-linguistic approach, as it really reflected a cultural identity. However, Kayserling's impressive compilation had evident limitations, too. Realized as a pioneering exploration, using the bibliographic standards of his time, its descriptions were far from exact, as Kayserling did not have the opportunity

[7] M. Herrero García, *Ideas de los españoles* (Madrid 1928). Quevedo is most explicit in his *La hora de todos y fortuna con seso*, written around 1636.

[8] I refer to the works of Saavedra Fajardo (Janssonius 1658, 1664) and Gracián (Blaeu 1659; Le Grand 1665), Den Boer, *SPPNN*, nn. 736, 739, 399–401, and 396, respectively. Of course, these works were popular among both Catholic and Protestant readers. Significantly, Carlos Bundeto's *Espejo de la muerte*, printed by the Amsterdam printer Jorgio Gallet, was issued with the false location of Antwerp (*SPPNN*, n. 273).

to personally examine many of the works that he listed. Moreover, the term "Judaica," by its very nature an unsatisfying concept, reveals itself highly problematic for dealing with the authors covered in the *Biblioteca*. One could justify the inclusion of non-Jewish works written or printed by Jews, but how to deal with all those Spanish or Portuguese *conversos* who were still living as Christians, or could not make up their minds? Kayserling apparently followed in the footsteps of Daniel Levi de Barrios's flattering *Relación de los escritores de la nación judaica amstelodama* [*c.*1682], which mentioned many writers who had never belonged to the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam, nor could be considered, really, as Jewish.[9]

On the other hand, Kayserling's notion of Judaica, however lacking in precision, proved to be valuable as well. By mentioning, for instance, an edition by the Portuguese physician Francisco da Fonseca Henriques that was printed by Miguel (Moses) Díaz in Amsterdam (1731),[10] he hinted at the work of Sephardi printers that was addressed to a non-Jewish readership. In 1972, Alfonso Cassuto explicitly called attention to the commercial branch of Sephardi printing, mentioning works written by Portuguese "Old Christians," such as *Summa politica* by the Portuguese Sebastião César de Meneses,[11] and António do Couto Castelo Branco's *Memórias militares* (1710).[12] Kayserling had also incorporated the works of the Protestants Miguel de Monserrate Montañés and Fernando Tejeda,[13] assuming they were Jewish, and although this proved to be wrong, there is still justification for relating their publications to the Sephardi Jews living in Holland, as we shall see.

In the course of my project I have realized that many of the editions covered in *Spanish and Portuguese Printing in the Northern Netherlands*

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[9] Among them Miguel de Silvera and Antonio Enríquez Gómez, *conversos* who never formally reverted to Judaism and who had never been at Amsterdam, and Manuel Thomas, the "Catholic" brother of Jonah Abravanel; Barrios, *Relación* (*SPPNN*, n. 189).

[10] *Medicina lusitana* (Amsterdam 1710), with a second, enlarged edition in 1731. Kayserling mentioned the work in his supplement published in *REJ* 22 (1891), p. 120. *SPPNN*, nn. 405, 406.

[11] Sebasteão César de Meneses, *Summa política* (Amsterdam: Simão Dias Soeiro, 1650), printed by Menasseh's son, Samuel ben Israel Soeiro (*SPPNN*, n. 588).

[12] António do Couto Castelo Branco, *Memórias militares* (Amsterdam: Miguel [= Moses] Dias, 1710) (*SPPNN*, n. 320).

[13] Referring to Monserrate, Kayserling, *Biblioteca*, p. 73, expresses his doubts, but mentions Johan Christian Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, 4 vols. (Hamburg 1715–1733), vol. 3, n. 1403; on *Carrascón*, see Kayserling, *Biblioteca*, p. 35.

reflect an interesting cultural context, not only one where Jewish and non-Jewish authors and publishers came together, but also one with a particular resonance in the Iberian world.

The International Role of Dutch Printing

The Netherlands, and especially Amsterdam, were of course not a particular "locus" for the Iberian world alone, and in order to assess the importance of Iberian printing there, a brief comment on the international role of the Dutch printing industry needs to be made. During the seventeenth century and a good part of the eighteenth century, the Republic enjoyed the reputation of being Europe's publishing house. Thanks to material factors, such as its excellent commercial and communications network, the quality of printing and paper, and, above all, its climate of tolerance, many books were printed in the Netherlands that could not have been published abroad, including potentially controversial works on religion, philosophy, and science.

From a quantitative perspective, the volume of Spanish and Portuguese titles does not measure up to the production in other languages such as French, German, or English. French was by far the dominant language, a position to which the presence of many French exiles living in the Dutch Republic contributed significantly. A personality like Pierre Bayle represents better than anyone else what exploits were possible in a tolerant climate, with his foundation of *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (1684), the most influential literary and philosophical review of that time, and his equally reputed *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697).[14]

The presently available data from the *Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands* numbers almost ten thousand titles in French printed between 1550 and 1800, representing approximately eighty-five percent of the total production in foreign "modern" languages. The same catalogue lists only one hundred and seventy-eight titles in Spanish and forty-seven in Portuguese, and although these numbers (a scant two percent) are not a true representation of the approximately eight hundred titles contained

[14] P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 2 vols. (Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1697). See H. Bots (ed.), *Critique, savoir et érudition à la veille des Lumières: Le Dictionaire historique et critique de Pierre Bayle (1647–1706)* (Amsterdam 1998).

in our *Spanish and Portuguese Printing*, it remains a fact that the Iberian part of foreign printing was, numerically, of minor importance.[15]

It would seem that the relatively small number of Spanish editions as compared to those in other languages renders little justice to the international position of the Spanish culture during the same period, at least during the larger part of the seventeenth century. Evidently, this fact is explained by the conflict between the Iberian world and the Low Countries during much of the seventeenth century, with repercussions that would reach beyond the peace treaties with both Spain (1648) and Portugal (1661).[16] The Spanish market continued to be served best in the Southern Netherlands, where printing was also affordable and of an excellent quality. Furthermore, works printed in the still "Spanish" provinces would have the benefit of the necessary official approbations by the representatives of the Crown and the Church.

Iberian Jewish Printing

By far, most Spanish and Portuguese editions from the Netherlands were printed by or on behalf of the Sephardi Jews of Amsterdam. These editions addressed, in the first place, an internal need, by providing former *conversos*, or New Christians, with necessary knowledge in order

[15] Upon consulting the online *Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands* project (www.pica.org), a database with continuous updates thanks to ongoing research, I found (in 2002) the following numbers of works printed within the present-day boundaries of the Netherlands, in the principal foreign languages:

French	9,931	85%
English	698	6%
German	684	6%
Italian	207	1.5%
Spanish	178	1.5%
Portuguese	47	0.5%.

The percentages are relative, the languages total put at 100%. The relatively small number of Spanish and Portuguese titles, as compared to *SPPNN*, is a matter of bibliographical definition (in general, I have included many minor titles, as the so-called "Opuscula" by Barrios, as separate entries) but can also be explained by the fact that I have researched many collections outside of the Netherlands, which hitherto were not incorporated in the project.

[16] Mention should be made, however, of the Dutch interest in Spanish literature, even in times of war; see the informative bibliography by J. Lechner, *Repertorio de obras de autores españoles en bibliotecas holandesas hasta comienzos del siglo XVIII* (t Gooi-Houten 2001).

to reconnect with Judaism. At the same time, they reflect the cultural effervescence of Iberian Jewish community life.

The editions printed by or on behalf of the Sephardi Jews of the Netherlands constitute a good eighty percent of the total production of Spanish and Portuguese language books that were printed in the Northern Netherlands. From the eight hundred and sixteen bibliographical entries included in *Spanish and Portuguese Printing in the Northern Netherlands*, five hundred and thirty-four titles (representing sixty-five percent) can be defined as "Jewish,"[17] whereas from the remaining "non Jewish" part, comprising two hundred and eighty-two titles (representing thirty-five percent), more than half were either composed, collected, financed, or printed by Dutch Sephardim.[18]

The significant number of bibliographic, historiographic, and cultural studies dedicated to the Sephardi Jews of the Netherlands and other parts of the *converso,* or "Western Sephardi," diaspora have provided extensive information on the importance and function of the Spanish and Portuguese culture of the Portuguese Nation.[19] The Sephardim's printed works arose out of the need to provide former *conversos* with prayer books and Bibles, and, generally, with the major works of Judaism with which they had lost true contact while living in Iberia. As new immigrants continued to join the Sephardi communities well into the eighteenth century, a great many of these works were printed, particularly in Amsterdam. In our bibliography, no less than one hundred and ten editions of Jewish liturgy can be counted, six editions of the complete (Jewish) Bible, nine editions of *chumashim* with *haftarot*, four editions of Psalms, seven editions of *targum*s, and Pirke Avot.[20]

The biblical and liturgical literature was complemented by instructions or commentaries on Jewish Law, which provided insight in the practical aspects of Judaism. Furthermore, a whole library of Jewish thought was made available, whether they were translated (including

[17] By "Jewish" is meant: dealing with Jewish religion or Jewish communal life.

[18] To give but some examples: *Confusión de las confusiones* by Joseph Penso de la Vega (1688; *SPPNN*, n. 636) cannot be called a Jewish work, but its author was a Sephardi Jew; *Romances varios* (1688; *SPPNN*, n. 686), a collection of poetry published in the same year, is non-Jewish in content, but its publisher, the bookseller Isaac Cohen Faro, was also a Sephardi Jew.

[19] There are too many studies to mention separately. I refer to such leading authors as M. Bodian, J. I. Israel, Y. Kaplan, R. H. Popkin, C. Roth, H. P. Salomon, D. M. Swetschinski, or Y. H. Yerushalmi, among many others.

[20] *SPPNN* permits easy insight into the data.

the works of Maimonides, Bahya ibn Paquda, Judah Halevi, and many other "classics"), or written by Amsterdam Sephardi authors, such as Menasseh ben Israel, Isaac Aboab, or Judah León Templo. Printed sermons (sixty-six separate editions have been found so far), public discourses on important events, and the rules of the many religious and charitable institutions (forty-three separate publications) reflect the Jewish life that developed in the Amsterdam Sephardi community.

Although few of these printed works provide us with actual insight into the personal lives or the internal history of the community, some titles reflect the sometimes-painful religious trajectories of former *conversos*. Uriel da Costa's banned *Exame das tradições fariseas* (1624) challenged rabbinic Judaism; Abraham Pereyra's *Certeza del camino* (1666) and *Espejo de la vanidad del mundo* (1671), two pious moral treatises full of references and quotations from Iberian Catholic authors, represent the itinerary of a rich merchant who had lived in Madrid and, as a Jew in Amsterdam, repented over his Christian past. The books by Pereira coincide with the tremendous excitement in the Sephardi community of Amsterdam caused by the false messiah Shabbetai Zevi and the deep disenchantment felt afterwards. A whole range of prayer books and pious works published in Spanish around 1666 reflect the impact of the Sabbatian movement in Amsterdam.

Iberian literature also occupied a prominent place in Sephardi cultural life. Writers such as Daniel Levi (Miguel) de Barrios, Jacob (Manuel) de Pina, or Joseph Penso de la Vega, together with a whole range of minor poets, wrote Jewish religious literature in their native tongues and celebrated community life with poetry, prose, and even drama. Two *conversos* who were burnt alive by the Inquisition in Spain in 1655 and 1656 were commemorated by their Jewish relatives in Amsterdam, through a printed collection of poems with contributions by twenty authors.[21] Funerals and weddings of prominent Sephardim would also be accompanied by literary celebrations, much in Golden Age Iberian fashion.

It would be a misconception, though, to think of Iberian Jewish printing only in terms of an internal need. Firstly, Amsterdam being the center of the Western Sephardi diaspora, many Spanish and Portuguese editions were exported to Sephardi communities abroad.

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[21] *Elogios que zelosos dedicaron a la felice memoria de Abraham Núñez Bernal*… (Amsterdam: [Menasseh ben Israel?], 1656) (*SPPNN*, n. 363).

Frequently, Sephardi authors living elsewhere would have their works printed in Amsterdam because of its relative freedom and its printing infrastructure. This is particularly true for Jews living in Hamburg, where, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was no comparable printing industry and freedom was far more restricted due to the strong position of the Lutheran church.[22] Secondly, even the Jewish literature produced by the Amsterdam Sephardim occasionally had a non-Jewish reader in mind, as well. Menasseh ben Israel, Judah León Templo, and Jacob Abendana had extensive contacts outside the Jewish community and repeatedly addressed themselves to a Christian audience. Finally, it would be a misconception to think of Iberian Jewish printing only in terms of Jewish or religious works. The culture of the former *conversos* had an important secular dimension, which reflected the mundane interests of an Iberian merchant community. Prominent writers such as Barrios or Penso de la Vega celebrated contemporary social and political events in a subtle display of the loyalty and aristocratic lifestyle of Sephardi Court Jews; in these works no mention was made of their Jewish religion.

As mentioned before, Sephardi printers also published Spanish and Portuguese works for commercial reasons only. This was the case with *Summa política* by Sebastião César de Meneses, published at the printing house of Menasseh ben Israel in 1650; and with the works printed by Moses Díaz using his "Christian name," "Miguel." The *Gazeta de Amsterdam*, printed by David de Castro Tartas between 1662 and 1701, is another example of a publication not meant for a Jewish market alone. The contents of this early newspaper were very much the same as those published in other languages, such as Italian and French, in Amsterdam. Tartas merely profited from the privileged position of Amsterdam as a center for newsgathering, and would count on a readership interested in keeping up-to-date with current events, whether they were Jewish, New Christian merchants, or even interested, Old Christian Iberians.

The role of Sephardi printers and authors in works intended for the Iberian market is not always easy to trace, as they were very

[22] I have demonstrated that the work by the (probably) Hamburg Sephardi Jew Isaac de Castro, *Sobre o principio e restauração do mundo* (without printer, 1612) was in fact printed by Albert Boumeester in Amsterdam, as was Samuel da Silva's translation of Maimonides, *Libro de la tesuba*, in 1613; see H. den Boer, "Bibliography and History. Two Rare Works Printed by Isaac de Castro Printed at Hamburg or Amsterdam," in *Aus den Quellen. Beiträge zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte. Festschrift für Ina Lorenz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. A. Brämer et al. (Hamburg 2005), pp. 107–20.

aware of Amsterdam's reputation among the Spanish and Portuguese and occasionally published with a false address. Francisco (Joseph) de Cáceres, Miguel (Daniel Levi) de Barrios, Joseph (Penso) de la Vega, Duarte (Moses) Lopes Rosa, and Manuel de León (Leão) had works printed with such addresses as Frankfurt, Brussels, or Antwerp. David de Castro Tartas was behind the publication of a famous story about the "Pirates of the Caribbean," which I will comment on because it gives such insight into the contacts between the Jewish and non-Jewish Iberian world that developed in Amsterdam.

Physicians, Poets, and Pirates

In 1678, a French ship surgeon by the name of Alexander Exquemelin published an amazing story about his adventures among the buccaneers of the Caribbean. Exquemelin was a French surgeon who could not exercise his profession in his home country because of his Protestant religious confession. He had decided to seek his luck in the French colonies in the West Indies, where he could work, but after some hardships he ended up as a surgeon to the buccaneers roaming the Caribbean Sea. When in Jamaica he could no longer continue his practice, because envious colleagues denounced his lack of a diploma, he went to the Netherlands to obtain his professional degree. This he did, but during his stay in Holland he wrote about his adventurous experiences among the pirates, producing a story that was printed in Dutch in 1678 by Ten Hoorn.

One of the first translations of the book was into Spanish, published in Cologne by a certain Lorenzo Struickman, in 1681 (fig. 1).[23] Upon closer scrutiny of this edition it becomes immediately clear, however, that the work was not published in the Catholic city of Cologne, but rather, in Amsterdam. It had been translated by a certain Alonso de Bonne-Maison or Buena-Maison, a Spanish physician from Aragon who had studied medicine in Leiden. The late bibliographer Herman de la Fontaine Verwey supposed this Bonne-Maison to be a *marrano*

[23] *Piratas de la América y luz a la defensa de las costas de Indias Occidentales* (Colonia Agrippina: Lorenzo Struickman, 1681), really printed at Amsterdam by David de Castro Tartas (*SPPNN*, n. 368).

belonging to the Sephardi community of Amsterdam;[24] although this is one of De la Fontaine's rare mistakes, he was not far from the truth, because there was important Sephardi involvement in the publication of this book.

To start with, the book contained a large poem about the Caribbean islands and some minor poems written by the poet laureate of the Portuguese Jewish congregation of Amsterdam, Daniel Levi de Barrios. Here, Barrios carefully avoided allusions to his religious faith, calling himself "Capitan Don Miguel de Barrios," as he always did whenever addressing himself to an Iberian Catholic audience. The book also contains poems by Duarte Lopes Rosa, known in the Sephardi congregation as Moses Rosa. Together with Barrios, Rosa was involved in the cultural and literary life of the Sephardi high society. Rosa was also a physician.

I think we can reconstruct how the Spanish translation came into being. Exquemelin, Bonne Maison, and Rosa must have become acquainted as fellows of the medical profession in Amsterdam; they were, so to say, bound to meet as colleagues, foreigners, and as *Latinos*. Rosa would have introduced these persons to his Sephardi environment; in the first place, to his fellow writer Miguel de Barrios. There is evidence that Bonne-Maison and Barrios were acquainted in a work the latter wrote to celebrate the wedding of a Dutch couple. As this poem was the only work that Barrios wrote for a Dutch personality, I assume it was the Spanish, Christian Bonne-Maison who introduced the Jewish Barrios into Dutch bourgeois society. Conversely, the Sephardi friends of Exquemelin and Bonne-Maison helped to publish the Spanish pirate story in the printing house of David de Castro Tartas, whom I have identified as the real printer behind the invented "Lorenzo de Struickman from Cologne." Not only the typographical evidence, but also the engraving used in Barrios's *Luna opulenta* (published by Tartas just a year before *Piratas de la América*) points in that direction (fig. 2).

As De la Fontaine Verwey has already observed, it is remarkable that Exquemelin's pirate story, which was attractive to a Dutch, German, or English reader, would have been addressed to the Spanish reader at all. Exquemelin not only narrated the deeds and cruelties of the buccaneers, he also exposed the vulnerability of the Spanish colonies in

[24] H. de la Fontaine Verwey, "The Ship's Surgeon Exquemelin and His Book on the Bucaneers," in *Quaerendo* 4 (1974), pp. 109–31.

America. Although the translation tried to portray itself as a warning to better defend the Spanish properties, the pride of Spanish readers could easily have been hurt in the process.

The ambiguity of the Dutch environment for Iberian printing was, as late as the seventeenth century, still evident. In 1681, the mentioned doctor Alonso de Bonne-Maison appears yet again as translator of a work, this time of the monumental story about the Dutch Revolt by the Jesuit Famiano Strada. Although the content of this work is of undisputed reputation among Spanish Catholic readers, it was again published under the fictive address of Cologne, although it was really printed in Amsterdam (fig. 3). I surmise that another Sephardi printing house, that of Joseph Athias, was involved in the splendid typography of the edition.

There existed still another Spanish publication by Bonne-Maison of an entirely different nature, a work of which no copy presently survives. A Spanish adventurer by the name of Don Gabriel Fernández de Villalobos, Marqués de Varinas, discovered upon his stay in Amsterdam that Bonne-Maison had published in 1681 a work under the title *Bárbaras tiranías cometidas por los españoles en Indias*. Villalobos was so offended by this work's contents that he had the whole stock confiscated at the publisher's house, at his own expense! The Spanish gentleman complained to Amsterdam's municipal authorities about De Bonne-Maison and Exquemelin, who, it turns out, shared a house in Amsterdam. Apparently Villalobos's efforts met with success, because both men left Amsterdam in 1681 and sailed to Jamaica.

Sephardi Involvement in the Atlas Mayor

The most monumental work among Iberian publications in the Netherlands also includes Sephardi involvement, a fact to which surprisingly little attention has been dedicated. I refer to the *Atlas Mayor* by Joan Blaeu, published in ten volumes between 1659 and 1672.[25] Besides the Spanish edition, Blaeu's *opus magnum* was issued in Latin, French, Dutch, and German editions. The Spanish edition was, however, the first to be published, and perhaps the most ambitious (fig. 4). In his catalogue of

[25] Joan Blaeu, *Atlas Mayor o Geografía Blauiana* [also called *Nuevo Atlas*] (Amsterdam, 1659–1672 [and beyond]).

1670–1671, Joan Blaeu promised the Spanish Atlas in twelve to thirteen volumes; three more than the aforementioned editions.[26] Eventually, the fire at Blaeu's workshop in 1672 destroyed the material for the volumes covering Asia, Africa, and America, curtailing the project.

It is not the fire alone, however, that distinguished the Spanish *Atlas Mayor* from the editions in the other languages. The Spanish edition is distinctive in that the separate volumes do not share a common title, are not numbered, and the years of publication are widely separated. Some volumes were even printed in more than two editions and, contrary to what is generally assumed, from the text of some extant copies it would seem that the printing of the Spanish *Atlas* went beyond the fateful year of 1672. This, together with the particular interest of its translation, calls for a proper study of the Spanish text, which has still to be made.

In itself it is remarkable enough that a printer from the rebellious Netherlands would address this most prestigious of all cartographical projects to Philip IV, the king of Spain (with later volumes dedicated to his successor, Charles II).[27] Perhaps Blaeu's family supposed adherence to Catholicism played a part; more probably, the Spanish edition was part of the vast commercial exploits undertaken by the Dutch printer. Significantly, Blaeu addressed a second dedication to Gaspar de Bracamonte y Guzmán, the third count of Peñaranda, who had been the Spanish plenipotentiary during the peace negotiations at Münster. It has come to light that Blaeu had sent five volumes of the Spanish Atlas to Philip IV as a gift through the count of Peñaranda. The Dutch printer no doubt hoped to gain acceptance for his cartographic project among wealthy and high-placed Spanish and Portuguese clients. His strategy seems to have worked, given the quality of the published volumes and the considerable amount of copies extant in Iberian libraries.

The Spanish edition of Blaeu's *Atlas* would not have been possible without the efforts of translators belonging to the Sephardi community of Amsterdam. This was no novelty: already before, Rabbi Menasseh

[26] H. de la Fontaine Verwey, "De Spaanse uitgave van de Atlas van Blaeu," in *Uit de wereld van het boek*, vol. 3, *In en om de "Vergulde Sonnewyser"* (Amsterdam 1979), pp. 7–11.

[27] A. Berkhemer, "The Spanish Atlas Mayor by Blaeu: New Data," *Caert-Tresoor* 16 (1997), pp. 71–76.

ben Israel had translated the *Nuevo Atlas*, published in 1653 by Blaeu's greatest rival, Johan Janssonius.[28]

The Sephardi contribution to Blaeu's *Atlas Mayor* was already referred to by the poet Daniel Levi de Barrios. On several occasions, Barrios mentions his friend Nicolas de Oliver y Fullana, also known as Daniel Judah, as an illustrious cartographer involved in Blaeu's *Atlas*;[29] in his account on the Sephardi writers of Amsterdam, Barrios also refers to a certain David Nasi as writer of the first volumes of the *Atlas*.[30] The Sephardi involvement in Blaeu's Spanish *Atlas*, to my knowledge, never received any serious attention.[31] The apparent lack of Jewish interest in the atlases could explain the absence of research on the subject. Perhaps the assumption that they are a mere collection of maps has prevented scholars from studying the huge textual component of these publications. The *Atlas Mayor* was, in fact, an ambitious scholarly project that—apart from the impressive cartographical work at its basis—contained elaborate descriptions of the history and geography of the regions

[28] To my knowledge, Menasseh's work as a translator has not received any academic attention. J. H. Hillesum ("Menasseh ben Israel," *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 10 [1937], pp. 607–8) mentions that Menasseh participated in the Spanish translation of Janssonius's *Nuevo Atlas*; J. Werner ("Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam ontvangt Spaanse Janssonius," *Caert-Thresoor. Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis van de kartografie in Nederland* 4 [1985], pp. 10–11) reproduces Menasseh ben Israel's letter to Isaac Vossius (1651), where Menasseh mentions that he has finished the translation of "Jan Jans" Atlas into Spanish; references are from J. H. Coppenhagen, *Manuel Dias Soeiro, 1604–1657, A Bibliography* (Jerusalem 1990), n. 381.

[29] Barrios, *Coro de las musas.* (Amsterdam/Brussels 1672), p. 226: "Al Sargento Mayor Don Nicolás de Olivier y Fullana, grande Astrólogo y erudito escritor de una parte de la Geografía Blaviana intitulada Atlas del Mundo" (*SPPNN*, nn. 78–79); idem, *Relación de los poetas y escritores de la nación judaica española amstelodama* (1682/1683; p. 189) (*SPPNN*, n. 52).

[30] Barrios, *Relación*, p. 52: "David Nasi escrivió los primeros tomos españoles con grande erudición de la geographia blaeviana, los segundos lineó Daniel Judá, aliás Don Nicolas de Oliver y Fullana, cavallero mallorquin, Sargento Mayor en Cataluña y circuncidado coronel de Infanteria en Holanda contra Francia."

[31] There is, however, some interesting information about the involvement of Sephardi merchants in the distribution of the Spanish *Atlas*. In 1952, Clara Bille revealed that after the fire at Blaeu's printing shop, publishers and book traders still sold parts of the Spanish editions. The brokers Elias de Mattos, Jacob van Aaron Pereira, and Moses van Aron Pereira organized an auction on Thursday, 30 August 1731, where they sold parts of the Spanish *Atlas*. The buyers were all Portuguese Jews: Salomon van Moses de Franco, David Lobo, Elias de Mattos, Isaac de Prado, and Jacques de Prado. They still traded with the Iberian Peninsula. Through their intermediation, the Spanish copies of the *Atlas* reached the Iberian clientele; C. Bille, "Naschrift De Atlas van Blaeu," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, vol. 4, p. 44.

represented on the maps. In the case of the Spanish *Atlas Mayor*, its volumes include more than two thousand pages of text alone.

The efforts of the people mentioned by Barrios must have been considerable. The translation of the first volumes, which Barrios attributed to David Nasi—the three volumes finished, perhaps, between 1658 and 1660—comprised several hundreds of pages. If Oliver y Fullana was the sole translator of the later volumes, those published, we can say, between 1662 and 1672, his work would have comprised more than a thousand pages. As was probably the case with Menasseh ben Israel's translation, the Sephardi translators would have accepted the work principally for the financial compensation.

The complicated textual history of Blaeu's Spanish *Atlas* has hitherto not allowed me to thoroughly research the many volumes extant in more than twenty libraries worldwide; many sets are not complete, and single volumes belong to different states or even editions.[32] What I have been able to see, however, demonstrates that the role of Sephardi authors in the Spanish *Atlas* far exceeded that of translator.

Reading the text of the first published volumes of the *Atlas Mayor*, one is immediately struck by the numerous digressions they contain, which are typographically singled out by being placed between brackets or in cursive type. Thus, in the volumes dealing with China (1658) and Russia (1659), the anonymous translator—whom we suppose to be David Nasi—added numerous commentaries throughout the text. In the prologue to the first volume of the *Atlas Mayor*, Blaeu or the translator had already warned the reader that the text contained some "rhetorical flowers [...] without offending the truth that we suppose sacred," apparently serving the aesthetic purpose of *variatio*.[33]

In *Atlas nuevo de la extrema Asia*, based on the text by the Jesuit Martino Martinio, these textual additions can be found on almost each page. For instance, after the description of a marvelously colorful bird called

[32] In bibliography, "state" refers to minor differences in the printed text between one copy and another of the same book. Another edition implies major changes in the setting, or an altogether different setting of type. In *Spanish and Portuguese Printing in the Northern Netherlands*, the entry on *Atlas Mayor* is certainly far from complete; however, the *Atlas* requires a specific approach due to its cartographical material. See *SPPNN* n. 264 for a listing of some of the major collections of extant copies.

[33] Or, in the prologue's phrasing, "various sayings, political and moral aphorisms, planted in such a way that reason, sight, memory and curiosity would all be equally served" [Previniendo que las sobradas digressiones no corten el hilo al instituto, sembramos diversas sentencias, políticas y morales aphorismos a fin de que tenga en el combite sus platos assi el entendimiento como la vista, la memoria y la curiosidad].

"Tunghoasung," which, when first sighted, the first author tells us, "the senses are left ecstatic and elevated towards the work of the Creator," the anonymous translator entertains the totally opposite thought that this bird dies of grief upon its mother's death, whereby it provides an example to humankind, "always more prone to its own violent dominion by greed than to paternal love and the divine commandments."[34] In the *Nuevo Atlas del Reyno de Ingalaterra* (the first Spanish edition of 1659), where King Henry III's annexation of the property of a childless nobleman is related, the translator comments how greed will work against the ruler:

> Greed is such a powerful force, working against man's own interest, that even kings, whose principal maxim should be that of righteous largesse and contempt of worldly goods, are seduced by indecent gains. This sometimes has extremely harmful consequences, because when debtors or inheritors, waiting for such occasions for their own gains, are then frustrated, their human sentiments prevail over their knightly duties (p. 311).[35]

The presence of many of these political and moral reflections in the fashion of the popular *Speculum Princeps*, or "Mirror for Princes," genre are indeed a particular feature of the translator's hand at work in the first volumes of Blaeu's Spanish *Atlas*. Although a religious element is never far away, the digressions do not contain any overt allusions to the author/translator's own (Jewish) religion. Following Barrios, and lacking any other clue, I hold "David Nasi" responsible for both translation and digressions. Perhaps in the future more details will come to light regarding this still obscure Sephardi writer.

The volumes published between 1662 and 1663, dedicated to Germany and England, appear not to have been affected by the interventions

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[34] "Porque domina en ellos con más violento imperio la cubdicia o el apetito que el amor paternal y los divinos preceptos," *Atlas Nuevo de la Estrema Asia* (Amsterdam, Juan Blaeu 1658), p. 83.

[35] "No tuvo Iuan Scoto hijos al tiempo de su muerte, y pareciéndole al Rey Henrique Tercero, que convenía incorporar a la corona un patrimonio tan rico y de tanta amplitud, se venció de la conveniencia más que de la magnanimidad Real [que suele tener tal fuerça la cubdicia y cegar de forma el interés proprio, que aún a los Reyes cuya principal máxima deve ser la justa liberalidad, y el menosprecio y retiro destas civilidades los haze cegar los ojos a indecentes augmentos, quiça con dañosíssimas resultas, porque o los deudos, o los beneméritos esperan semejantes ocasiones para sus mejoras y si se les frustran, talvez no pueden vencer las atenciones de vasallo al sentimiento de hombre]."

of translators, as witnessed in the preceding volumes.[36] The volume dedicated to the Low Countries, published in 1663, still merits our attention. Divided into two parts, the provinces subject to the Catholic king and the other to the "confederated regions" (the Republic), its content was evidently of particular interest to the Iberian reader. Blaeu (or the translator) succeeded in presenting the recent history of the Low Countries from a fairly neutral perspective, without hurting either Dutch or Spanish sensibilities. Only one comment, which I suppose originated from the Jewish translator, stands out in the otherwise prudent description of the Northern Provinces:

> The inhabitants of the Low Countries or lands of Batavia, publicly profess their religion or doctrine they call "reformed," and persons who do not follow that religion are not eligible for a civic office or magistrate. However it is true, especially in the province of Holland that Catholics are tolerated as are all other persons of whatever opinion, dogmas or beliefs. Although they do not have public churches, they can worship in secret, in any case nobody is troubled by these congregations. In the city of Amsterdam, the most powerful, general and visited emporium of Holland and even of Europe, the Jews have their public synagogue with many visitors. To sum up, in these United Provinces there is neither violence nor jurisdiction over the conscience of men, and so there is no need for fictions: everybody passes for what he is, and the reward or the punishment is reserved to God alone.[37]

In 1669, the Spanish Blaeu began to follow a proper course. From here on, the text of the *Atlas Mayor* is again enriched by additions, but this time, the Sephardi translator has made little effort to reconcile the identity of an "associate". In the volume on Italy we suddenly meet with Miguel de Barrios, who subsequently appears alternately as the

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[36] I have not had the opportunity to carefully compare these texts with their Latin, French, or Dutch versions, and can therefore not make a proper assessment concerning the nature of their translation.

[37] "Los naturales de los Payses Baxos, o de las tierras de Batavia, professan en público la religión, o doctrina, que llaman Reformada, y no se puede eligir para los cargos cívisos, o de los magistrados, y del govierno quien no la siguiere. Bien es verdad que se toleran, especialmente en Holanda, los Cathólicos, y cualesquiera otros de la opinión, dogmas o creencia que fueren, puesto que no tengan iglesias públicas, todavía en secreto no se les impiden, o a lo menos a nadie se molesta por estas congregaciones. Los Iudíos tienen en la ciudad de Amsterdam, potentíssimo, general y el más frequentado emporio de toda Holanda, y aún podríamos dezir de Europa, su pública Synagoga, con numeroso concurso. Al fin en estas Provincias Unidas, ni se haze violencia, ni se toma jurisdicción sobre las conciencias de los hombres, y assí no hay necessidad de ficciones, cada qual passa por lo que es, y se reservan a Dios el premio y castigo" (*Atlas*, vol. *Países Baxos* part 2, *Belgia confederada*, p. 10).

"Batavian Muse," the "Dutch Muse," "our Muse," or simply "Don Miguel de Barrios." Initially, Barrios is responsible for the translation of the Latin verses present throughout the descriptions, and is thus a second translator. Some typical historical/biblical speculations seem to indicate that Barrios was also involved in the translation of the prose descriptions, and probably made a number of additions. Thus in the volume dedicated to Italy, we suddenly read the biblical word "Ktim" (Num 24:24),[38] followed by the commentary "which Santes Pagnino reads *De lictore Chitim* and the Vulgate renders *venient intrieribus de Italia*, where Kitim is related to the [Italian] isles and sea, as observed by Flavius Josephus in his Antiquities, lib. I."

Especially in the volume dealing with England, published in a second or third edition in 1672, Barrios and/or Oliver Fullana's intervention are abundant. Constantly we find biblical or etymological conjectures so typical of Barrios's work. Upon the description of a mineral with magnetic properties, one reads "this mineral repels or attracts whatever object is within its reach, and these Agates must have referred to the people called *Agetes* by Don Isaac Abravanel in chap. 10 of his Gones"; these *agetes* are then related to primitive inhabitants of England . . . What is more, now the usual muse by the name of Barrios is accompanied by a whole range of poets entertaining the reader. Iberian prominents as Lope de Vega, Góngora, Camões and Rebolledo are quoted closely together with Dutch Sephardi poets such as the Spanish actor Lorenzo Escudero (alias *Abraham Ger* o *Peregrino*), Manuel de Pina, Joseph Francés, and "Reinoso."[39]

Finally, in the volume describing Spain and Portugal, though not so rich in Sephardi embellishments as the one mentioned before, there is no surprise to find other traces of Miguel de Barrios. He honors his native city with an evocative description:

> The town of Montilla is some 55 leagues away from Madrid, and was founded on a hillside, although it is still very fertile in all kinds of products, its figs being the best of Spain. Montilla has 7000 houses, new ones being added every day, one parish, six convents of monks and sisters,

[38] Numbers 24:24: "Ships come from the quarter of Kittim; They subject Asshur, subject Eber. They, too, shall perish forever" (*Tanakh. A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures according to the Traditional Hebrew Text* [Philadelphia 1985]).

[39] I have not had the opportunity to examine all the poems present in this volume, but it is very possible that it contains unknown compositions by these Sephardi poets.

> and a hospital. It is the patrimony and peaceful residence of the Marquis de Priego.[40]

What is more significant, however, than the growing confidence of Barrios in the Spanish Blaeu, is the fact that he even refers to the composition he wrote to his deceased father and his uncle.[41]

Finally, although there is no sustained reference to the Jewish past in the historiographic parts of the descriptions, one can detect some signs of the *converso* or Jewish viewpoint on Spanish history, such as the mention of a former synagogue in Palma de Mallorca: "Here there was a famous synagogue of the Jews whose descendants profess Christian religion with all sincerity."[42] This allusion to the injustice of the persecution suffered by the *chuetas* in seventeenth-century Spain, perhaps written by the native of Mallorca, Nicolás Oliver y Fullana (Daniel Judah), shows that the Sephardi element in Blaeu's Spanish *Atlas* certainly merits further research.

Spanish and Portuguese Editions for the Iberian Market by Religious and/or Political Dissidents

Let us now turn to that other part of Iberian printing in the Netherlands, the works published by Spanish and Portuguese Protestants. Here, too, can be found some interesting connections with Dutch Sephardi Jewry.

Protestant propaganda was the literature most feared by the Iberian Inquisition, from the second half of the sixteenth century, and Spain was very aware of the threat posed by the clandestine introduction of works printed abroad. Time and again, Inquisitorial sources are found to contain warnings against Protestants trying to spread Bibles and

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[40] "La ciudad de Montilla dista de Madrid cinquenta y cinco leguas, está fundada en montuoso sitio, pero fertilíssimo de todo género de mantenimientos, y frutas, siendo sus higos preferidos a todos los de este Reino; tiene siete mil casas que cada día aumentan, una parroquia, seis conventos de frayles y monjas, y un hospital. Levantó la ciudad el Rey don Phelipe Quarto. Es patrimonio y apacible residencia de los Marqueses de Priego," *Parte del Atlas Mayor o Geografia Blaviana […] Españas*, p. 266.

[41] "Deste canal, y de las naves de piel que antiguamente lo surcaban, cantó Miguel de Barrios hablando con su difunto padre, y de la muerte de su tío Francisco de Sosa," *Españas*, p. 175.

[42] "Huvo aquí una famosa synagoga de Iudios cuyos descendientes professan la religión christiana con todo afecto," *Españas*, p. 356.

pamphlets into the Iberian Peninsula, particularly from "Flanders." Occasionally the Holy Office would be provided with detailed information on such titles, and some books were even confiscated when incoming ships were inspected.[43]

One of these Protestants, by far the most famous, is Cipriano de Valera (Spain 1532–London 1602), called the "Spanish heretic" by the Inquisition. Although Valera's most militant titles had been printed in England rather than the Netherlands,[44] it was in Amsterdam (1602) that this reformed friar published his revision of the Spanish Bible translation by Casiodoro de Reina, a project that had occupied him for twenty years.

Yet the amount of Protestant titles printed in Spanish or Portuguese in the Northern Netherlands was limited, and perhaps, with the exception of the Valera Bible, there was no systematic, sustained attempt to spread such works among Iberian readers. For the most part, Protestant editions of the Netherlands reflected the personal efforts of their authors, mostly Iberian exiles.

Protestant works were not only read by Christians, though. The Protestant Bible editions in Spanish also enjoyed the popularity of a Sephardi readership. Because of its fidelity to the original Scriptures and its magnificent Spanish, the Reina-Valera translations were highly esteemed; they were present in Sephardi libraries and frequently referred to by Sephardi authors. Rabbi Saul Levi Mortera felt he had to combat the "Bible of the Friar" in his *Tratado sobre la verdad de la ley mosaica*,[45] in order to safeguard Jewish readers from the Christian implications of this version.

Another Protestant author whose work appears to have a connection with the Dutch Sephardim was Fernando de Texeda. Texeda (or Tejeda) was a former Augustinian friar who left Spain and joined the Anglican Church in England. There he married and had two daughters. King James II ordered him to translate the Anglican liturgy into Spanish, and, as reward for his efforts, appointed him canon of Hereford and

[43] See V. Pinto Crespo, *Inquisición y control ideológico en la España del siglo XVI* (Madrid 1983).

[44] A. Gordon Kinder, *Spanish Protestants and Reformers in the Sixteenth Century. A Bibliography* (London 1983).

[45] S. L. Mortera, *Tratado da verdade da lei de Moisés, escrito pelo seu próprio punho em português em Amsterdão, 1659–1660*. Edição facsimilada e leitura do autógrafo (1659), introdução e comentário por H. P. Salomon (Coimbra 1988); references to Valera's Bible are found throughout Mortera's text.

vicar of Blakmer. It was Texeda who authored the anonymous *Carrascón*, published in 1623.[46] For a long time, this work misled bibliographers, because of its entirely burlesque title page. In fact "Carrascón" was a play on the Spanish word *carrasco*, referring to a small thorny oak tree, which, the accompanying verses promised, had no food for pigs (acorns) but pearls, instead.[47] The book was supposedly printed at "Nodriza" ("wet nurse") but was actually printed in the Netherlands (fig. 5). The author dedicated the work to his daughters Marta and María.

Carrascón contains a section opposing idolatry and religious orders, and another, more profound part, criticizing the Vulgate, with an interesting defense of the Hebrew Bible, fighting the accusations that Jewish malice and perversion had corrupted the Scriptures. This philo-Semitic element, together with the impeccable Hebrew typography present in the text, open up the possibility that there was some kind of Sephardi involvement in its publication. In fact, as Cecil Roth revealed, this book was mentioned in a catalogue of books by Samuel ben Israel Soeiro, the son of Menasseh ben Israel, printed in 1654.[48] The book could thus well have been printed by Menasseh ben Israel.

Finally, I wish to comment on the work of Michael Monserrate Montañés, a Spanish Protestant who published at least eight works in the Netherlands between 1629 and 1646. Not much is known about this author, who was apparently a native of Catalonia. His date of birth, and when and why he left Spain are still unanswered questions. The Spanish he used in his works exposes a strong French influence, indicating perhaps some years of residence in France.[49] On the other hand, in *Throsne de David*, a work he wrote in French, he constantly introduced Spanish words and phrases. Monserrate did not reveal much about himself in the works he published. Mysterious as he might appear to us today, he was rather successful with the authorities in Holland,

[46] This anonymously published work can be attributed to Fernando de Tejeda. The location ("Nodriza") and printer ("Maria Sanchez") are evidently false. There are copies of the work in the Koninklijke Bibliohteek at The Hague, the British Library, London, and the Klau Library of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati; see *SPPNN*, n. 785.

[47] No es comida para puercos / mi fruto, ca perlas son. / Y aunque parezco Carrasco, / Soy más, pues soy Carrascón.

[48] C. Roth, "Notes sur les Marranes de Livourne," *REJ* 91 (1931), p. 7.

[49] I do not think that Monserrate's language is to be explained by the probable fact that he was a native speaker of Catalan, although this issue merits further research.

as his works bear the approbations of the Synod of Dordrecht, and several of them were dedicated to the House of Orange.[50]

In 1629 he published three works of relatively minor extension, *Christiana confessión de la fe fundada en la sola Escritura sagrada*, printed in Leiden (fig. 6), *Coena Domini* (despite the title, a Spanish work), printed in The Hague, and possibly also *Consuelo de morientes y vivientes*.[51] Between 1631 and 1639 his production seems to have acquired a more aggressive tone, addressed against the Pope and the Church of Rome, with titles that speak for themselves: *De Papa Antichristo* (1631), *Avisos sobre los abusos de la iglesia romana* (The Hague, 1633) and *Desengaño del engaño del Pontífice romano* (The Hague, 1639) (fig. 7). Finally, between 1645 and 1646 he published *Misericordia David fideles* and *Exhortación a salud* (fig. 8), in which he ardently advocated for repentance in preparation of salvation.

Brought together in *Spanish and Portuguese Printing*, Monserrate's extremely rare work can now be studied in its entirety, and will undoubtedly contribute to our knowledge of Spanish Protestantism in the seventeenth century. Within the context of Iberian printing in the Netherlands, Montserrate's production seems to set itself apart from other Protestant editions printed in the Netherlands, in the first place due to the fact that all of Monserrate's books were printed by Dutch printers established at Delft and The Hague, rather than at Amsterdam, which would suggest that the author must have resided near the Dutch Court. As far as printing is concerned, there is thus no possible Sephardi involvement, contrary to Tejeda's *Carrascón*.

Nor is there any evidence that Monserrate's works were known by Sephardim. Contrary to the previously mentioned *Carrascón* (1633), the Spanish Bible edition by Cipriano de Valera (1602),[52] and some other Protestant titles extant in the extensive libraries of Abas, Aboab and Nunes Torres, his titles are not listed in any Sephardi book collection, nor have I come across any reference in the literature produced by the Amsterdam Sephardim.

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[50] For his Spanish works, see *SPPNN*, nn. 599–606. The French *Throsne de David* can be found in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek at The Hague.

[51] The title *Consuelo de morientes y vivientes*, reportedly printed at Colonia, is given by A. M. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano* (7 vols.; 1923) (28 vols.; Barcelona 1977–1982), n. 177103.

[52] *La Biblia. Que es, los sacros libros del Vieio y Nvevo Testamento* (Amsterdam: Lorenço Iacobi, 1602).

Still, I venture that some form of contact or influence must have arisen during Monserrate's stay in the Netherlands. In 1645 he published the book *Misericordia David fideles* (1645), with its philo-Semitic title. I have still not been able to trace any copy of this intriguing work, but Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, in his *Historia de los heterodoxos*,[53] revealed its overall contents. In 1650, the zealous Italian Protestant Antonio Marganetti, "servus et exul Jesu Christi," was alarmed by Monserrate's book, denouncing its "impious and perverse doctrine" to the Synod of Dordrecht.[54] The Italian even went so far as to accuse the author of having no religion at all. Marganetti not only referred to the book's title, he also quoted some of its contents, denouncing Monserrate for (*a*) asserting that the Messiah was still to come; (*b*) claiming that the Jews would enjoy eternal life and Montserrate would be king in the coming age; (*c*) denying Christ's humanity, in order to sustain that the Messiah was still to come; and (*d*) defending the eternity of the world.[55]

According to Menéndez Pelayo, no neutral authority in the field, Monserrate wished to prove himself both a Christian and a Jew, and a philosopher as well. He finally called him a "religious speculator." Independently of what religious identity this hitherto mysterious Catalan reformist adhered to, it would surely be interesting to examine his work in depth; hopefully a copy of *Misericordia David fideles* can still be traced. The extant titles still provide sufficient basis for looking into Monserrate's ideas. The Koninklijke Bibliotheek at The Hague holds a copy of *Throsne de David ou cinquiesme Monarchie, Royaume d'Israel* (1643), a work full of scriptural quotations about the Messiah and the Coming Age, dedicated to no other than the prince of Orange, William II, and his spouse Mary Henrietta Stuart. It is remarkable that some years before the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio Vieira and Menasseh ben Israel

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[53] M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* ([1881], Santander 1947), vol. 4 of the *Edición nacional de las obras completas de Menéndez Pelayo*, pp. 193–95.

[54] Antonio Marganetti, *Brevis Remonstratio ad Reverendos Ministros Verbi Dei Ecclesiae Reformatae. Contra impiam et perversam doctrinam Michaelis Monserrati, Montañes Cathalani, nullius religionis* (The Hague 1647). A copy of the pamphlet is in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek at The Hague.

[55] *Brevis Remonstratio*, pp. [6–7]: "Contendit venturum Messiam […] quod debet esse ex propria carne ex stirpe David, et regnaturus in perpetuum cum Judaeis"; "Judaei non morituri, sed ex privilegio peculiari de hac in coelo translaturi sint et ipse [Monserrate] tanquam natus ex parentibus Iudaeis firmiter credit se non moriturum sed futurum regem aeternum"; "negat humanitatem in Iesu Christo asserendo nihil accepisse ex Maria Virgine et consqeuenter non esse ex stirpe et familia Davidis secundum carnem"; "Asserit mundum fore aeternum."

met to speculate about the Messianic Age,[56] Monserrate was already deeply concerned with millenarian speculations. It would seem probable that the Catalan's philo-Semitism had developed during his stay in the Netherlands owing to some form of contact with the Sephardim living there.

Conclusion

This brief assessment on the Netherlands as "locus" of Spanish and Portuguese printing has revealed, I hope, that aside from the undisputed importance of Jewish Iberian printing, another aspect—much less known—merits attention: the interaction between Jews and non-Jews in the unique physical and "virtual" environment of the Dutch Republic, a space which, though for a long time despicable to many in the Iberian world, to others proved to be an attractive challenge with new possibilities.

[56] A. J. Saraiva, "Antonio Vieira, Menasseh Ben Israel et le cinquième empire," *StRos* 6 (1972), pp. 25–57.

THE TEMPLE MOUNT IN THE LOWLANDS

Gary Schwartz

For Adri Offenberg

On 6 June 1646 the town government of Haarlem passed a resolution that was recorded in these words: "De Jode is toegestaan in de St. Jans kermis de Temple Salomons te mogen laten sien" [the Jew is allowed to show the Temple of Solomon at the Fair of Sint Jan].[1] There can be no doubt as to the identity of "the Jew." It was, of course, Jacob Judah Leon, who in the same year also showed his model of the Temple of Solomon at the fair of The Hague (fig. 1).[2] Leon had been working in Middelburg since about 1639 and was to remain there for several years after 1646, under the patronage and at the expense of the millenarian Christian theologian Adam Boreel. Their collaboration included the construction of a model of the First Temple, the publication of a book on the subject,[3] and bringing out an edition of the Mishnah in vocalized Hebrew, with Spanish and Latin translations. This fruitful and fascinating cooperation was termed by Adri Offenberg "a Jewish-Christian project."

Over and above its intrinsic importance, the Temple of Solomon as reconstructed by Jacob Judah Leon (fig. 2) provided inspiration for an even more striking manifestation of Jewish-Christian cooperation in early modern Europe, the great synagogues of Amsterdam. Jonathan Israel wrote of the Ashkenazi Grote Synagoge (1669–1671)

***** See illustrations on pp. 461–478.

[1] C. J. R. van der Linden, "De symboliek van de Nieuwe Kerk van Jacob van Campen te Haarlem," *Oud Holland* 104 (1990), p. 25 n. 36, with source: Gemeentearchief Haarlem (now Noord-Hollands Archief), Archief Stad Haarlem, inv. no. 14: burgemeestersresoluties 1645–1647. Van der Linden's outstanding article was based on a graduate paper for Gerrit Vermeer of the Vrije Universiteit. It is very regrettable that this gifted researcher and scholar did not continue to work in the field of art history.

[2] A. K. Offenberg, "Jacob Jehudah Leon en zijn tempelmodel: een joods-christelijk project," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 9 (1993), p. 38.

[3] Iaacob Iehvda Leon Ebreo, *Afbeeldinghe vanden Tempel Salomonis*… (Middelburg: Erfgenamen Symon Moulert, 1642).

and the Sephardi Esnoga (1671–1675), one of the largest buildings in Holland, that they "were not only the first imposing synagogues built in the Republic, but the first in western Europe."[4] The architects, Elias Bouwman and Daniël Stalpaert, were officials of the city of Amsterdam. The inaugurations of the buildings were presided over by the burgomasters themselves, in an exceptional sign of favor. Moreover, the buildings and their surroundings became and remained models of interconfessional accord. They immediately became tourist attractions for Christians as well as Jews. Abraham Rademaker's 1772 views of the square on which the buildings were located, depicted with visible pride, shows all faiths, nationalities and classes sharing the rather glamorous space of the Muidergracht equally (fig. 3). First printed about 1730, the plate was updated and reprinted in the 1750s and 1770s. All revisionist relativizing aside, we should not lose sight of this nor underestimate its significance in not only Dutch, but also European, history.

However, this striking success should not deceive us into thinking that Jews and Christians assigned the same meaning to the Temple in Jerusalem, or that Temple symbolism in Dutch architecture emanated a unifying message to the two faiths. Looking more closely into the background of Temple symbolism in Dutch architecture before the building of the synagogues, we shall see that this was far from being the case.

In 1929, Jac. Zwarts pointed out the resemblance between a characteristic feature of the Portuguese synagogue and Leon's model.[5] The flying—or at least hopping—buttresses in Leon's reconstruction of the colossal base of the Temple Mount come close to the even more massive buttresses of one side of the Portuguese synagogue (figs. 4–5). This comparison is impressive, but in the key regard it is misleading. The buttresses of the synagogue were not part of the original construction of 1675. They were added a hundred years later in the second half of the 1770s.

A comparison of Leon's reconstruction with buttresses of the Portuguese synagogue that were not rebuilt in the 1770s shows that a more modest solution was adopted (fig. 6). In formal terms, it does not resemble Leon's print very closely. The curve does not begin at the top

[4] J. I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford 1995), p. 867.

[5] Van der Linden, "De symboliek," p. 22 n. 5, with reference to Zwarts's articles.

but near the bottom of the pilaster, which must have been a cheaper alternative. But the basic idea—that the pilasters projected outward at their base—is respected. Understandably, Zwarts assumed that the builders had installed this feature to give expression in the architecture to the Jewishness of the building. The officials of the Jewish community who commissioned the synagogue, he reasoned, would have told the Christian architects with whom they worked that all synagogues partake of the nature of the Temple. They would have shown them Leon's print or model, which was housed a few blocks away. This is an attractive proposition, and it cannot be eliminated as a possibility. However, as we shall see, this likelihood is weakened considerably by the fact that the feature in question was not uniquely Jewish at all.

In Haarlem in June 1646, at the very time that Jacob Judah Leon was proudly displaying (for a modest charge) his model of Solomon's Temple at the Sint Jans kermis, another version of the Temple of Solomon was being constructed a few blocks away (fig. 7). On the site of the former church of St. Anne on the Annekerkhof, a new church was being built, called simply the Nieuwe Kerk. The name referred to the fact that this was the first church to be built in Haarlem for Protestant worship, replacing the former Catholic church. The architect was the renowned Jacob van Campen (1595–1657), who had already built the Mauritshuis in The Hague and had begun work on the new town hall for Amsterdam. A quarter of a century before the construction of the Portuguese synagogue, van Campen provided the Nieuwe Kerk with receding pilasters even more pronounced than those in the Jewish place of worship (fig. 8). Since architectural articulation is kept to a bare minimum in the Nieuwe Kerk, the pilasters play quite an important role in the total impression of the building.

Jacob van Campen may or may not have known Jacob Judah Leon's publication on the Temple of 1642. As we happen to know, however, the architect was certainly acquainted with the far more glorious and better illustrated publication that had also served Jacob Judah as a source. In 1634, van Campen was working intensively in The Hague with Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) on the construction of Huygens's house on the Plein and also on the Mauritshuis, not much more than a hundred yards away. Both buildings are full of architectural symbolism. On December 5, 1634, Huygens wrote to a friend in Rome, the diplomat and scholar Joachim de Wicquefort, that van Campen was helping him in his study of Vitruvius, the Roman author on architecture. Huygens writes with a

request: "Mr. van Campen knows that you own Villalpando on Ezekiel and would like to borrow it." The request was honored.[6]

Villalpando's commentary on Ezekiel is an extraordinary book. Between 1595 and 1605, the Spanish Jesuits Jeronimo Prado (1547–1595) and Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552–1608) published a Latin commentary on the book of Ezekiel, in which the prophet Ezekiel describes his vision of the new Temple that would be built in Jerusalem to replace the one that was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in the early sixth century BCE. The authors assumed that the replacement was to be identical to the lost Temple, and that Ezekiel's vision therefore adumbrated a precise description of the Temple of Solomon. As the title print to vol. 3 shows, the connections go further. The prophet's vision of the Temple in Ezekiel 40–41 was linked to his image of the *merkavah* in chapter 1, the chariot that was the central symbol of early kabbalah (fig. 9).[7]

Villalpando's volume on the Temple was related to an older and even more monumental project. It was tied up intimately with the design, construction, and iconography of the Escorial, the great palace of Philip II outside Madrid (1559–1584; fig. 10). Philip II saw himself as the successor of, among others, the ancient kings of Judah. The Patio de los Reyes is governed by David and Solomon. He also saw himself as the successor to Christ, and his palace was to show that. The cruciform ground plan of his power center allowed Philip to live and die in imitation of Christ. Not the pastoral Christ of Thomas à Kempis, but Christ as Ruler of the Universe. The research of Villalpando into the architecture of the Temple in Jerusalem added luster to this enterprise, and Philip subsidized it lavishly, paying 3,000 scudi for the engraving of the prints.

A comparison of Villalpando's Temple reconstruction (1604) with a print of the Escorial by Abraham Ortelius from 1597 (fig. 11) shows both to have the same basic horizontal and vertical divisions and over-

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[6] "Il [i.e. Jacob van Campen] a sceu que vous possedez Vilalpandus sur Ezechiel et vous le demandera par emprunt…"; J. A. Worp, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608–1687)*, vol. 2, *1634–1639* (The Hague 1913), pp. 36–37 (letter no. 1046) and 215 (letter no. 1509).

[7] Hieronymi Pradi and Ioannis Baptistae Villalpandi, *In Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus vrbis, ac templi Hierosolymitani.: Commentariis et imaginibvs illvstratvs*…, 3 vols. (Rome: Typis Illefonsi Ciacconij, excudebat Carolus Vulliettus, 1596–1605). Villalpando was responsible for the third volume, which contains the prints of the Temple. Hereafter I refer to the book by his name alone.

all proportions. The latter was essential, since Villalpando located the sanctity of the Temple not in its topographical position but in its proportions, which reflected the divine order. The elevation of the Temple (fig. 11) is a detail of Villalpando's conception of the Temple Mount as a whole, a stunning image (fig. 12). The Temple is poised on top of what would have been the most massive man-made structure ever built, had it existed. The sheer visual power of Villalpando's illustrations captivated audiences all over Europe for centuries to come. They also carried conviction among scholars like Jacob Judah Leon, whose Temple Mount is nearly identical to that of the Spanish Jesuits.

Architects, too, were enthralled by the vision of Villalpando. The response of Jacob van Campen, to return to our main man, is evident not only in the Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem but also in two earlier churches. In 1639, before the Jewish Leon began *his* project in about 1640, in collaboration with the Protestant Boreel, the Catholic van Campen designed Protestant churches in the villages of Renswoude in Utrecht province (fig. 13) and Hooge Zwaluwe in North Brabant (fig. 14; restored twice in the twentieth century after a fire in 1910). The details and the precise line of the curve may differ, but the spirit of Villalpando is captured unmistakably by van Campen (fig. 15).[8]

The references in these churches to the Temple in Jerusalem are not limited to formal properties. They extend to liturgical and spiritual features as well. The church of Hooge Zwaluwe stood on hereditary grounds of the House of Orange. That is the reason why van Campen, one of the leading architects of the Netherlands at that moment and architect to the court, was called upon to design this village church. The foundation stone alludes to his patronage in these terms: "Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange, elevated this sanctuary from its foundations, dedicated to God Almighty and to the blessed community of the people of Zwaluwe, 1641." This is followed by a verse from the First Epistle of Peter, "Thus will you as living stones be built into a spiritual house" (2:5). The full verse, in the Revised Standard Version, reads: "and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God

[8] Photographs by Jan Derwig, 1995, for the exhibition catalogue *Jacob van Campen: het klassieke ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw*, ed. Jacobine Huisken et al. (Amsterdam 1995), pp. 181, 183. The comparison with Villalpando was made by Ottenheym and earlier by W. Kuyper, in *Dutch Classicist Architecture: A Survey of Dutch Architecture, Gardens and Anglo-Dutch Relations from 1625 to 1700* (student edition; Delft 1980), p. 15.

through Jesus Christ." This refers unmistakably to the Temple, with its stone building, its priesthood, and its sacrifices. Rather than paying homage to the Jewish place of worship, however, or even acknowledging its sanctity, the apostle proclaims that it is being replaced by a new structure, consisting of the community of the faithful. This, too, can be termed a Jewish-Christian project, in the sense that the source of sanctity referred to originated in Judaism. The Epistle of Peter is addressed to Diaspora Jews, proposing the Christian faith as a medium for long-distance participation in the holiness of the Temple. Frederik Hendrik's inscription speaks to non-Jews only, in a way that co-opts the holiness of the Temple, eliminating the Temple of Solomon in favor of the Reformed Christians of the prince's domain in Brabant.

In the Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem, too, major Jewish symbols are appropriated in ways that eliminate Jews from the equation. The side elevation of the church has a general resemblance to that of the Temple in Villalpando's reconstruction (figs. 16–17), with six bays and a tower.[9] (The tower of the Nieuwe Kerk was preserved from the previous church on the site; it was built by Lieven de Key.) Another feature of the reconstruction that van Campen employed is the ground plan of the entire Temple Mount, a square subdivided into nine smaller squares (figs. 18–19). This borrowing is more than formal. In another figure, the Jesuit provides his ground plan of the Temple complex with symbols pertaining to the cosmos and to the Jewish past (fig. 20). The twelve outside towers refer to the twelve tribes of Israel and the signs of the Zodiac, the four towers of the inner court to the three sons of Levi and Moses and Aaron and also to the four elements. The seven squares between the outer and inner courts are symbolic of the sun, the moon, and the five planets.[10]

It appears to me that van Campen also adapted this feature of Villalpando's Temple for the Reformed Christians of Haarlem. In his adornment of the ceiling of the Nieuwe Kerk, he places symbols in similar positions to those in Villalpando's symbolic figure, divided over the diverse vaults (fig. 21). Chief among these symbols were the sword and the cross, emblems of the city of Haarlem conferred to it during the Fifth Crusade, at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

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[9] For the works by Saenredam here illustrated, see G. Schwartz and M. J. Bok, *Pieter Saenredam: The Painter and His Time* (Maarssen and The Hague 1990).

[10] R. Jan van Pelt, *Tempel van de wereld: de kosmische symboliek van de Tempel van Salomo* (Utrecht 1984), pp. 235–41.

(This may be seen as an indirect reference to the Temple, as one of the holy places for which the Crusaders were fighting.) Mainly, however, the emblems in the ceiling are the coats of arms of Holland and the city and regent families of Haarlem, who take the place of the tribes of Israel. This was made explicit in the speech with which Dominee Clerquius opened the church on 3 May 1648, where he compared the regents of Haarlem to "pious heroes like Moses and David, who not only provided welfare for the community but also furthered the true religion."[11] The text for Clerquius's sermon was Psalm 48:9: "We have thought about your loving kindness, God, in the midst of your temple." Both the burgomasters and God are thanked for what Clerquius calls "the building of Jerusalem." The Temple is adduced in numerous passages, with much of its furniture and ritual objects.

Villalpando's Temple reconstruction became the best-known effort of its kind. However, Jacob van Campen made use of other sources as well. Van der Linden convincingly compares the original wooden model of the Nieuwe Kerk with a reconstruction of the Temple of Solomon from the 1540s by the French Hebraist François Vatable (fig. 22).[12] The resemblance is all the more striking because the solutions are so unusual—the large, square west wall with a simple columned doorway. Notice that van Campen had his own ideas about the tower. The decision to retain Lieven de Key's landmark, with such a pungent and different architectural taste of its own, will not have pleased him.

The dedication sermon of Clerquius reminds us of another major point. All the Temple projects we have discussed involved worldly as well as spiritual authorities. Solomon, after all, was a king, and it would have been presumptuous of a seventeenth-century church of any denomination to lay claim to his prerogatives. That is why it is significant and appropriate that the initiators of Temple projects were temporal rulers like the king of Spain, the prince of Orange and the burgomasters of Amsterdam and Haarlem.

The obverse was not true. Worldly individuals who became involved in Temple studies didn't always feel called upon to bring the church in to bless them. A fascinating example, of which we have only a mere hint, is the building of the Mauritshuis, erected in The Hague for Johan

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[11] For Clerquius and his address, see van der Linden, "De symboliek," pp. 1, 22 (n. 4).

[12] *Biblia his accesserunt schemata tabernaculi Mosaici, & Templi Salomonis, quae praeceunte Francisco Vatablo* (Paris 1546).

Maurits van Nassau during his absence as governor of Dutch Brazil. As mentioned, Constantijn Huygens and Jacob van Campen—along with Huygens's wife Susanne (he called her Sterre)—were supervising the project. In a letter of 17 November 1637 to Johan Maurits in Brazil, Huygens writes that he and van Campen were eagerly awaiting the arrival of some rare materials that Johan Maurits was sending from Brazil to adorn his house. With these materials, Huygens wrote, they could "bring the Temple of Solomon back to life on a small scale."[13] His exact meaning is uncertain, but there is every likelihood that van Campen refers to the mystical side of Johan Maurits's interests. The count grew up in Heidelberg, where he belonged to the circle of the early Rosicrucians. Robert Jan van Pelt makes a case for interpreting the proportions of the building in a cosmological sense, with Johan Maurits as the semi-divine lord of the domain.[14] "It is [...] reasonable to assume that it was Johan Maurits' intention to [...] make his house an image of the cosmos, or a microcosmos [...]." On his birthday, van Pelt suggests, the prince received his guests under a pierced ceiling and cupola that admitted a shaft of light shining on himself.

This interpretation finds some support in another Huygens–van Campen project for the House of Orange. Around 1650 they found themselves building a palace for Princess Amalia van Solms, the widow of Frederik Hendrik. This was Huis ten Bosch [House in the Woods], now the residence of the queen. The main hall of the palace is the Oranjezaal, one of the grandest rooms in northern Europe (fig. 23). The main attraction is a painting by Jacob Jordaens of the apotheosis of Frederik Hendrik, Hendrik in a *merkavah* of his own (fig. 24). One of the allegories in the ceiling vault, designed by Jacob van Campen himself, shows the Union of Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture (fig. 25). It contains a detail, next to the round tempietto, behind Mercury, of a building that has been identified by Eymert-Jan Goossens as the Temple of Solomon in the heavens (fig. 26). Goossens juxtaposes it to the town hall of Amsterdam, which van Campen designed in the very same period. Indeed, the painted image of the Temple bears a general resemblance to the town hall of Amsterdam. If one allows this, one could say that Constantijn Huygens and Jacob van Campen

[13] Worp, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. 2, p. 333, letter no. 1763.

[14] R. J. van Pelt, "The Mauritshuis as domus cosmographica," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604–1679. A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil: Essays on the Occasion of the Tercentenary of His Death*, ed. E. van den Boogaart (The Hague 1979), pp. 191–96.

appropriated the image of the Temple for both the House of Orange and the city of Amsterdam, to add resonance to their power. This move is different only in scale from the scheme of King Philip II in the Escorial. The comparison is not as far-fetched as it may seem at first glance. After all, Amsterdam and Orange were successors to Philip, the Amsterdam government as ruler over the city and Frederik Hendrik as deputy of the abjured king.

Having looked at reconstructions and revivals of the Temple belonging to some of the most glamorous artistic creations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Spain, Rome, and the Netherlands, it is nearly embarrassing to end the row of examples with the plainest, driest—I am tempted to say, most Calvinist—document imaginable: the reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem published in 1630 by Constantijn L'Empereur van Oppijck (1591–1648), professor of theology at Leiden University. The reconstruction is found on a foldout sheet in L'Empereur's bilingual edition of Mishnah *Middoth*, in Hebrew and in his own excellent Latin translation (fig. 27). This book was available, and unquestionably known, to Huygens and van Campen in 1634 when they asked to borrow Wicquefort's copy of Villalpando. One would expect that any serious student of the Temple in the Netherlands after 1630 would turn to it first,[15] as an authoritative translation of the book of the Mishnah that deals with the Temple and its measurements. There are indeed resemblances between L'Empereur's reconstruction of the Temple forecourt and van Campen's ground plan of the Nieuwe Kerk (fig. 28). However, the debts to Villalpando and Vatable are so much more visible that one is hard put to find a specific element that van Campen owed to his countryman and contemporary.

L'Empereur's Temple project shares with the others we have seen a low bow to the lords of the land. His book is dedicated to the States of Holland and West-Friesland, the most powerful of the Dutch provinces. The attitude vis-à-vis Jewish history is conventional, with a small personal touch. In the dedication, the Leiden theologian writes: "The Christian church is a living tabernacle. It has traveled through Germany and France, just as the tabernacle of the Israelites traveled

[15] *Masekhet midot mi-Talmud Bavli hoc est, Talmvdis Babylonici codex Middoth sive De mensvris templi, unà cum versione Latina, additis, præter accuratas figuras, commentariis, quibus tota templi Hierosolymitani structura… explicatur, variaque Scripturæ S. loca illustrantur.* / Opera et studio Constantini L'Empereur de Oppyck…(Leiden: Bonaventura and Abraham Elsevier, 1630). The copy in the Amsterdam University Library was consulted.

through the desert. Now it has found a home under your authority in the Netherlands, where it has been transformed as it were into an immovable permanent structure, a temple." Here the emphasis is on the specific cult of the writer and the government, the Reformed Church in the Netherlands. Thanks to the Dutch government, playing the role of Solomon, the Reformed Church enjoys a Temple-like stability in the Netherlands. Elsewhere in Europe Calvinists had to sleep with their boots on and their bags packed, like the Jews in the desert, with the portable tabernacle in their care.

With the Jews of the Netherlands in his own time, L'Empereur had a complex relationship. He bought books from Menasseh ben Israel and Isaac Aboab de Fonseca and studied Hebrew with one or the other of them. He praised the States of Zeeland for doing away with anti-Semitic legal measures. He did business with Jews in the sugar trade, earning more than his double salary in Leiden. The reason for his double salary is quite interesting. While occupying the chair for Hebrew, he also had one in the refutation of Judaism. He took this responsibility seriously but, according to his biographer Peter van Rooden, without venom. It was his job to prove that Judaism was intellectually and doctrinally incorrect, just as were Catholicism, Socinianism, and Anabaptism.[16] One of his ambitions as a professor of Hebrew was to train his students so well that they would have no need, as he had, of a Jewish teacher. In this he succeeded. Thanks to L'Empereur and several colleagues, from the mid-seventeenth century on the role of Jews like Menasseh, Aboab, and Jacob Judah Leon as irreplaceable sources for the knowledge of Hebrew and rabbinics was played out. Even on their own turf, they were replaced by Reformed Christians.

This overview treats only a fraction of the materials that can be included under the heading "The Temple in the Lowlands." Significant examples abound in the fields of painting and literature. Even the few examples discussed above, however, make it plain that the Temple of Jerusalem played an important part in Dutch architecture, printmaking, statehood, political symbolism, religion, theology, Bible and Mishnah

[16] P. van Rooden, "Constantijn l'Empereur (1591–1648), professor Hebreeuws en theologie te Leiden: theologie, bijbelwetenschap en rabbijnse studiën in de zeventiende eeuw" (Ph.D. diss., Leiden University, 1985); and his book, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn l'Empereur (1591–1648)* (Leiden 1989).

studies, and antiquarian research. Viewed in terms of the theme of this volume, the intersection of Jews and the Netherlands in modern history, the materials reveal that the Christian Dutch love of the Temple was a one-sided affair. Christians appropriated a prime source of Jewish sanctity and power for their own cult and political legitimacy. In doing so, they pushed living Jews emphatically off to the side or else attempted to deJudaize them through conversion. If postwar anti-Semitism in Europe has been called anti-Semitism without Jews, then in certain realms of seventeenth-century Holland, we might speak of philo-Semitism without Jews.

Fortunately, this was not true for all of Dutch society. Yosef Kaplan has published a unique document concerning the early ownership of a painting of the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam by the Dutch artist Emanuel de Witte. Kaplan shows that the painting—either the version in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 29) or one of the other two like it—belonged to a Jewish owner who left it in his will to a Jewish friend.[17] This find establishes the existence, however small it may have been, of a market among Jews for depictions of Jewish subjects by Dutch Christian artists. The subject of the painting is a Lowlands Temple in the form that was so close to the hearts and lives of the Jewish people for two thousand years; it is a synagogue that has become a substitute Jerusalem Temple. May the spiritual tradition of synagogue worship continue to satisfy the need of Jews for a Temple of their own.

[17] Y. Kaplan, "For Whom Did Emanuel de Witte Paint His Three Pictures of the Sephardic Synagogue in Amsterdam?" *StRos* 32 (1998), pp. 133–43.

THE PERSISTENCE OF IMAGES: REPRODUCTIVE SUCCESS IN THE HISTORY OF SEPHARDI SEPULCHRAL ART

Michael Studemund-Halévy

Wandering Stones and Sumptuous Memories

Beneath magnificently decorated funereal slabs, sarcophagi and rectangular tombs with prism-shaped lids (*ohalim*), lauded in moving eulogies, *hakhamim, talmidei hakhamim*, as well as the pillars of the flourishing Sephardi communities of Hamburg, Glückstadt, Amsterdam, and Curaçao—rabbis, cantors, community elders, and merchants—sleep their last sleep, wept over by cupids, putti, Graces, and children (figs. 1–2);[1] they lie protected by angels, lambs, birds, a pair of rampant lions, and signs of the zodiac, honored with heraldic shields, and ornamented with flowering sprigs, baskets of flowers, round arches, half-columns and pilasters, drapery and a variety of motifs that have definite *vanitas* or *memento mori* connotations (e.g. *vanitas* texts [Isaiah 40:6; Psalms 103:15; Job 14:1–2], skeletons [fig. 3],[2] skulls with crossed bones, hourglasses, flowers, heavenly hands wielding an axe in order to fell the Tree of Life,[3] a broken bridge or ship's mast,[4] a single lamb, etc.), all of which were symbols typically used by Calvinists and Lutherans.[5] Thanks to their profuse, ostentatious, and exuberant, decorative patterns, their elaborate Hebrew, Portuguese, or Spanish epitaphs, and the scriptural scenes and biblical imagery (fig. 3a),[6] as well as the outstanding

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* See illustrations on pp. 479–497.

[1] M. Studemund-Halévy and G. Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht. Der jüdische Friedhof Königstrasse* (Hamburg 2004), p. 106 (second enlarged and improved edition).

[2] J. Faust and M. Studemund-Halévy, *Betahaim. Sefardische Gräber in Norddeutschland* (Glückstadt 1997), p. 50.

[3] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, p. 106.

[4] I. S. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao. Curaçaon Jewry 1656–1957* (New York 1957) [figs. 54–55].

[5] F. Konijn, "De grafstenen van Bet Haim," in *Exôdo. Portugezen in Amsterdam 1600–1680*, ed. R. Kistemaker and T. Levie (Amsterdam 1987); Sh. L. Stuart, "The Portuguese Jewish Community in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: Images of Commemoration and Documentation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1992), p. 312.

[6] L. A. Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk* (Ouderkerk 1994), p. 37.

community members interred there, Sephardi burial grounds constitute some of the most significant Jewish burial sites of Europe and the West Indies.[7] Reflecting different cultural, ideological, and social identities, backgrounds and conflicts, the circumstances of these gravesites need to be explored further.[8]

The observant viewer becomes aware of the ornamental profusion, not only in the form of religious and non-religious symbols of what is often termed "Jewish ceremonial art," and which do not at first appear to be characteristic of Jewish art and which demonstrate an intense cultural exchange between Jews and Christians.[9] It probably can only be satisfactorily explained as an art that "reflects the Jewish experience"[10] and as having resulted from the hybrid material culture of the host country and Christian tainted involvement (see e.g. the shocking and as yet not satisfactorily explained representation of God on the tombstone of Samuel Senior Teixeira [Amsterdam 1717],[11] in Jewish marriage contracts [*ketubbot*],[12] and also in the breathtaking composition of the texts and stone material as well as the equally artistic combination of symbols and motifs, in addition to images and languages).[13]

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[7] See notes 44 and 45.

[8] H. Künzl, *Jüdische Grabkunst. Von der Antike bis heute* (Darmstadt 1999); idem, "Zur künstlerischen Gestaltung des portugiesisch-jüdischen Friedhofs in Hamburg-Altona," in *Studien zur jüdischen Geschichte und Soziologie. Festschrift Julius Carlebach* (Heidelberg 1992), pp. 165–74.

[9] E. Frojmovic (ed.), *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other. Visual Representations and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (Leiden 2002); D. Wolfthal, *Picturing Yiddish. Gender, Identity, and Memory in the Illustrated Yiddish Books of Renaissance Italy* (Leiden 2004).

[10] V. B. Mann and G. Tucker (eds.), *The Seminar on Jewish Art: January–September 1984. Proceedings* (New York 1985), p. 10.

[11] M. Freidman, "Pagan Images in Jewish Art," *Jewish Art* 9 (1983–1984), pp. 124–47; E. S. Saltman, "The 'Forbidden Image' in Jewish Art," *Jewish Art* 8 (1981), pp. 42–53. The artistically rendered tombstone, the handiwork of a Christian stonemason, shows a wonderfully garbed Almighty who appears to Samuel in the Temple at Shilo. Presumably this stone was made to order for a Christian client, only later coming into the Teixeira family's possession. See also F. Landsberger, *A History of Jewish Art* (Cincinnati 1946), p. 257; R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Symbole und Gestalten der jüdischen Kunst* (Berlin 1935).

[12] On Christian motifs in *ketubbot*, see Sh. Sabar, "The Use and Meaning of Christian Motifs in Illustrations of Jewish Marriage Contracts in Italy," *Journal of Jewish Art* 10 (1984), pp. 47–63; idem, *Ketubbah. Jewish Marriage Contracts of Hebrew Union College Skirball Museum and Klaus Library* (Philadelphia 1990).

[13] I would like to express my appreciation to the Institute for the History of the Jews in Germany for generous support enabling me to undertake research on Sephardi cemeteries in Germany, Holland, and Italy.

For German art historian Hannelore Künzl,

> Sephardi Jews' sepulchral art, the richest and most interesting examples of which are to be found in the cemeteries in Ouderkerk and Altona, was initially influenced by the Christian world in which they had lived as forcibly baptized individuals for more than a century and whose art had made an impression on them. However, over time their return to Judaism also brought about a return to Jewish ideas and ways of thinking in which figurative scenes have their place, for example as book illustrations, but not in sepulchral art. Instead, there developed here a Jewish symbolism, which is also typical of tombstones in the Ashkenazi domain.[14]

Unfortunately, Künzl does not ask why the figurative scenes only begin to appear in Hamburg in the last third of the seventeenth century, i.e. at a time when the Sephardi community had already thrived for three generations and, despite continued *marrano* immigration, could scarcely be associated with the sepulchral art of the Iberian Peninsula. In contrast, however, the "return to Jewish ideas and ways of thinking" had a great deal to do with the beginnings of Jewish letterpress printing in Amsterdam. And what for Künzl is Christian and confined to letterpress printing is definitely found on Sephardi graves of the Old and New World. American art historian Rochelle Weinstein argues that the sumptuous Sephardi sepulchral decoration derives from the Calvinist-Lutheran language of forms, the decoration, as well as the choice of decorative subjects, being attributed to the artistic interaction of the Portuguese communities with the Dutch or German (fig. 3b). In her important dissertation on sepulchral decoration in the cemetery in Ouderkerk (unfortunately never published in book form), Weinstein investigated the individual visual motifs and compared them with possible models from Christian art.[15] Other models included illustrated Christian and Jewish books, as well as Sephardi books written and created, if not by Jewish artists then certainly for a Jewish market, and very often printed in Christian shops and decorated with pictures

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[14] H. Künzl, *Jüdische Grabkunst*; idem, "Zur künstlerischen Gestaltung," pp. 165–74; M. Studemund-Halévy, "Pedra e Livro. Arte sepulcral Sefardita em Hamburgo—Contribuição para um estudo," in *O Património Judaico Português. I Colóquio Internacional, Lisboa 9 a 11 de Janeiro de 1996* (Lisbon 1996 [*sic*]), pp. 251–73.

[15] R. Weinstein, "Sepulchral Monuments of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York 1979); idem, "The Storied Stones of Altona. Biblical Imagery on Sefardic Tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery of Altona—Königstraße, Hamburg," in *Die Sefarden in Hamburg. Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit*, vol. 2, ed. M. Studemund-Halévy (Hamburg 1997), pp. 551–660; Stuart, "Portuguese Jewish Community."

copied from Christian sources, in this case largely from the flourishing Dutch printing presses.[16] Weinstein's evidence indicates how irrefutable insights can be gleaned above all from the Sephardi libraries, in which the role played by Christian literature was a considerable one, in more than percentage terms alone.[17] According to art historian Shane Loise Stuart, the earliest tombs of the members of the (Amsterdam) community utilized the "traditional Jewish styles, the later tombs demonstrated that the ornament in the cemetery had shifted from an emphasis on the style or types of tombs to one of tomb decoration."[18]

But what was the process that placed a particular motif on a tombstone (figs. 3c–3d)?[19] Was it the deceased who wanted a gravestone as he himself envisaged it? Was it the family or the community? Are we dealing with gravestone art to order, or did the anonymous artists or stonemasons, who carved and created the tombstones, have a range of ready-made stones to which only the text or the name and date of death had to be added? Unfortunately, for Amsterdam and Hamburg, unlike Venice, our information is limited concerning the testamentary provisions or last will and testament drawn up by the deceased during their lifetime: the quality of the stone to be used (e.g. costly marble or sandstone), the choice of language and lettering (Hebrew, Portuguese, Spanish; monolingual, bilingual, etc.), the inscription on the grave (sepulchral text, poem), or the *vanitas* symbols, which conveyed a message of man's fleeting existence.[20]

One of the few authors of Hamburg grave inscriptions about whom we know is the Amsterdam rabbi Selomoh de Oliveyra[21] who composed the epitaph for the gravestone of Hamburg rabbi and renowned philolo-

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[16] Wolfthal, *Picturing Yiddish.*

[17] M. Studemund-Halévy, "Codices Gentium. Semuel de Isaac Abas, coleccionista de libros hamburgués," in *Familia, Religión y Negocio. El sefardismo en las relaciones entre el mundo ibérico y los Países Bajos en la Edad Moderna*, ed. J. Contreras et al. (Madrid 2003), pp. 287–319; idem, "Livré aux livres: Samuel Abas, érudit et bibliophile séfarade de Hambourg," in *Romanistik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (forthcoming).

[18] Stuart, "Portuguese Jewish Community," p. 312.

[19] On the genesis and popularity of the *carità* or *caritas* image, known from numerous works in European and Jewish art, see E. Wind, "Charity: The Case of History of Pattern," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1, 4 (1938), pp. 322–30; Sabar, *Ketubbah*.

[20] W. Martin, *De Hollandsche schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam 1935–1936), p. 302; Stuart, "Portuguese Jewish Community," p. 286.

[21] J. A. Brombacher, "Chofne Zetim. Handen vol Olijven. De poezie van Selomoh d'Oliveyra, rabbijn en leraar van de Portugese Natie in de 17e eeuw te Amsterdam" (Ph.D. diss., Leiden 1991).

gist David Cohen de Lara (fig. 3e).[22] But unfortunately, we do not know who was ultimately responsible for the artistic design of this tombstone. Other authors of Hamburg sepulchral texts include the Hamburg rabbis Moses Abudiente (many of whose [unpublished] Hebrew poems can be found in Amsterdam Jewish libraries) and Abraham Meldola. Use was also made of other people's inscriptions. Thus, for Moses and Naphtali Herz Wessely, use was made of both the epitaph of Amsterdam rabbi Isaac Uziel and also a free translation of a laudatory poem by Joseph Franco Serrano that sang the praises of this selfsame Isaac Uziel, and which Abraham Meldola passed off as his own.[23]

We know almost nothing about the stonemasons who were ultimately responsible for flawlessly casting the inscriptions in stone in compliance with the Jewish tradition of grave inscriptions. While there is no doubt whatsoever that there was a Jewish fraternity that was responsible for burying the dead, it is not known whether—in the seventeenth century at least—there were Jewish stonemasons in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Glückstadt, Curaçao, or Venice, due to the exclusion of Jews from the craft guilds. Elsewhere in Europe the communities had specially trained stonemasons [*masewe-schlägere*] who fashioned the tombstone in collaboration with the rabbi, but one can wonder whether such was the case in the seventeenth century. The perfectly shaped Hebrew letters and the respect for the Jewish tradition of grave inscriptions may well indicate that this was the case, but it is also perfectly feasible that a Christian stonemason, with or without help from a Jewish assistant, could have followed very detailed drawings.

[22] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht.*

[23] Originally written in Hebrew, the poem appeared as *Octava Acrostica* in Daniel Levi de Barrios's book *Triumpho del Govierno Popular* (Amsterdam 5443 [1683]); see M. and R. Sarraga, "Hamburg's Sephardi Hebrew Epitaphic Poems in Amsterdam Texts," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 12 (2005), pp. 330–70. From the documents that have been examined here, it becomes evident that the published and unpublished literature of the Portuguese Jews in Hamburg and Amsterdam was one of the major sources for the epitaphs. See also M. Studemund-Halévy, "La mort de Sara et la source de Miriam: Interprétation d'une épitaphe du cimetière juif de Hambourg," *Materia Giudaica* 10 (2005), pp. 353–63.

Network of Sephardi Art

The dissemination of Sephardi tombstone iconography and Sephardi sepulchral language corresponds to a global network, whereby the intensive interchange and interrelationship between Sephardi communities (far-flung networks of family connections and kinship-based commerce)[24] leads to a certain standardization of artistic design and epitaphs, with only insignificant local distinctions. Besides the maintenance of prevailing sepulchral traditions, of which biblical citations are a part, a leading role is played in this state of affairs by the fact that inscriptions were composed not only for members of the local community, but also for far-flung customers. Furthermore, commercial distributors also supplied gravestones for overseas clients, thereby disseminating identical art and language forms. This globalization, which at the same time sheds light on international commercial relations in Sephardi families, is of great interest to more than Diaspora experts. After all, Portuguese and Spanish epitaphs on Jewish tombstones are almost forgotten parts of Iberian culture outside the Peninsula, and neglected parts of Sephardi art history within the field of Jewish art.[25]

Sephardi Tombstones

Covering an entire burial plot, funereal slabs are marvelously fashioned works of art with decorative biblical and allegorical images. Some are closed horizontally at the top, while others finish with a curved arch, whether connected to pillars or not. Generally the stone is delineated by raised rosettes, frequently in the geometric, ornamental figure of the "eternal wheel," as well as round, rosette-like decorations on the corners outside the frame, familiar to us from Jewish sarcophagi of antiquity. However, this decoration is also reminiscent of contemporary Catholic models on the Iberian Peninsula and their Protestant counterparts in northern Europe. Apart from rosettes, the most frequent decorative

[24] D. M. Swetschinski, "Kinship and Commerce: The Foundations of Portuguese Jewish Life in Seventeenth-Century Holland," *StRos* 15 (1981), pp. 52–74.

[25] K. Brown, "Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin Poetry Written and/or Published by Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Sephardim from Hamburg and Frankfurt (1–3)," *Sefarad* 59 (1999), pp. 3–42; 60 (2000), pp. 227–53; 61 (2001), pp. 3–56. See also Studemund-Halévy, "La mort de Sara."

elements are leafy grapevines, astragal friezes, palm branches, volutes, and cartouches with escutcheons, complete with heraldic decorations or draperies as a frame.[26] Fashioned parts of the surface, containing inscriptions, symbolic motifs, or pictorial scenes, are carved either into the depth of the stone or in relief, and offset from the rest of the stone slab by fine edging. The realistic and vivid three-dimensional reliefs are generally set in the fields at the head or foot, while, with few exceptions, the escutcheons are always in the middle. On the horizontal funereal slabs, the largely Christian stonemasons liked to set the inscriptions in woven wreaths, decorative floral ribbons, and baroque cartouches. Half-naked cherubs, putti or angels or crying infants with outspread handkerchiefs, frequently filled with inscriptions, mourn the dead. The flat, recumbent, horizontally placed,[27] and sometimes stuccoed funereal slabs are ornamented with Hebrew or Portuguese-Spanish texts, either arranged running round the slab or set with more or less artistic effect in consecutive lines. The engraved writing is almost always in Hebrew, at the head, and Portuguese, at the foot. Also common are finely incised letters and chiseled floral and geometrical ornaments.

The Portuguese or Spanish texts are almost always in Latin capital letters (with or without italic swashes), more rarely in script.[28] Aljamiado texts—inscriptions in Hebrew letters, but also in Spanish or Judeo-Spanish—are only present for cemeteries in the Ottoman Empire.[29] The generally bilingual sepulchral texts are normally framed by ornamental or architectural features. They are often placed within round or oval medallions or woven wreaths, or integrated with sweeping strokes in baroque cartouches or framed in plant matter. More rarely they are found on single or double tablets, perhaps intended to symbolize the Tablets of the Law as "Tablets of the Covenant." Another grave shape unfamiliar to many visitors is reminiscent of a tent or pyramid, having small triangular sides and culminating in a point. The entire area of

[26] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, pp. 122–23.

[27] The Portuguese Jews in Denmark were very unhappy at not being able to have their tombstones placed horizontally according to their own tradition; see the tombstone for Luna Franco, d. 1716, buried at the Møllegade cemetery (established 1693); K. Kryger, "Jewish Sepulchral Art in Denmark," in *Danish Jewish Art*, ed. M. Gelfer-Jørgensen (Copenhagen 1999), pp. 229–63.

[28] Precise attribution is frequently impossible because of interferences by the different Romance languages and dialects, as well as possible errors by stonemasons.

[29] Emmanuel, *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao*; M. Studemund-Halévy, *Sefardische Grabinschriften aus Istanbul* (forthcoming).

the long sides is occupied by a Hebrew or Hebrew-and-Portuguese text, sometimes separated only by a family escutcheon.[30] A richly decorative ribbon of floral elements frames the longitudinal text boxes. The top edge is often formed by a narrow ribbon with text lines and/or floral elements, while on the two short sides are artistic motifs such as a tree, sun (fig. 4),[31] a biblical scene or an open book, floral elements and emblems. In one case the pyramidal roof (today destroyed) was supported by four angels stationed at the corners.

The most interesting graves from Hamburg, Amsterdam, Venice and Curaçao, artistically, date back to the last third of the seventeenth and first third of the eighteenth centuries; in the nineteenth century there was a decline in the desire for a distinctly artistic design, and simple funereal slabs were the rule. As in the case of the Catholics and Protestants, the declared purpose of Sephardi sepulchral art was always to present the deceased as a God-fearing individual, but at the same time the stone served to visibly represent the deceased and his family as a sign of family pride. This pride is abundantly clear, above all, in the use of material (e.g. marble),[32] the epitaphs (e.g. composed by poetically gifted rabbis, cantors, or community members),[33] and the grave decoration.[34] Those whose means allowed, commissioned inscriptions from scholars and poets who, in the *musive* or mosaic style, made elaborate use in their epitaphs especially of biblical and Talmudic quotations.[35] In addition, because the authors of these poetic epitaphs (and those who commissioned them) frequently intended them as literary works that would draw the admiring looks of a large and educated public, these sepulchral texts naturally also form part of Spanish and Portuguese

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[30] On the *alma ibérica*, the myth of an aristocratic Iberian past, which was also manifested in the ostentatious use of coats of arms, see H. den Boer, "Las múltiples caras de la identidad. Nobleza y fidelidad ibéricas entre los sefardíes de Amsterdam," in *Familia, Religión y Negocio*, pp. 95–112; M. Studemund-Halévy, "Les aléas de la foi. Parcours d'un jeune Portugais entre église et synagogue," in *Memoria. Wege Jüdischen Erinnerns. Festschrift für Michael Brocke zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. B. E. Klein and C. E. Müller (Berlin 2005), pp. 363–82 [367–69].

[31] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, p. 85.

[32] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*.

[33] For Ouderkerk for example, Shelomoh de Oliveyra and David Franco Mendes; for Venice, Leone Modena; for Hamburg, Mose de Gideon Abudiente and Abraham Meldola; see Brombacher, *Chofne Zetim. Handen vol Olijven*; R. Arnold, *Spracharkaden. Die Sprache der sephardischen Juden in Italien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg 2006); M. Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sefarden* (Hamburg 2000).

[34] Künzl, *Jüdische Grabkuns*.

[35] See Arnold, *Spracharkaden*.

literary history.[36] Just how important these inscriptions were for those who commissioned them is shown in particular by testamentary provisions, though we have, unfortunately, relatively few extant examples.[37] Thus Gabriel Jesurun Dias, for example, who died in Venice in 1623, gave precise instructions for his funereal slab: "con il suo epitafio in hebraico come parerà meglio et in lettere volgari dica—aqui jas gabriel jesurun diaz."[38]

Marble made Hamburg's Sephardi cemetery, which was inaugurated in 1611, Germany's largest free-standing marble field (fig. 5).[39] The costly marble was imported directly from Italy, or reached the northern European Sephardi metropolises (probably) via Amsterdam or Lübeck. In the second half of the seventeenth century, Amsterdam became the largest foreign importer of Italian marble, almost all of it imported into the Netherlands via Livorno.[40] Carrara marble was supplied in standard sizes, and Amsterdam even employed a professional stonecutter (fig. 6).[41] Rich Sephardi families from Amsterdam and Hamburg even had their tombstones hewn in Genoa. Members of the European Sephardi communities who had emigrated to the New World ordered their tombstones and epitaphs in Amsterdam, a practice that also resulted in identical artistic and linguistic forms spreading around the globe.[42]

Foreigners in seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century Amsterdam would stand in astonishment, full of admiration and amazement, before the ornately decorated Christian and Jewish tombstones. In their letters and reports, they praised the Bet Haim cemetery and the elaborated epitaphs and ostentatious decorum, which were as ornate as they were learned, sending word of the patently obvious magnificence of the

[36] Brown, "Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin Poetry"; see also Studemund-Halévy, "La mort de Sara."

[37] R. Arnold, "'Selhe ponhá húa boa pedra.' Dispositionen zu venezianischen Grabsteinen und Inschriften in sephardischen Testamenten," in *Ein Leben für die jüdische Kunst. Gedenkband für Hannelore Künzl*, ed. M. Graetz (Heidelberg 2003), pp. 69–86; idem, *Spracharkaden*; idem, "Stein und Bewusstsein. Aschkenasische und sephardische Sepulkraltraditionen auf dem Friedhof in Venedig," *Kalonymos* 9 (2006), pp. 4–5.

[38] Arnold, *Spracharkaden* p. 272. For Curaçao see Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 248.

[39] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, pp. 181–84.

[40] F. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Tomb Sculpture* (Zwolle 2003); Stuart, "Portuguese Jewish Community."

[41] Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, p. 30.

[42] On the trade of Amsterdam gravestones in the colonies, see Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*; for Venice, see Arnold, *Spracharkaden*, p. 283.

Portuguese figures that they reflected.[43] We learn from their reports that the Sephardi cemetery was a site of particular interest for curious Europeans, and that Amsterdam's official tour program included not only the city's sumptuously decorated Christian sepulchral monuments, but also the Portuguese cemetery in Ouderkerk, inaugurated in 1614, and the enormous Esnoga, established in 1675, symbolizing the community's wealth and power.[44] Both of these "places of pride" repeatedly attracted Dutch artists like Jacob Isaaksz. van Ruisdael, Abraham Blooteling, Romeyn de Hooghe,[45] Dirk Dalens II, Benjamin Senior Godines (cemetery),[46] and de Witte (esnoga),[47] who sketched the imaginative forms, the drawings and etchings being commissioned by a Sephardi or Dutch patron.[48]

It was undoubtedly this special Jewish sepulchral art and language, with its exotic effect on the observer, that, as early as the end of the nineteenth century, motivated scholars to undertake detailed investigations of the Sephardi cemeteries from historical, genealogical, and linguistic viewpoints.[49] Today practically all the significant Spanish-Portuguese cemeteries in Europe and the New World have been researched, albeit in varying degrees of detail and quality.[50] And because the number of

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[43] On the lavish lifestyle of the Amsterdam Portuguese community, see Y. Kaplan, "Gente Politica: The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam vis-à-vis Dutch Society," in *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others*, ed. Ch. Brasz and Y. Kaplan (Leiden 2001), pp. 21–40; idem, "Ellis Veryard sobre judíos y judaísmo; impresiones de un turista inglés del siglo XVII," in *Judaísmo Hispano. Estudios en memoria de José Luis Lacave Riaño*, vol. 2, ed. E. Romero (Madrid 2002), pp. 809–17.

[44] M. Zell, *Reframing Rembrandt. Jews and the Christian Images in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam* (Berkeley 2002), p. 35; Stuart, "Portuguese Jewish Community."

[45] Romeyn de Hooghe and his student Aveele influenced the design of seven Curaçao and Ouderkerk stones; see R. Weinstein, "Stones of Memory: Revelations from a Cemetery in Curaçao," in *Sephardim in the Americas*, ed. M. A. Cohen and A. J. Peck (Tuscaloosa & London 1993), pp. 81–140 [127].

[46] Konijn, "De grafstenen van Bet Haim," p. 102 (fig. 151); Künzl, *Jüdische Grabkunst*.

[47] Y. Kaplan, "For Whom Did Emanuel de Witte Paint His Three Pictures of the Sephardi Synagogue in Amsterdam?" in his *An Alternative Path to Modernity. The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden 2000), pp. 29–50; I. Manke, *Emanuel de Witte* (Amsterdam 1963).

[48] Zell, *Reframing Rembrandt*, pp. 34–40; Stuart, "Portuguese Jewish Community," pp. 7 ff. and 271 ff.

[49] For a comprehensive bibliography on Jewish cemeteries and Jewish funeral art, see F. Wiesemann, *Sepulcra judaica. Bibliographie zu jüdischen Friedhöfen und zu Sterben, Begräbnis und Trauer bei den Juden von der Zeit des Hellenismus bis zur Gegenwart* (Essen 2005).

[50] Hamburg: M. Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber auf deutscher Erde* (Hamburg 1902); M. Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sefarden* (Hamburg 2000); Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, pp. 122–23; M. Studemund-

Sephardi burial sites is relatively small, compared with their Ashkenazi counterparts, it has now become possible to make comprehensive statements about Sephardi sepulchral art and language to an extent that would have been impossible as recently as several decades ago. The fact is that the tombstones constitute an "archive of stone" that helps us to understand history and reveals the influences to which this community was exposed in the course of its history. At present, interdisciplinary research is a sine qua non.[51]

In light of the growing interest in the Sephardi world and its sepulchral culture, it is therefore surprising that, to date, no attempt has been made to study Sephardi graves, not only from an interdisciplinary standpoint, but also in terms of the connections with other graves, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi. Generally speaking, the numerous, recent publications on Sephardi cemeteries superficially review the history of the cemeteries and communities, highlight the epigraphic meaning of the stones, and undertake just a short discussion of their artistic design and the symbols used. On the whole they confine themselves

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Halévy, *MiDor LeDor. Die Grabinschriften des Neuen Portugiesenfriedhofs in Hamburg-Ohlsdorf* (forthcoming).

Glückstadt: M. Studemund-Halévy, "Die portugiesisch-spanischen Grabinschriften in Norddeutschland: Glückstadt und Emden," *Aschkenas* 7 (1997), pp. 389–439; idem, "Os epitáfios luso-espanhóis no norte de Alemanha; Glückstadt e Emden," *Lusorama* 36 (1998), pp. 63–81; Faust and Studemund-Halévy, *Betahaim. Sefardische Gräber in Norddeutschland*; J. Faust and M. Studemund-Halévy, *Der Glückstädter Portugiesenfriedhof* (forthcoming).

Amsterdam: D. H. de Castro, *Keur van Grafsteenen op de Nederl.-Portug.-Israel. Begraafsplasats te Ouderkerk aan de Amstel* (Leiden 1883; reprint Ouderkerk 1999).

Curaçao: Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*; Weinstein, "Stones of Memory."

Barbados: E. M. Shilstone, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Burial Ground of the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgetown, Barbados* (London/New York 1956).

Jamaica: R. D. Barnett, and P. Wright, *The Jews of Jamaica. Tombstone Inscriptions, 1663–1880* (Jerusalem 1997).

Nevis: M. M. Terrel, *Jewish Community of Early Colonial Nevis. A Historical Archaeological Study* (Gainseville 2005).

St. Thomas: J. Margolinsky, *Two Hundred and Ninety-nine Epitaphs on the Jewish Cemetery in St. Thomas, W.I., 1837–1916* (2d. ed.; Copenhagen 1957).

Surinam: A. Ben-Ur, "Still Life: Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and West African Art and Form in Suriname's Jewish Cemeteries," *American Jewish History* 92 (2004), pp. 31–79; A. Ben-Ur and R. Frankel, *Remnant Stones* (forthcoming).

New York: D. De Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone. Early Jewish Settlers 1682–1831* (New York 1952).

Venice: A. Berliner, *Luchot avanim. Hebräische Grabinschriften in Italien. Erster Teil. 200 Inschriften aus Venedig 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main 1881); A. Luzzato, *La comunità ebraica di Venezia e il suo antico cemiterio* (Milan 2000).

[51] See the thought-provoking comments in Ben-Ur, "Still Life."

to genealogical information, place of birth and death, cause of death, occupational details, communal offices, honorary title, and so on.

Sepulchral Art and Language

Surprisingly little scholarly attention has been paid to Sephardi funeral art in isolation. No book has been devoted exclusively to this topic. Sephardi funeral art has only been discussed in general works on Jewish art and Jewish epigraphy. Just a few publications have been devoted to the influence of Christian paintings and book illustrations on Sephardi funeral art. Most studies of Jewish cemeteries and Jewish funeral art do not include convincing, interdisciplinary discussions on topics of epigraphy, iconography, pictography, or biography in the context of Jewish, Sephardi, and non-Jewish history and the cultural and artistic environment. Ultimately, these Jewish or Sephardi cemeteries were located in the midst of a non-Jewish majority society, and frequently these Sephardi cemeteries consisted of two cemetery areas, often rigorously separated: Sephardi and Ashkenazi.[52] Viewed in the light of Jewish design and aniconism, the preference for sumptuous decorations and biblical imagery is surprising, but looking at Sephardi artistic manifestations of various types—such as lavishly illuminated Bibles and Haggadot, fully decorated *ketubbot* and ceremonial objects—it becomes obvious that most of the pictorial program of Sephardi tombstones is rooted in a Jewish cultural environment but nonetheless echoes the surrounding Christian cultural and religious environment. In this way, the Sephardi tombstones reflect the peripatetic history of the Jewish people, the tendency of Jewish art, as well as significant influence of the contemporary Christian visual culture, to bear the imprimatur of the time and place in which it was created.

To this day, it is rare for historians, art historians, or philologists of modern languages to use Sephardi tombstones, with their sumptuous decoration and sometimes highly elaborate epitaphs, as sources for art history, linguistic, or cross-cultural studies. Rather, the tombstones have provided historians, genealogists, and biographers with more precise

[52] The artistic interrelationship of both the Sephardi and Ashkenazi cemeteries as important historical and artistic records was recognized by A. Ruben, *A Jewish Iconography* (London 1954).

information regarding genealogy (father, mother, children), choice of first name and family name (thus, for the ex-*marranos* and New Jews, specifically, the name Esther became a myth and a topos in their literature),[53] change of name on the occasion of a *rogativa*,[54] religious background (proselytes), dates of birth and death, age at death, *gematriot* and chronograms, birthplace (important for studying geographical spread), marital status, terms for children and non-married persons (*yeled/yalda, na'ar/na'ara, bachur/betula*, etc.).[55] These tombstones have also provided details concerning secular or religious functions and professions of the dead, their honorific positions, group membership, devoutness, erudition, the individual's life and death, or cause of death (epidemics, wars, crimes). Scholars have found relevant information also regarding belief in death and afterlife, and have paid attention to issues of language choice, distribution of languages, language changes, poetry, biblical and talmudic quotations, references to the New Testament in Jewish epitaphs, epithets (Jewish and non-Jewish *epitheta ornantia*), formulas (dedications and memory; expressions of grief, etc.), forms and genres, gender studies (men and women in Jewish epitaphs), etc. Such information has helped Jewish and religious studies scholars to gain a better understanding of the Jewish idea of mourning and death through the ages.

Unfortunately, to this day there is a dearth of broader comparative studies, both in geographical and historical terms, on the interaction between Jewish and Christian art, although the images concerning the Portuguese communities of Hamburg, Amsterdam, and the West Indies have been addressed in a number of studies. As an "archive of stone," the language and art of these stones can also often act as a valuable alternative source of information on the history of the Jews of a particular city, region, or country. And because practically all Sephardi communities, whether in Europe or the West Indies, were interconnected by close family and economic ties, this internationalization and standardization of Sephardi sepulchral art and language will, at the same time, provide information about international trade relations and

[53] G. Nahon, "D'un singulier désir à la Loi du Dieu d'Israel: les nouveaux-chrétiens portugais en France," in *La Diaspora des Nouveaux-Chrétiens. Archives du Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian* 48 (2004), pp. 73–102 [87].

[54] See e.g. G. Nahon, "Que fue mudado su nombre. Le salut des vivants dans l'épigraphie portugaise en France," in *Coming and Going. The Role of Hamburg in the Religious, Economic and Cultural Sefardic Network*, ed. M. Studemund-Halévy (forthcoming).

[55] For an excellent study on epigraphic evidence, see M. Preuss, *…aber die Krone des guten Namens überragt sie* (Stuttgart 2005).

family bonds.[56] Such studies would not only provide us with input about the choice of language, the use of formulaic expressions or poems in one or several languages, community members' frequent changes of locality, but also and above all about various cultural transformations and the process of acculturation that was experienced by the various communities. In this way, diverse grave forms, varying over time, as well as sepulchral ornamentation and symbols, could be studied in a comprehensive Sephardi and non-Jewish context, and which then, with the help of information concerning sepulchral topography, iconography, pictography, and epigraphy, could be more precisely dated and more comprehensively interpreted.[57]

Jewish and Non-Jewish Motifs

An index of the wide variety of images and motifs in Sephardi sepulchral art and its models (book illustrations, *ketubbot*,[58] amulets, ceremonial objects such as Hanukkah lamps, Kiddush cups, spice containers, lavers, *parochot*, silver trays for *pidyon ha-ben* ceremonies, faiences, and a great variety of medals commemorating the birth of a son or a daughter, etc.) is an indispensable desideratum.[59] And since we have very little knowledge about the stonemasons, who in Amsterdam and Hamburg, for example, were normally Christians,[60] and their models, a comparison with contemporary Christian sepulchral art would contribute to our understanding.

An interesting resource in this connection is Hamburg's (Lutheran) Kirchwerder cemetery, which, with the biblical representations in its

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[56] M. Studemund-Halévy and J. Poettering, "Étrangers Universels. Les réseaux séfarades à Hambourg"; in *La Diaspora des Nouveaux-Chrétiens. Archives du Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian* 48 (2004), pp. 135–68.

[57] Weinstein, "Storied Stones of Altona."

[58] Sabar, *Ketubbah.*

[59] Ch. Benjamin, "The Sephardi Journey—Five Hundred Years of Jewish Ceremonial Objects," in *The Sephardi Journey, 1492–1992* (New York 5752 [1992]), pp. 94–135; on Curaçao see J. Maslin, "An Analysis of Jewish Ceremonial Objects of Congregation Mikve-Israel-Emanuel, Curaçao, Netherlands Antilles; Dutch Silver: 1700–1800" (Ph.D. diss, University of Chicago, 1980); on Hamburg see E. Schliemann, *Die Goldschmiede Hamburgs* (Hamburg 1985) [no. 307].

[60] M. Wischnitzer, *A History of Jewish Crafts and Guilds* (New York 1965).

medallions (Adam and Eve [figs. 10–11],[61] the Crucifixion, taking down from the Cross, Christ's sepulture, the adoration of the risen Christ, the awakening of Lazarus, Judgment Day), angel's heads, rosettes at the four corners, and scrolling texts, etc., but above all the well-known "memento mori" motifs—skull and crossbones plus angels' and devils' wings, and so on, corresponds exactly to the Sephardi funereal slabs from the cemetery in Hamburg's Königstrasse. The death's head, with ears of corn growing out of its empty eye sockets, undoubtedly derives from Paul's declaration in Martin Luther's translation ("Was du säst, wird nicht lebendig, es sterbe denn. Und was du säst, ist ja nicht der Leib, der werden soll, sondern ein bloßes Korn, etwa Weizen oder der anderen eines" [1 Cor. 15:35–42]) (figs. 12–13).[62]

A less known source of visual subjects is provided by the Portuguese export faiences found in Hamburg and Amsterdam.[63] The Iberian trade of the early seventeenth century brought not just pepper and other spices to Hamburg in hitherto unknown amounts, but also wines, dried and candied fruits, lemons and other southern fruits and tobacco. Eating and luxury consumption-habits changed not only among the upper classes, but also, in quick succession, among the middle classes. A compulsory auction in 1639 provides us with documentary evidence of Portuguese faience in Portuguese households in Hamburg.[64] Although it is not always possible to attribute the findings to individual Portuguese families, signs on three vessels point to the rich Portuguese merchant Diego (Abraham) Teixeira de Sampayo.[65]

The vessels imported from Portugal took account of these new needs, and, with their many visual motifs, appear to have supported these tendencies. Visual motifs on the Portuguese faiences were not indicative of any innovation or deviation from previous decorative themes on bourgeois household items, furniture, household textiles etc. Rather, what is more noteworthy is the extremely limited choice of biblical

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[61] See also the gravestone at the Jewish cemetery in Glückstadt; Faust and Studemund-Halévy, *Betahaim. Sefardische Gräber in Norddeutschland*.

[62] J. Grolle, *Die Predigt der Steine. Totengedächtnis in Kirchwerder* (Hamburg 1997).

[63] J. Baart, "Portuguese faience 1600–1660. Een studie van bodemvonsten en museumscollecties," in *Exôdo. Portugezen in Amsterdam 1600–1680*, pp. 18–24; U. Bauche, "Sefarden als Händler von Fayencen in Hamburg und Nordeuropa," in *Die Sefarden in Hamburg. Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit*, vol. 1, pp. 293–306; idem, *Lissabon-Hamburg. Fayencenimport für den Norden* (Hamburg 1996).

[64] Bauche, *Lissabon-Hamburg*, p. 37.

[65] Ibid., p. 47; idem (ed.), *Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg* (Hamburg 1991), p. 41, 158 ff. (no. 73).

themes. These were limited to the depiction of Adam and Eve at the Fall; motifs such as depictions of St. George and St. Catherine, are attested in individual cases only. Just three jugs can be found in Hamburg with the depiction of the Fall (fig. 11). Hamburg's Protestants as well as the Portuguese Jews were also interested in these Old Testament motifs, as demonstrated by the extant sepulchral monuments in their cemeteries.[66] Among the symbols and allegories that were very popular and prevalent during the age of mannerism, the choice is limited to three motifs. The one shows a pelican, feeding its young with its blood—a symbol of Christ's self-sacrifice (figs. 14–15). The pelican is treated by the psalmist as an expression of the mourning Zion, and hence in this sense it is one of the religious symbols ("I am like a pelican of the wilderness; I am become as an owl of the waste places. I watch, and am become like a sparrow that is alone upon the housetop," Psalm 102:7–8). In Eastern European Jewish sepulchral symbolism, the lone, watchful bird and mourning Zion symbolize a life cut short prematurely. The stork's and pelican's love for its children was praised by Job (39:13–17). On women's gravestones, the pelican, male or female, is depicted as a devoted mother, which rips open its breast with its beak in order to feed its young with its own blood. Among the *marrano*s, the pelican is given new meaning as a "symbol of the Jewish mother," such as on the stone of Ester Hana Aboab who died in Hamburg in 1639 (fig. 15).[67] The pelican is also prevalent in Ashkenazi Jewish ritual art, such as in a detail on a *parochet* from the synagogue in Kassel ("Pelican, feeding its young with its own blood," 1744), on a Sabbath light from Seret (1832), or on a Chanukah lamp.[68] In northern Germany, this symbol was in frequent use from the Middle Ages onwards.[69]

In Jewish as well as Christian art, the phoenix indicates the martyrdom of the believer. The phoenix, which according to Jewish tradition refuses to eat from the tree of knowledge in Paradise and does not become a burden for Noah since it consumes nothing, symbolizes the plight for the martyrdom of the Portuguese *marranos*, as well as the rebirth of Judaism and eternal life. The Book of Job praises its love for

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[66] Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber auf deutscher Erde*; Konijn, "De grafstenen van Bet Haim," pp. 90–109; Bauche, *Lissabon-Hamburg*, pp. 44–45.

[67] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, p. 118.

[68] R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Symbole und Gestalten der jüdischen Kunst* (Berlin 1935), p. 65.

[69] Bauche, *Lissabon-Hamburg*, pp. 44–45.

children, and for the rabbis and church fathers the phoenix symbolizes the resurrection of the deceased. The portrayal of a phoenix rising, rejuvenated from the flames, is also found on Jewish ritual objects such as cups and Chanukah candelabras, as well as on amulets for pregnant women. The gravestone of Semuel Hisquiau Esteves, who passed away in Hamburg in 1704, again portrays a phoenix rising from a burning nest (fig. 16).[70] A Portuguese saying is inscribed around the medallion: "*Nacemos para morrer, morremos para viver*" [We are born in order to die, and we die in order to live (Mishnah *Avot* 4, 22)]. And of course the phoenix also became a popular emblematic symbol in Jewish-Portuguese and Christian book and faience ornamentation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on medallions and commemorative coins, as well as on the extravagantly illustrated *ketubbot* of the period. An example is its use as a vignette in the *Segunda Parte del Sedur* (fig. 17), which appeared in Amsterdam in 1612. Other Amsterdam examples are found in Daniel de la Feuille's book *Devises et emblemes anciennes et modernes* (Amsterdam 1691), on the façade of an Amsterdam residential building ("*Ian De Witt Pelikaan*"), on the seal of the Amsterdam community Talmud Torah ("*Sello do K.K. de T:T:de Amsterdam*" [fig. 18]), on the title page of the *Novo reglamento Para à Irmandade de T.T. de ES-HAIM, publicado em 23 Yiar 5488 com liçença dos senhores do Mahamad, em Amsterdam na oficina de Ishac Jeuda Leão Templo* (Amsterdam 1728), on an Amsterdam medallion,[71] an Amsterdam *ketubbah* of 1821, and so on.[72]

The heart penetrated by arrows, which is found in twelve known instances, is by far the most frequent symbol. It became nationally venerated in Spain and Portugal as an attribute of St. Theresa of Avila.[73] The Portuguese Jews in northwestern Europe interpreted it as the symbol of marital love, e.g. on marriage contracts. And since this motif was unknown in North European Christianity as a symbol of love, it may be justifiably concluded that there must have been an Iberian

[70] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, p. 105.

[71] J. S. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam 1593–1925* (Amsterdam 1925).

[72] All the examples are taken from L. Mintz-Manor, "Signs and Comparisons in the Sephardi-Portuguese Jewish Kehilla in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" [in Hebrew] (Master's thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2005), and H. den Boer, *Spanish and Portuguese Printing in the Northern Netherlands 1584–1825*, CD-ROM (Leiden 2003).

[73] Bauche, *Lissabon-Hamburg*, p. 45.

or Sephardi influence (figs. 19–20).[74] This popular motif is also found on numerous Sephardi gravestones in northwestern Europe.[75]

The Rhetoric of Jewish Epigraphy

We have no basic studies on the rhetoric of Jewish sepulchral language in general,[76] on Sephardi sepulchral language in particular, or on their Greek-Latin, Hebrew-Arabic, Spanish-Portuguese, and Christian models.[77] Why does only Hamburg have Sephardi genealogical trees or Trees of Life (fig. 21)?[78] Why were the names on the Mendes family's genealogical tree at the Ouderkerk cemetery replaced by apples?[79] Why is the "siste, viator" motif (epitaphs addressing the passer-by; epitaphs addressing the deceased),[80] present in practically every Sephardi cemetery, almost entirely absent from Ashkenazi graves? Here are a few examples:

Hamburg, tombstone of Jacob Alvares de Vargas, d. 5383[81]
Aqvele qve aqvi chegar
Note que pera alcansar
o svmo bem qve he a gloria se do mvndo
quer victoria i
saiba sofrer e callar

Hamburg, tombstone of Ribca Mussaphia Fidalgo, d. 5548[82]
Passante bendice sua / Memoria & imita suas Virtudes

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[74] U. Bauche (ed.), *Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg*, p. 158 ff. (fig. 73).

[75] Studemund-Halévy, "Pedra e Livro"; G. Nahon, "Un espace religieux du XVIII[e] siècle: Le premier cimetiére des 'Portugais' de Bordeaux, 105 cours de la Marne 1724–1768," in *La mort et ses représentations dans le judaïsme, Actes du Colloque organisé par le Centre d'études juives de l'Université de Paris IV—Sorbonne en décembre 1989*, ed. D. Tollet (Paris 2000), pp. 243–72; idem, "Que fue mudado su nombre."

[76] W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* (Kampen 1991).

[77] Recent studies include M. Sarraga and R. Sarraga, "Hamburg's Sephardi Hebrew Epitaphic Poems in Amsterdam Texts," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 12 (2005), pp. 330–70; Studemund-Halévy, "La mort de Sara"; idem, "'Bleib stehen, Wanderer, vor der Stele aus Marmor.' Die Anrede an den Betrachter und den Verstorbenen auf sefardischen Grabsteinen" (forthcoming).

[78] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, pp. 124–25.

[79] L. Hagoort, *Het Beth Haim in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel. De begraafsplaats van de Portugese Joden in Amsterdam 1614–1945* (Hilversum 2005), pp. 256–57.

[80] Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, pp. 49–54.

[81] Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sefarden*.

[82] Ibid.

Curaçao, tombstone of Sarah Henriquez, d. 1830[83]
Los vivientes que aqui pasaren / y la lectura desta tomaren se desengañen / y / se acuerden que los nacidos son para morir

Barbados, tombstone of Dona Luna Burgos, d. 1756[84]
Esta lossa que ves oh caminante

Barbados, tombstone of Abraham Nunes, d. 1736[85]
Tu que me estas miriando

Jamaica, tombstone of Joseph Nuñes Mirande, d. 1717[86]
porque assi de mi Tumba te descias
Moria sin aplicar tu pensamiento

Jamaica, tombstone of Abigail Nunes Flamengo, d. 1774[87]
Se procuras saber o Caminhante / Quem se guarda nesta Sepoltura

Biblical Imagery

The high period of tombstone art with figured reliefs started with the Renaissance and finished with the Baroque. The Christian stonemasons found patterns for the biblical imagery scriptural scenes in Jewish and Christian illustrated Bibles, Haggadot, ceremonial objects,[88] etc., and henceforth, biblical scenes relating to the namesakes of the deceased proliferated.[89] Although we are well informed about the biblical figures that appear on Sephardi tombstones, unfortunately we do not know why as strong a woman as Miriam—who was rarely depicted in Jewish art—was not "perpetuated" on a tombstone.[90] A few examples include the following graves under stones often densely decorated with bas-relief depictions of biblical scenes echoing the life of the deceased:

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[83] Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 432.
[84] E. M. Shilstone, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgetown Barbados with Historical Notes from 1630* (London 1956), pp. 53–54.
[85] Ibid., pp. 37–38.
[86] Barnett and Wright, *Jews of Jamaica*, p. 14.
[87] Ibid., pp. 32–33.
[88] On small synagogue furnishings and silver ceremonial artifacts such as Torah crowns, Torah finials, and even amulets for home use, often decorated with popular Jewish motifs and symbols, see Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Symbole und Gestalten der jüdischen Kunst*; S. G. Cusin, *Art in the Jewish Tradition* (Milan 1963); Benjamin, "The Sephardi Journey."
[89] "Baroque Jewish monuments with figured reliefs are found only in regions by the Dutch or near the free city of Hamburg" (Weinstein, "Stones of Memory," p. 91).
[90] Studemund-Halévy, "La mort de Sara."

Moses (*Moses with Tablets of Law*,[91] *flanked by Abraham and King David*,[92] *Moses hits the rock*[93]);

Abraham (*Binding of Isaac*,[94] *Abraham looking to the heavens*,[95] *Abraham and the visitors, pact between Abraham and Abimelech*[96]);

Judah;[97]

Benjamin;[98]

Isaac (*Binding of Isaac*,[99] *Isaac with Sara*,[100] *Isaac praying in field to the Almighty* [fig. 7][101]);

Daniel (*Daniel in the lions' den* [fig. 8][102]);

David (*David playing the harp*,[103] *encounter of David and Abigail, King David as psalmist, Abigail offering gifts to David*[104]);

Jacob (*Jacob asleep near the ladder of angels* [fig. 9],[105] *Jacob encounters Rachel*[106]);

Joseph (*Joseph thrown into the pit*,[107] *Joseph dreaming*);

Samuel (*the prophet being awakened by the voice of the Lord, Samuel in the Temple*[108]);

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[91] I. S. Emmanuel and S. A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati 1970), vol. 1 [fig. 31].

[92] Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, p. 54.

[93] Faust and Studemund-Halévy, *Betahaim. Sefardische Gräber in Norddeutschland*, p. 19.

[94] Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, p. 37; Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, p. 115; A. Contessa, "Représentations de la ligature d'Isaac dans l'art juif et chrétien du Moyen Âge," *Perspectives* 13 (2006), pp. 213–32.

[95] Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, p. 54.

[96] Ibid., p. 37.

[97] Ibid., p. 54.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, p. 115; M. Arbell, *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean. The Spanish-Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas* (Jerusalem 2002), p. 138 [Curaçao].

[100] Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, p. 54.

[101] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, p. 115; Faust and Studemund-Halévy, *Betahaim. Sefardische Gräber in Norddeutschland*, p. 101.

[102] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, p. 114.

[103] Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, pp. 37, 54; Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, vol. 1 [fig. 49]; Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, p. 115.

[104] Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, fig. 49.

[105] Ibid., figs. 34, 50, 57; Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht.*, p. 115; Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, pp. 37, 54.

[106] Ibid., p. 41.

[107] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, p. 114.

[108] Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, p. 50.

Elijah (*Elijah in flaming chariot takes leave of Elisha, Eli and Hanna in the Temple*[109]);

Mordechai (*Mordechai on horseback being led by Haman and flanked by bas-reliefs of Benjamin and Judah*[110]);

King Solomon (*Solomon as judge,*[111] *King Solomon meets Queen Sheba*[112]);

Sara (*Sara with Isaac*[113]);

Abigail (*Encounter of Abigail and David*);

Esther (*Esther before Ahasverus; Esther petitions Ahasverus*[114]);

Eve (*Eve and the serpent*[115]);

Hanna (*Hanna in the Temple*[116]);

Rebecca (*Rebecca giving Abraham's servant a drink at the well,*[117] *meeting of Rebecca and Eliezer*);

Rachel (*Rachel as shepherdess,*[118] *Rachel encounters Jacob at the well* [fig. 8],[119] *Rachel's death*[120]).

Detailed analysis of these figurative depictions is needed in order to reveal clues as to whether the backdrop to these portrayals is Jewish or Christian.

Stones and Books

On Old and New World Sephardi gravestones, we find numerous portrayals of an open book (under a crown of scholarship, the priesthood,

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[109] Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, fig. 23; Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, p. 41.

[110] Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, fig. 37; Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, p. 54.

[111] Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, fig. 49; Faust and Studemund-Halévy, *Betahaim. Sefardische Gräber in Norddeutschland*, p. 30; Arbell, *Jewish Nation of the Caribbean*, p. 22.

[112] Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, p. 54.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, vol. 1 [fig. 11].

[115] Faust and Studemund-Halévy, *Betahaim. Sefardische Gräber in Norddeutschland*, p. 18.

[116] Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, p. 41.

[117] Ibid., p. 40.

[118] Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, p. 115; Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, vol. 1 [fig. 50].

[119] Weinstein, "Storied Stones of Altona."

[120] Vega, *Het Beth Haim van Ouderkerk*, p. 50; Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, vol. 1 [fig. 50].

and a good name), whose pages often bear a biblical quotation or genealogical data; examples of this are on the recently restored tombstone of Hamburg rabbi and philologist David Cohen de Lara, or the *ohel* of rabbi, teacher, and book collector Semuel Abas.[121] Whilst these portrayals of a book point first and foremost to the importance and profession of the deceased (rabbi, scholar, etc.), they give the onlooker an obvious indication that these scholars must also have been the owners of more or less large-scale libraries. And what could be more obvious than the assumption that the models for images and motifs that we find on Sephardi gravestones are to be found in these Jewish or non-Jewish books.

Sephardi rabbis' and scholars' libraries, which from the mid 1700s onwards were put together as book-collecting enterprises, provide us with a fascinating picture of Sephardi scholars' erudition, but also of the cultural climate within the Sephardi communities to which these scholars belonged.[122] Thus Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, who lived for a while in Hamburg as well as in Glückstadt, had more than four thousand books, which he had managed to acquire on his numerous voyages throughout Europe. Hamburg scholars such as Semuel da Silva, Semuel Abas, Binyamin Mussaphia Fidalgo and Abraham Meldola, as well as Amsterdam rabbis Menasseh ben Israel, Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, Moses Raphael de Aguilar, and David Nunes Torres[123] all possessed extensive libraries.[124] They contained not only theological and philosophical works, tomes on mathematics, astronomy, geography, history, and medicine, but also the Greek and Latin classics and the literature of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France.[125]

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[121] Studemund-Halévy, "Pedra e Livro," pp. 251–73; Studemund-Halévy and Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht.*

[122] M. Studemund-Halévy, "Codices Gentium. Semuel de Isaac Abas, coleccionista de libros hamburgués," in *Familia, Religión y Negocio*, pp. 287–319; idem, "Livré au livres: Samuel Abas, érudit et bibliophile séfarade de Hambourg" in *Romanistik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (forthcoming).

[123] Y. Kaplan, "Circulation of Books and Ideas in the Western Sephardi Diaspora: The Collection of David Nunes Torres and Its Historical Significance", (Hamburg 2005, unpublished paper).

[124] Y. Kaplan, "El perfil cultural de tres rabinos sefardíes a través del análisis de sus bibliotecas," in *Familia, Religión y Negocio*, pp. 269–86; idem, "The Libraries of Three Sephardi Rabbis in Early Modern Western Europe" [in Hebrew], in *Libraries and Book Collections*, ed. Y. Kaplan and Moshe Sluhovsky, (Jerusalem 2006), pp. 225–60.

[125] Studemund-Halévy, "Codices Gentium"; idem, "Livré au livres."

With intensive exchanges between the Sephardi communities, as well as the Jewish books from the Netherlands that circulated in these communities, it was inevitable that sepulchral art and sepulchral language gradually became standardized. Both artists and clients found inspiration for artistic motifs in the community libraries, as well as in those of wealthy community members. In addition, artists and poets worked not only for their home community, but also on commission for members of other communities. Artists, whether Christian or Jewish, took a considerable proportion of their visual motifs from these illustrated books. True, very few biblical books enjoyed visual ornamentation, which was largely confined to the first books of the Pentateuch (Genesis and Exodus), illustrations of the story of Esther, and individual visual subjects such as King David singing psalms and playing the harp or King Solomon at prayer. Through their superb illustrations for the great Lutheran and Catholic editions of the Bible, Christian artists such as Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1553), Albrecht Dürer, and Lucas Cranach the Younger, Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584) and Jost Amman (1539–1591) provided welcome copy that was subsequently adopted by Christian and Jewish copyists and emulators. Thus numerous Holbein pictures were used in the *Tam ve-Yashar* book of ethics published in 1674 and 1718, as were Matthaeus Merian's copperplate engravings in the Amsterdam Haggadah editions of 1695 and 1712, respectively.[126] Whatever was used to illustrate books was immediately transferred to Jewish ceremonial objects and sepulchral decoration.

Some of the most popular motifs include architectural elements such as columned gates and twisted columns decorated with leafy grapevines and hanging grape bunches, and which cite Yachin and Boaz, the two columns that flanked the entrance to the Temple (1 Kings 7:15–22). A beautiful example is the richly ornamented grave of the wife of Aron Benveniste, who passed away on 24 Tevet 5500 (January 24, 1740): two beautiful, twisted columns, one on each side, rise from two pedestals completely surrounded by grapevines and bunches of grapes connected on top by an arch. In the arch, two grieving, graceful ladies are holding an hourglass.[127] The "two-column" motif was a popular motif on Jewish ceremonial objects such as *parochot*, as well as in *ketubbot* and on

[126] R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein, "Von der Holbeinbibel zur Amsterdamer Haggadah," in *MGWJ* 75 (1931), pp. 269–86.

[127] Faust and Studemund-Halévy, *Betahaim. Sefardische Gräber in Norddeutschland*, p. 65.

the title-page of Hebrew illustrated manuscripts.[128] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this two-column motif was very popular in both Christian and Jewish book decoration.[129] The Hebrew term for a title page is "gate," instantly conjuring up the image of a gate or gateway. This association was used by Jewish book designers, who made every effort to elaborate on it. In early books, particularly those printed in Italy, the typical architectural depiction in these pages consisted of a gate, which framed the book's title, crowned by an inscription set within the gate's lintel, arch, or gable: "This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter into it." In sixteenth-century Hebrew letterpress printing, this motif adorns innumerable title pages. The following are just a few examples: *Sefer Torat ha-Olah* by Moses ben Israel Isserles (Prague 1570), *Sefer ha-Agudah* by Alexander Suslin ha-Kohen (Cracow 1571), *Sefer Derashot al ha-Torah* by Joshua ibn Shuaib (Cracow 1673/74), *She'elot le-Hakham* by Saul ha-Cohen Ashkenazi (Venice 1574), *Sefer ha-Zohar* (Mantua 1556), or *Sefer Reshit Hokhmah* by Elijah ben Moses de Vidas (Venice 1579).[130] The two-column motif was also very popular with the Amsterdam printers: *Tratado del temor divino* by David Cohen de Lara (Amsterdam 1633), *Thesouwro dos Dinim* by Menasseh ben Israel (Amsterdam 1645), *Elogios que zelosos dedicaron a la felice memoria de Abraham Nunez Bernal* (Amsterdam 1645), *Biblia en lengua española* (Amsterdam 1661), *Orden de los cinco ayunos* (Amsterdam 1684), *Orden de Ros-asana y Kipur* (Amsterdam 1684), *Livro da Gramatica hebrayca & Chaldayca* (Amsterdam 1689), etc.[131]

Of all the local communities, it was the Amsterdam Sephardim who, at their literary academies, read and discussed the latest works in Spanish, Italian, Latin, and Hebrew.[132] Thus the Sephardi poetess Isabel, alias Rebecca Correa, a member of the *Los Sitibundos* academy, together with Isabella Enriques, is considered the author of the first Spanish translation of *Pastor Fido* of Battista Guarini in the Netherlands.[133] It is also perhaps to *Pastor Fido* that we can trace the roots of the portrayal

[128] Wischnitzer-Bernstein, "Von der Holbeinbibel zur Amsterdamer Haggadah"; Narkiss, *Illustrations of the Amsterdam Haggadah.*

[129] B. Yaniv, "The Origins of the 'Two-Column Motif' in European Art," *Jewish Art* 15 (1989), pp. 26–43.

[130] All the examples are taken from M. J. Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book. An Abridged Thesaurus*, 2 vols. (Leiden 2004).

[131] All examples are taken from den Boer, *Spanish and Portuguese Printing.*

[132] Idem, *La literatura sefardí de Amsterdam* (Alcalá de Henares 1996).

[133] M. Bitton, *Poétesses et lettrées juives. Une mémoire éclipse* (Paris 1999).

of Rachel as a shepherdess on a Hamburg tombstone, which offers the surprised cemetery visitor a charming décolleté (figs. 22–24).[134]

It can therefore be seen how Christian-Jewish book and sacral art, as well as the literature of antiquity, the Renaissance and the Baroque, provided inspiration for Sephardi sepulchral art, an art that continues to amaze us; systematic research on the subject has still to be undertaken.

[134] Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, fig. 21.

PATROCINIO AND AUTHORITY: ASSESSING THE METROPOLITAN ROLE OF THE PORTUGUESE NATION OF AMSTERDAM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Evelyne Oliel-Grausz

The issue of inter-communal history as a historical field *per se* was long neglected and has attracted but little scholarly attention, except for a few pioneering studies.[1] In the past two decades however, historical production in the field of Jewish studies and the subfield of Sephardi studies bears witness to a growing interest in the issue of inter-communal relations and interactions.[2] This symposium about the "Dutch

[1] See, chronologically, R. D. Barnett, "The Correspondence of the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *TJHSE* 20 (1964), pp. 1–50; B. Mevorach, "The Intercommunal and Diplomatic Activity Undertaken by the Hamburg Jewish Community to Prevent the Expulsion of the Jews of Bohemia, 1745" [in Hebrew], *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel*, ed. A. Gilboa et al. (Haifa 1970), pp. 187–232; G. Nahon, "Les rapports des communautés judéo–portugaises de France avec celles d'Amsterdam aux XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles," *StRos* 10 (1976), pp. 37–78, 151–88, repr. in his *Métropoles et périphéries séfarades d'Occident* (Paris 1993), pp. 95–183.

[2] G. Nahon, "Les relations entre Amsterdam et Constantinople au XVIII[e] siècle d'après le Copiador de Cartas de la Nation Juive Portugaise d'Amsterdam," *Dutch Jewish History* [1], ed. J. Michman and T. Levie (Jerusalem 1984), pp. 157–84; idem, "Amsterdam and Jerusalem in the Eighteenth Century: The State of the Sources and Some Questions," in *Dutch Jewish History* 2, ed. J. Michman (Jerusalem–Assen 1989), pp. 95–116; J. I. Israel, "The Jews of Venice and Their Links with Holland and with Dutch Jewry (1600–1710)," in *Gli Ebrei e Venezia, secoli XIV–XVIII*, ed. G. Cozzi (Milan 1987), pp. 95–116, and idem, *Diasporas within a Diaspora* (Leiden 2002), pp. 67–96; M. Bodian, "Amsterdam, Venice and the Marrano Diaspora in the Seventeenth Century," in *Dutch Jewish History* 2, pp. 47–65; Y. Kaplan, "The Curaçao and Amsterdam Jewish Communities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *American Jewish History* 72 (1982), pp. 193–211; Y. H. Yerushalmi, "Between Amsterdam and New Amsterdam: The Place of Curaçao and the Caribbean in Early Modern Jewish History," *American Jewish History* 72 (1982), pp. 172–92; E. Oliel-Grausz, "Relations, coopération et conflits intercommunautaires dans la diaspora séfarade: l'affaire Nieto, Londres, Amsterdam, Hambourg (1704–1705)," in *Mémorial I.-S. Révah. Etudes sur le marranisme, l'hétérodoxie juive et Spinoza*, ed. H. Méchoulan and G. Nahon (Paris–Louvain 2001), pp. 335–64; idem, "Study in Intercommunal Relations in the Sephardi Diaspora: London and Amsterdam in the Eighteenth Century," in *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others*, ed. Ch. Brasz and Y. Kaplan (Leiden 2001), pp. 41–58; idem, "Relations et réseaux intercommunautaires dans la diaspora séfarade d'Occident au XVIII[e] siècle" (Ph.D. diss., Université Paris I Sorbonne, 2000).

intersection" will undoubtedly give added momentum to this blossoming historiographical field.

The purpose of this essay is to address the issue of Amsterdam as the Sephardi metropolis. If the role of Amsterdam in the institutional genesis of the Western diaspora is fairly well known, and if historians currently refer to the Dutch metropolis, the very notion of metropolis and its uses need to be broken into a number of topical questions, and deconstructed, in order to move from *topos* to history: questions of content, regarding which metropolitan functions are expected from or assumed by Amsterdam; questions of time and chronology, mostly assessing the longevity of this metropolitan position: does it fit with the general periodization of the history of Dutch Sephardim, or does it outlive the times of splendor of the Portuguese Nation? The combination of these approaches leads to the question of authority in the diaspora, in terms of facts and representations, as both can be construed from a monumental archival wealth. Based on such an assessment, we will emphasize the need to depart from the simple metropolitan model, and suggest a description of the Sephardi diaspora as a multipolar territory, in which Amsterdam's role has to be contextualized in a general approach to networks and communication in the Jewish world.

An Exemplum and Paradigm of Intercommunal Interaction: The Ritual Bath of Bordeaux

As a preliminary, in order to give these disembodied general questions some historical depth, a fascinating episode of intercommunal history will be presented, involving the Portuguese nations of Amsterdam, Bordeaux, and some *hakhamim* in Safed in a triangular pattern of struggle for authority. Towards the very end of 1727, the *hakham* Moses Malqui in Safed writes a letter to the *parnassim* of the Portuguese Nation in Bordeaux, in which he vividly reprimands the members of that community for their lax observance of *mitzvot*, aiming specifically at the women's nonchalance about the laws of ritual purity and the ritual bath. The Safed *hakhamim* request that a list with the names of the culprits be sent to them.[3] The *parnassim* of Bordeaux, without answering the

[3] This letter is known to us only through the correspondence between Amsterdam and Bordeaux. This information was probably provided by a dissatisfied emissary.

letter from Safed, turn to the *Mahamad* of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam to complain about the harsh reprimand and to ascertain whether or not they are subject to Amsterdam's authority in these matters. The Amsterdam *parnassim* react in two different directions: in a letter to Bordeaux dated January 1728 they confirm that the Bordeaux community is indeed subject to their authority, but that, when it comes to defending the honor of the Law, it is an obligation for all of Israel. They suggest that a letter of appeasement be written to Safed, and that the list of women that swerve from their ritual obligation be indeed drawn up, and sent to Amsterdam, under the utmost promise of confidentiality. They also request, twice, a copy of the letters from Safed. After a couple of months, possibly after receiving copies of these letters, the Amsterdam *parnassim*, and the Amsterdam rabbis, too, wrote to Safed: in their letter, the *parnassim* wrote in defense of the Bordeaux Sephardi community, recalling that the need for caution and discretion in the practice of Judaism prevailed for a long time, but certifying that, being now allowed to live as Jews, they do so. Moreover, the Amsterdam *parnassim* bluntly criticize the method chosen by the Safed *hakhamim*: if indeed there was such a lack of observance, they should have written to the Bordeaux *hakham*, Falcon, or to the Amsterdam *parnassim*, under whose tutelage the Jews of Bordeaux lived.[4]

That episode deserved a lengthy description because it summarizes the issues this study intends to address, in the following order: it provides an example of the resort to Amsterdam as a source of protection and authority; it articulates the Amsterdam *parnassim*'s self-depiction of their role towards this lesser diasporic nation as being one of *patrocinio*, and the distinct affirmation of their metropolitan function. It also brings forth the issue of the effectiveness of this authority: how effective is the exercise of this *patrocinio*? According to the Bordeaux community register, compiled from original minutes around the middle of the eighteenth century, it was decided in February 1728 that *Hakham* Falcon,

[4] See the mention in the Bordeaux communal register: S. Schwarzfuchs, *Le registre des délibérations de la Nation juive portugaise de Bordeaux (1711–1787)* (Paris 1981), pp. 113–14, 10 February 1728; the main source on this episode is the correspondence of the *parnassim* of Amsterdam: GAA PA 334, no. 107, 1719–1728, *borador de cartas*, fols. 87–88, 26 January 1728, and 24 Adar 5488/5 (March 1728), letters addressed to Abraham Cohen Peixotto, *parnas*, Abraham Fereira and Samuel Navaro, and fols. 89–90, 6 Nisan 5488/16 March 1728, letter addressed to *Hakham* Moses Malqui in Safed. For a more detailed analysis see Oliel–Grausz, "Relations et réseaux intercommunautaires," pp. 507–12.

the local rabbi, would admonish the deviant ladies via their husbands, and report the obstinate cases to the Bordeaux *Mahamad*. In that case, the authority of the "metropolis" served the purpose of deflecting the threat from the Holy Land, but was not scrupulously heeded. Third issue: this episode epitomizes the complexity of the networks in the Jewish world, which exceeds the simple metropolitan model, as it stages and reveals the crisscross of channels, routes, and networks at work in the Sephardi diaspora: routes followed by Holy Land emissaries, channels of information and communication, networks of religious authority.

The first part of this essay will delve into the issue of the Sephardi metropolis and the dynamics of its interaction with the other Sephardi nations through a number of questions: what forms of assistance and guidance are requested or granted? On what grounds and to what end? Through which channels and with what efficiency?

To analyze these interactions, we will be using mainly the incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Amsterdam community. That correspondence, available from 1702 onwards, is an exceptional corpus for the history of intercommunal relations, and was presented by Gérard Nahon in an earlier symposium.[5] The prolixity of the Amsterdam chancellery can be best understood by comparing it with the official correspondence of a midsized French town, the city of Bayonne: Bayonne's outgoing correspondence numbers, for the eighteenth century up to the French Revolution, approximately ten thousand letters, i.e. only twice the number of letters sent by the *Mahamad*, a board governing a nation of two or three thousand individuals at most.[6]

Legitimizing Interaction: Patrocinio, Bom Governo, Conservação

The underlying rationale of this metropolitan role and these interactions is based upon a set of key notions and values that need to be defined.

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[5] G. Nahon, "Une source pour l'histoire de la diaspora séfarade au XVIII[e] siècle: le *Copiador de Cartas* de la communauté portugaise d'Amsterdam," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress for the Study of the Sephardi and Oriental Jewry* (Jerusalem 1981), pp. 109–22. I have used this source extensively in my abovementioned thesis.

[6] A. Zink, "La ville de Bayonne et ses correspondants au XVIII[e] siècle," in *Correspondre Jadis et Naguère, actes du 120e congrès national des Sociétés historiques et scientifiques, Aix en Provence, 23–29 October 1995*, ed. P. Albert (Paris 1997), pp. 243–44.

The notion of *patrocinio*, first and foremost, epitomizes the system of values and representations that legitimizes Amsterdam's involvement in the affairs of other Sephardi nations, and deserves some attention. It conveys the idea of benevolent patronage, but of a kind that implies active assistance and protection, and it is associated with the idea of authority and obedience. The paternalist sort of patronage implied by this notion is but one expression of a wide metaphoric range associating the Sephardi nation with a family of sorts, the *parnassim* standing at its head as some father figure.[7] It features very often in the preliminary or conclusive statements of the correspondence sent or received by the Amsterdam Sephardi community, and the notion is used equally by those requesting and those granting the *patrocinio* of the Amsterdam nation. It is a favor to be sought, and the Amsterdam *parnassim* interpret it as a responsibility incumbent on the Amsterdam nation towards the communities under their tutelage, as is clearly stated with Bordeaux in the ritual bath example developed in the introduction. The *patrocinio* of Amsterdam is often mentioned in parallel with the *auxilio divino*, "heavenly help."

Under the general auspices of this *patrocinio*, the Amsterdam *parnassim* consider it a duty to provide, when asked, detailed advice to those communities in need of guidance for *bom governo* [proper government]. As is well known, the community of Amsterdam, which derived its institutional features from that of Venice, served as a model for most of the Western diaspora. Less known is the fact that this influence was perpetuated in the form of advice and continuing exegesis of existing ordinances, requested either on fundamental or routine issues. A letter from *Kahal Kados* Beraha Vesalom of Surinam, dated 1705, may be called upon to illustrate this *imitatio Amsterdamae*: it requests a copy of all the *haskamoth* [regulations] of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam, and at the same time formulates a question on the relevance

[7] In the innumerable letters and memoirs he addresses to the *parnassim* of the Amsterdam Sephardi community during his conflict with the local *parnassim*, the Surinam *hakham* Abraham Gabai Isidro repeatedly compares the former to the active arm defending Jews and Judaism, and less frequently as "padres de la patria": see e.g. his pompous invocation to the Amsterdam *parnassim* ending a letter sent during 1735 (not dated), GAA PA 334, no. 1029, fol. 29: "Muy magnificos Señores, como judíos, como brazo para mantener el Judaizmo (…) como Padres de la Patria, y como defensores de la Ley y protectores de Talmide *Hahamim*." See Daniel Swetschinski's remarks on the authority of the *Mahamad* in analogy to parental authority during the early years of the community, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans. The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth Century Amsterdam* (London and Portland, Oreg. 2000), pp. 218, 222.

of appointing an *adjudante gabay* [assistant treasurer]. The answer is equally interesting, since it depicts the corpus of the *haskamoth* as a live organism of which no updated and complete copy can be sent, as new *haskamoth* are added every day, while others are deleted.[8] When answering the question concerning the office of assistant treasurer, the Amsterdam *parnassim* explicitly drew upon their experience and hindsight, knowing that the office had existed in Amsterdam but had been deemed irrelevant and then eliminated. A similar request for a copy of the *haskamoth* was formulated in 1728 by the *kahal* of Curaçao, Mikve Israel, and questions were posed concerning the appropriate array of penalties that should be inflicted on butchers or bread makers suspected of a lax observance of dietary laws.[9]

The notion of *bom governo* is best defined in a letter to Curaçao dated 1745, which contains the portrait of an ideal mode of government of the nation and the *yehidim* [members of the community], through the proper use of *haskamoth*. That consultation was prompted by a series of questions about the "penalidades eclesiaticas," meaning the proper use of excommunication. It states that these penalties should only be inflicted on those who transgressed the *haskamoth*, were censured by the *bet din* [rabbinical court] for transgressing the Law, or on the trouble-makers within the synagogue.[10] *Bom governo*, then, is best attained by the preservation of existing privileges, and the respect of the *haskamoth*. It often appears together with a number of corollary notions, such as *bom ordem*. Attempts at reforming the *haskamoth* or the privileges, even for the better, are discouraged as contrary to the immanent virtue of *conservação*, the key notion to understanding the Portuguese community as a political construction:[11] in 1747, the Amsterdam *parnassim* congratulated the *Mahamad* of Beraha Vesalom in Surinam for supporting the governor against the faction led by Carilho, a Jewish captain; but they disapproved the attempt to extend the judiciary privileges of the

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[8] *Copiador de cartas*, 1702–1719, letter of 20 July 1705 to the community of Surinam: "…as mays [*ascamot*] que havemos establesido são diversas e muy largas para que mandar y cada dia segum as urgensias se acresentão e alguas se disimulão…".

[9] *Borador de cartas*, 1719–1728, fol. 82, 18 Tamuz 5487/12 July 1727.

[10] *Copiador de cartas*, 1744–1750, fols. 75–77, 10 October 1745, letter to the *parnassim* of Mikve Israel.

[11] On the importance of the notion of *conservação* and its origins, see Y. Kaplan, "Political Concepts in the World of the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam during the Seventeenth Century: The Problem of Exclusion and the Boundaries of Self–Identity," in *Menasseh Ben Israel and His World*, ed. Y. Kaplan et al. (Leiden 1989), pp. 48–49; see also D. Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, pp. 221–24.

Surinam nation as this would threaten the *conservação*, reminding the local *parnassim* that they have judiciary and political rights that are unheard of in Amsterdam and that they should preserve those rights instead of trying to expand them.[12]

The proclaimed aim of *bom governo* is the preservation of peace and unity, *Paz* and *União*, two notions invariably mentioned together, often with their usual antonyms, *desunião*, *dissencões*, *desordems*. In a letter to Nefusot Yehuda, the Sephardi community in Bayonne, the *parnassim* make it their duty to maintain peace, order, and union in all the communities, "como es de nuestra obligacion el hazer mantener la paz, sosiego y union en las *Kaal Kados* de Israel."

A Typology of Conflicts: Hakham *vs.* Parnassim

Turning to Amsterdam for support, arbitration, or judgment during times of internal strife in the *kahal* is a recurrent feature of these interactions, and a fundamental element in defining the role of the metropolis. The cases are too many and too complex to be accounted for in detail here.[13] Short of an extensive analysis, a typology of these conflicts can be presented, illustrated, and discussed: conflict between the *parnassim* and the *hakham*, between factions (in which the *hakham* may take sides), between an individual and the *kahal* or the *hakham*, and sometimes these cases also involve the local authorities. The most striking cases of enmity between *Mahamad* and *hakham* are those of *Hakham* Abraham Gabay Isidro in Surinam in the mid 1730s, about which there are literally scores of memoirs and letters exchanged between Amsterdam and the Guyanas, and that of *Hakham* Mendes de Solla in Curaçao, whose flaming temper put him at odds with his congregants very shortly after his arrival on the island in 1745. The duty of arbitration in those cases is felt even more deeply since the Amsterdam *parnassim* were responsible, with the help of their *hakhamim*, for selecting and appointing these rabbis, among many others.

[12] *Copiador de cartas*, 1744–1750, fol. 168, 12 March 1747.

[13] For a detailed treatment, see chapter three of my dissertation, "Relations et réseaux intercommunautaires," pp. 461–539.

Abraham Gabay Isidro's career is remarkable in many ways.[14] A former *converso* who was circumcised as a young man in London in 1721, he enrolls in the Ets Haim seminary in Amsterdam, where he studies with *Hakham* Abendana de Britto and stands out as an exceptional student. In 1731, he is singled out by the *parnassim* to be sent to Surinam as a *hakham*. In 1735, he entered into a very bitter dispute with the local *Mahamad* that involved issues of observance as well as a contest of authority with the *parnassim*, Isidro claiming that in the synagogue only God [*Adonai Cebaot*] is above him. The *Mahamad* decided to suspend him for four weeks; in retaliation, Isidro excommunicates the three *parnassim* (David Cohen Nassi, Jehosuah Cohen Nassi, Isaac Carilho) with a *herem*, while putting the eight *adjuntos* under a milder ban, *niduy*. The *parnassim* take the case to the governor and convene another rabbinical court that invalidates Isidro's ban on the basis that it was pronounced after he had been dismissed as a *hakham*. Isidro Gabay, in turn, lodges a complaint against the *parnassim* with the governor. Both parties turn to the Amsterdam *parnassim* for support and arbitration, and request a decision from the rabbinical court on the new developments of the situation. The Amsterdam *parnassim* and *hakhamim* send separate, infuriated letters to both parties, blaming the *parnassim* for acting without their advice, but clearly incriminating the *hakham* for not submitting to his "*superiores*," as they are repeatedly called.[15] It is a gripping story with some very graphic episodes, the rabbi complaining that he was treated "worse than a *negro*" when he was dismissed publicly.

This affair involves a number of questions that deserve full treatment, some of them topical, others of a more generic nature. The first question relates to the situation and life story of that particular *hakham*, a fairly recent New Jew and zealous *talmid hakham* who was eager to defend the law and Judaism, an outstanding preacher, a prolific and talented writer. His violent reactions stem from a naturally flaming

[14] For brief insights into his life, see C. Roth, "The Remarkable Career of *Haham* Abraham Gabay Izidro," *TJHSE* 24, Miscellanies 9, (1970–1973), pp. 211–13, which does not dwell on his stay in Surinam; Zvi Loker deduces a few biographical elements from the publication of Gabay Isidro's *Sefer Yad Avraham*, by his widow in 1763; see his *Jews in the Caribbean* (Jerusalem 1991), pp. 82–83. Using the communal archives correspondence of the Sephardi community in Amsterdam, I hope to publish a contribution on this fascinating character in the near future.

[15] A good summary of the conflict is to be found in a letter addressed to *Hakham* Gabay Isidro by the Amsterdam *hakhamim*, David Israel Athias and Haim Abendana de Britto, dated 14 Tishri 5496/30 September 1735, GAA PA 334, no. 91, 1728–1737, fols. 190–91.

temper, as well as from bitter disappointment with the unreceptive Surinam congregation. The second topical aspect is a permanent situation of vivid strife between local factions.[16] A third issue relates to a more generic kind of contention and conflict, that between *hakham* and *parnassim*, and to the very different vision both parties develop of their respective roles in the community; in a lengthy memoir depicting the conflict, Abraham Gabay Isidro conveys his own vision of their distinct yet mutually dependant functions in a poetic metaphor, by which he subtly implies that he should have the upper hand: "Que cosa es un *Mahamad* sin su *Haham* y el *Haham* sin su *Mahamad*. Como un cuerpo sin alma que esta muerta y para vivir se nessecita mantenerse unidos, pues porque se a de separar el cuerpo de su alma y por que la alma no ha de estar en este cuerpo. Son los *Hahamim* los ojos de la congrega, su *Mahamad* el braço della. Quien vera mas y mejor, los ojos o los braços, y como estos asertaban en la obra quando caresen de ojos q[ue] los guie" [What is a *Mahamad* without its *Hakham*, and the *Hakham* without his *Mahamad*. Like a body without a soul that is dead and in order to live it must be united, so why should the body separate from its soul and why would the soul not be in the body. The *Hakhamim* are the eyes of the congregation, and the *Mahamad* its arm. Who will be able to see more and better, the eyes or the arms, and how will these arms succeed in their work when they lack eyes for guidance].[17] The last issue raised by this conflict relates to the role of Amsterdam, concerning which Gabay Isidro is not short of flattering metaphors, comparing Amsterdam's requested intervention to the biblical "mighty hand," this time acting for the protection and the defense of Judaism.[18] Both parties thus turn to the metropolis in the early stage of the conflict,

[16] Although one cannot infer from later developments explanations for the events of 1735, it is worth mentioning that one of the *parnassim*, Isaac Carilho, becomes in 1740 the protagonist of a serious conflict with the *Mahamad* and *Hakham* Aharon Ledesma, who replaced Gabay Isidro, which involves the local governor, the Board of the Company of Surinam, and the leaders of the Talmud Torah Sephardi community of Amsterdam; see R. Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment. Surinam in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden 1991), pp. 128–30, who does not however mention the involvement of the Amsterdam *parnassim* in this protracted conflict.

[17] GAA PA 334, nos. 1028–1029, fol. 59, arts. 40–41. In this memoir the comments of the Surinam *parnassim* appear side by side with Gabay Isidro's text, and in this instance they chose to deride his metaphor: "Suseda segarse os olhos e em tal caso melhor se caminha palpando os braços que fiados d'olhos segos. Inda que a segueyra proseda de payxão."

[18] Ibid., fol. 5, 20 Sivan 5495/10 June 1735, letter to the *parnassim* of the Amsterdam Sephardi community: "Como por aclamacion del mundo, realidad, y experiencia

but without refraining, in the interim, from taking steps that lead to an escalation in Surinam. In their above-mentioned reply, the *parnassim* and *hakhamim* of Amsterdam give vent to their anger, triggered by a number of motives: first because both sides took extreme measures instead of waiting for their opinion and decision on the case; secondly, because the issue was taken to a gentile court. The Amsterdam *parnassim* beg the offended *Mahamad* to withdraw from the lawsuit, appealing to their *bom judesmo*, when the *hakhamim* speak of profanation of the name of God [*hilul hashem*], both lamenting the disgrace brought on the nation by having to display not only dissensions, but actual points of law in front of Gentiles.

In Curaçao, where the difficulties of the *Mahamad* with *Hakham* Mendes de Solla are also closely intertwined with bitter conflicts between factions, the Amsterdam *parnassim* insist that one cause of the disagreement is that the rabbi was too closely involved in the management of the nation and was regularly invited to the *Mahamad* meetings. The remedy was to forbid him access to the meetings of the *Mahamad* and Elders, and to confine him strictly to deciding what the law allows or forbids, thus leaving the governing of the nation entirely to the *Mahamad*, a cardinal rule that has ensured the perpetuation of the Amsterdam institutions and community. In the case of *Hakham* Gabay Isidro, interestingly, the Amsterdam *hakhamim* themselves conveyed the message that the *parnassim* were his "*superiores*," thus internalizing the idea of submission to the *parnassim.*[19] In both cases, the Amsterdam *parnassim*'s intervention, whether directly or through the persuasive discourse of the *hakhamim*, was a clear statement of the validity of their model of government, with the salient feature of strict submission of the *hakhamim* to the lay leadership.

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nuestra, son Vms el brazo fuerte para mantener nuestra Santissima Ley, proteger sus professores y defender el Judaizmo."

[19] GAA PA 334, no. 91, 1728–1737, fols. 190–91, letter dated 14 Tishri 5496/30 September 1735: "Porem permita Vm lhe digamos que a ultima rezolução que tomeu de valerse das sensuras eclesiasticas contra seus superiores, como o são os Senhores do mahamad e adjuntos desse Kaal Kados representando toda a kehila foy muito aselerada e de nos muito reprovada acsão…".

Intracommunal Conflict between Factions

The situation in early eighteenth century Hamburg provides a good illustration of a conflict between factions, for which Amsterdam's arbitration is requested. A group of dissenters from the Beth Israel community of Hamburg separated from the main congregation, which was already much reduced, sometime in 1701, thus transgressing the fundamental ordinance regarding the unity of the *kehillah*.[20] The *Mahamad* of Hamburg requests a decision from the Amsterdam Sephardi community to condemn the rebels, while the latter refuse to submit to the arbitration of the Amsterdam rabbinical court. Instead, a compromise is reached through the help of the Ashkenazi community. But the conflict resumes, and the Hamburg *Mahamad* decides to excommunicate the thirteen *yehidim* involved. At the request of the Hamburg *Mahamad*, the *parnassim* of Amsterdam publicized the ban in Amsterdam, and in 1704 adopted a resolution forbidding these individuals and their descendants to join the Amsterdam *kahal*; thus, they not only confirmed the ban on the separatists by their original community, but also extended its consequences to include the territory of Talmud Torah. A later addition to that resolution appears in the book of *haskamoth* of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam, where it is mentioned that one of the *separados* had made amends and been reconciled in 1707, and was therefore accepted into the Amsterdam community and relieved of the *herem* by *Hakham* Aylion. In this case, where a fundamental principle of the system of *haskamoth* was threatened—the perpetuation of a unique *kehillah*—the support of the Amsterdam *parnassim* was adamant and active, expressed by their barring access to the community not only to the rebels but to their descendants, as well, at a time when large numbers of Hamburg Sephardi Jews were leaving, settling in Amsterdam, London, and elsewhere. In this case, the involvement of the Amsterdam *parnassim* somehow erased the institutional and geographical distance between the two communities.[21]

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[20] See the preamble and article 12 of the statutes of the Hamburg united community Beth Israel, in B. Z. Ornan Pinkus, "The Portuguese Community of Hamburg in the Seventeenth Century" [in Hebrew], in *East and Maghreb. Researches in the History of the Jews in the Orient and North Africa* 5, ed. A. Toaff (1986), pp. 36, 38.

[21] GAA PA 334, no. 20, *Escamot* B 1680–1712, fol. 387, resolution, 24 July 1704, addition dated 11 Ab 5469/18 July 1709. For a detailed analysis of this case, see my forthcoming article, "Between Amsterdam and Hamburg: Sefardi Metropolis and Declining Kehilah," delivered during the international conference: Coming and Going.

Fulano vs. Kahal

The last category in the typology of conflicts concerns an individual against the community: A Portuguese Jew who had lived in Bayonne for some time before settling in Amsterdam, David Henriques de Castro lodged a complaint with the Amsterdam *Mahamad* against a sentence passed by the Nefusot Yehuda community of Bayonne, compelling him to give two thousand and two hundred livres as settlement of a conflict with a Ribca Rodrigues Regidor from Bayonne. After reviewing the case and summoning him, the Amsterdam *parnassim* confirmed the sentence, and order him to pay the said sum to the *gabay* so that it could be sent to Bayonne.[22] This case is interesting because it could be read as a complaint about a conflict of jurisdiction, the defendant considering the condemnation by the Bayonese community as "illegal." In fact, what is being judged by the Amsterdam *parnassim* is not the issue of relevant jurisdiction, since it is understood that a decision made by a Sephardi *kahal* concerning a community member is *a priori* valid. Instead, the *parnassim* gave the case a new hearing, including a citation of the main protagonist. It leads us to conclude that, in this case, the *Mahamad* of the Talmud Torah community functioned, as it were, as a court of appeal.

Appeals to the Amsterdam Rabbinical Court and Bom Judesmo

In addition to the concepts of *bom governo*, *Paz*, and *União*, the notion of *bom judesmo* featured prominently in these interactions with Amsterdam: the Amsterdam *parnassim* considered it their duty to provide not only institutional advice and arbitration in time of strife, but also religious guidance, the defense of Judaism legitimizing their intervention. A very interesting case was the "spontaneous" action taken by the Amsterdam *parnassim* and *hakhamim* together, in 1755, when they wrote a letter to

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The Role of Hamburg in the Religious, Economic and Cultural Sefardic Network, Institute for the History of German Jews, September 18–21, 2005.

[22] GAA PA 334, no. 164, fol. 171, Resolutions of the *Mahamad*, 24 Sivan 5499: the defendant complies with the decision of the *parnassim* of the Talmud Torah community; together with the resolution we find a copy of the receipt for the said sum, paid to the *Mahamad* and transferred to Bayonne, as well as the copy of a letter from Bayonne dated 4 August 1739, acknowledging the transaction and bringing legal closure to this internal suit.

Bordeaux accusing the local *parnassim* of severe transgressions relating to slaughtering.[23] It deserves particular attention because it was not prompted by a specific official request, though it may have originated in a private complaint or an unofficial complaint from the *hakham*. It deserves our attention also because what was at stake here was the defense of *bom judesmo*, to be understood in this case not as "worthy Judaism," the meaning it had for Surinam, but more as a form of "nação Judaism," a sort of holy trinity comprising the law, the Sephardic custom [*minhag*] of slaughtering meat, and the community ordinances forbidding the purchase of meat slaughtered according to the Ashkenazi *minhag*. Moreover, this intervention was not a mere letter of reproach, but contained clear instructions to be followed by the congregants and the slaughterers, and ordered the *parnassim* to issue a public prohibition from the pulpit concerning the meat slaughtered by Ashkenazi Jews. Here the intervention was made solemn by the joint signature of the *parnassim* and *hakhamim* and justified by the defense of the core of Sephardi official vision of *bom judesmo*, as an idiosyncratic compound of community ordinances, Sephardi-specific *minhag* and halakha.

At this point we have to look at the channels of influence of the metropolis: recommendations, injunctions from the *parnassim*, opinion of the *hakhamim* sitting in the rabbinical court, or joint operations. The demands for a rabbinical court decision deserve particular attention. We must first recall that, as Yosef Kaplan established in his article on the rulings of the Amsterdam bet din in the eighteenth century, the Amsterdam rabbinical court was not an independent body: the *Mahamad* functioned as a filtering body in the transmission to the rabbinical court of cases, which had to pass tests of eligibility and relevance.[24] Second, that the request for a decision from the rabbinical court was often comprehended as one way of obtaining the Amsterdam seal and support, in questions of law, and even in questions of internal strife and conflicts.

What were these questions? The simplest case is that of a decision requested for deciding a point of law, like for instance a presumptive

[23] *Copiador de cartas*, 1750–1757, fols. 231–32, 6 January 1755, letter addressed to the Bordeaux *parnassim*, signed by Abraham Henriques Ferreira and Isaac de Moseh Lopes Suasso, as well as Isaac Haim Abendana de Britto, *hakham* of the Talmud Torah Community.

[24] Y. Kaplan, "Eighteenth Century Rulings by the Rabbinical Court of Amsterdam's Community and Their Socio–Historical Significance" [in Hebrew], *Studies on the History of Dutch Jewry* 5 (1988), pp. 1–54.

case of *mamzerut* [adulterine child], submitted by the Bordeaux *hakham* in 1746, on which we will dwell further, below. A noteworthy case is the conflict around the validity of the branches of the lulav that was used in Curaçao in 1752, which *Hakham* Mendes de Solla had contested: a selection of twigs, among which those challenged by the Curaçoan *hakham*, was shipped to be examined by the Amsterdam *hakhamim* and submitted to a rabbinical court comprising Isaac Abendana de Britto, Semuel Acatan, and Abraham de Jacob de Meza. The court's decision offers a classification of the branches, thus ruling out the invalid species; in order to eliminate any doubt as to the meaning of their decision, the *hakhamim* shipped the valid specimens back to Curaçao.[25] However, the decision did not put an end to the contention, since some persisted in using the forbidden species for Sukkot. Beyond the anecdotal aspect, it appears from this case that halakhic questions were sometimes intertwined with social and personal rivalries that granted added importance to the legal issue.

What justified resorting to the Amsterdam rabbinical court? The most common situations involved cases in which the local court was not in a position to decide, whether it was an incomplete court, like in 1768 when the Altona community turned to Amsterdam's rabbinical court to decide on the validity of the election of a *hazan*, or when the local rabbinical authority felt insufficiently equipped to decide on a case, such as when *Hakham* Athias of Bordeaux submitted a question of *mamzerut*, in 1746.[26] In the case of *Hakham* Athias, the resort to Amsterdam denoted either a lack of halakhic knowledge or of self-confidence, or both. His faltering legal acumen became apparent when he presented the Amsterdam rabbis with another question, which held no real halakhic difficulty but merely derived from a complicated family history about a young woman recently arrived from Portugal who had a child with her grandmother's husband; she had found somebody willing to marry her, could she be allowed to marry?[27]

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[25] *Copiador de cartas*, 1750–57, fol. 101, 21 July 1752, letter to the *parnassim* of Curaçao, containing a copy of the legal decision; the decision may also be found in GAA PA 334, no. 502, fol. 45. The conflict is briefly mentioned in I. and S. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati 1970), vol. 1, p. 243.

[26] *Copiador de cartas*, 1744–1750, fols. 149–151, 29 Kislev 5507, 12 December 1746, letter to the *parnassim* of Bordeaux.

[27] *Copiador de cartas*, 1744–1750, fol. 204, 5 October 1747: this letter was published by G. Nahon in "Les rapports des communautés," pp. 174–75.

Very often, the local and natural head of the rabbinical court was disqualified for being himself involved in the dispute: such was the case with *Hakham* Gabay Isidro in Surinam, David Mendes de Solla in Curaçao, and, earlier, with David Nieto, when he was accused of deism by a number of his congregants in 1705. The bitter and protracted conflict of 1761, in which the former *hakham* and head of the rabbinical court of the London congregation, Isaac Nieto, opposed the *parnassim* and his former student, Moses Cohen de Azevedo, provides a good example of such a situation, where the local rabbinical court was incapacitated because of the involvement of its potential members. Nieto challenged the validity of Moses Cohen de Azevedo's rabbinical degree and competence, and actively opposed the latter's appointment as *hakham* for Sha'ar Hashamayim community of London.[28] In their letter to Amsterdam, the London *parnassim* explicitly referred to the incapacitation of the local rabbinical court and scholars as the motive for their request.[29]

The Amsterdam rabbinical court may be brought in to reinforce the authority of a particular decision and give it added legitimacy: in 1703 the Bayonne congregation Nefusot Yehudah asked the Amsterdam rabbinical court to authorize and stamp an ordinance prohibiting clandestine marriages, so as to reinforce the binding strength of that *haskama* and of their own court. Or, from Bayonne again, in 1740, a request to reiterate the *herem* on a rebellious subject, Jacob Levy, who had very harsh words against the *parnassim* and took *Hakham* Meldola to court; in that case the French *parnassim* defended their action with

[28] On Isaac Nieto, see I. Solomons, "David Nieto and Some of His Contemporaries," *TJHSE* 12 (1931), pp. 78–80.

[29] Archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Community, London, Minutes of the *Mahamad*, 1751–1776, MS 105, letter to Amsterdam, 28 Heshvan 5521, fols. 27–28 (my numbering of the *copiador*): "O Motivo de molestar a V^{ms} muy Illustres he q havendose em junta geral dos velhos deste KK^{s} entrado em discurso sobre fazer elleiçao de pessoa propria p^{a} HH^{m} desta kehila se offerecerao em debate pontos de din em oposisao ao sujeto q se insinuou e como pella natureza das questoins succede q nem nosso Beth Din nem outras pessoas doctas do Midras podem ser competentes juizes pello interesse ou perjuizo q de sua decisao podem vir a hums e resultar a outros accordarao os ss^{res} Velhos unanimemente de remeter d^{as} questoems a recta e justa opiniao do Beth Din desse KK^{s}." Together with the letter, the London *parnassim* sent four series of documents emanating from both parties: letters and halakhic discussions from Joseph Jesurun Rodrigues and Isaac Nieto opposing d'Azevedo's appointment, and various documents and a letter from Benjamin Mendes da Costa expressing the opinion of the Elders and invalidating the arguments of Nieto and Rodrigues.

the claim of there being no other more efficient remedy.[30] Amsterdam's rabbinical court may also be resorted to as a court of appeal of an already existing decision, as in the conflict of jurisdiction between Venice and Padova in 1761.

Patrocinio *and Authoritarianism*

The implementation of this *patrocinio* was not without difficulties. The expression of Amsterdam's authority in the diaspora sometimes verged on authoritarianism, the *parnassim* threatening to refrain from further intervention and, in some cases, actually dismissing the requests, thus putting an end to the putative interaction or collaboration with the metropolis. In the abovementioned case concerning the validity of the lulav in Curaçao, the *parnassim* gave a forceful expression to their anger when it becomes clear that their decision was not universally heeded and did not put an end to the local unrest.

In a number of instances, the *parnassim* agreed to exercise their *patrocinio* and provide their help only in exchange for total, preliminary submission to their decisions. In the case of a rabbinical court decision, naturally, both parties must give preliminary submission to whatever decision is reached. In the case submitted by the London *parnassim* in 1761 concerning the candidate to the position of rabbi, the *Mahamad* of the Talmud Torah community of Amsterdam drew a distinction between the request [*suplica*] and the preliminary submission or empowerment of the rabbinical court [*qualeficasão*], and only agreed to proceed with the request since the submission was "*diffinitiva.*"[31] But this demand for preliminary submission, customarily required for a legal decision, was extended to a variety of situations, and made into a standard condition. In 1764, David, the son of the deceased *Hakham* Jacob Athias of Bordeaux, addressed several routine questions to Amsterdam, concerning the number of people who could be called to the Torah and the *hakafot*. The *hakham* of the Amsterdam community provided an answer, but the simple request for information from Athias was not considered sufficient, and the *parnassim* required an official commitment from the Bordeaux *Mahamad* before agreeing to send their answers. Confronted

[30] See G. Nahon, *Métropoles et périphéries séfarades*, pp. 116–17, and idem, *Les "Nations" juives portugaises du Sud–Ouest de la France (1684–1791). Documents* (Paris 1981), p. 282.

[31] GAA PA 334, no. 26, resolutions of the *Mahamad*, fol. 133, 8 Kislev 5521.

with David Athias's reluctance to secure that commitment, they refuse to answer his queries.[32] A few years later, in 1768, Athias wrote again to the *parnassim*, seemingly unsure of his knowledge and asking whether he could, from time to time, consult with the *hakhamim* on difficult matters of halakha. Here again, his request was granted only under the condition that he, together with the Bordeaux *parnassim*, submit entirely to the opinion of the Amsterdam *hakhamim* and commit themselves to a strict implementation of that body's decisions.[33] The underlying message was that the *Mahamad* and *hakhamim* of the Amsterdam community were willing to dispense authority and authoritative decisions and not merely gratuitous opinions. The ultimate issue was one of mastery over the decision-making process and exclusive authority. Other instances of conditional and reluctant cooperation add weight to this interpretation: in two cases involving the Portuguese nations of Hamburg and London, the Amsterdam *parnassim* swerved from their traditionally assumed duty of finding a suitable candidate for a rabbinical position; their reasons are clearly stated in a letter to Hamburg dated 1751: the *parnassim* would have gladly selected a single adequate candidate, but since they were only asked to do a pre-selection and suggest several names, i.e. they were deprived of the usual mastery over the selection process and the specifications of the contract, they desist.

Effectiveness of Amsterdam's Intervention: Facts and Representations

At this stage, a number of questions and preliminary conclusions have to be formulated:

- How effective was Amsterdam's involvement in those internal matters in terms of conflict resolution? In a number of instances, it is not the actual resort to Amsterdam that leads to a solution, but rather the Amsterdam reference and authority that is mobilized as part of the strategy of communal authorities or factions to ascertain their

[32] David Athias was appointed *riby* when his father died in 1760; it seems that the Bordeaux leaders had only limited faith in his capacities, since the appointment was explicitly revocable; he never acquired the title of *hakham* and remained designated as *riby*; See Schwarzfuchs, *Le registre des délibérations*, p. 290; GAA PA 334, no. 26, resolutions of the *Mahamad*, fols. 223, 228–29.

[33] *Copiador de cartas*, 1764–1773, fols. 210–11, 8 February 1768, letter to the *parnassim* of Bordeaux.

rule or their particular aims, whether of conservation or dissent. This appears clearly in the case of Gabay Isidro in Surinam. He writes to the *hakhamim* in Amsterdam, probably hoping that they are going to support him as a former student and *talmid hakham* of Ets Haim. The Surinam *Mahamad*, aware of that risk, take the unusual step of writing to the *hakhamim* of the Amsterdam community before writing to the *parnassim*. When writing to the Amsterdam *Mahamad*, they explicitly beseeched them to influence the *hakhamim* towards a favorable decision for them. This example illustrates the idea that, if the recourse to Amsterdam was undertaken in the hope of a solution, it was always also a strategic move within the context of the community itself. The *parnassim* and *hakhamim* were often used as means to an end in these conflicts. Interestingly, Moshe Rosman reached similar conclusions when analyzing a cluster of cases of appeal to the authority of the Council of Four Lands [*Va'ad Arba Aratsot*] from outside the limits of Poland, among which the conflict between Polish and German Jews in seventeenth-century Amsterdam:[34] Ultimately, decisions made by the *Va'ad* carried weight only in as much as they were useful to some of the parties concerned, and were consistently utilized in the local strategies.

- This takes us to a second set of remarks and questions about facts and representations. Requests and appeals say as much, if not more, about the representations of Amsterdam in the diaspora and its self-image, and about the representations of channels of authority, as they do about the reality of that authority and the possibility of its implementation. It is thus necessary to distinguish between the expectations formulated in the requests and answers—expectations concerning the role of Amsterdam and the degree of submission and deference due to Amsterdam *parnassim* and *hakhamim* by the rest of the diaspora—and the effective channels of intervention and authority.

[34] M. Rosman, "The Authority of the Council of Four Lands Outside of Poland" [in Hebrew], *Annual of Bar Ilan University. Studies in Judaica and Humanities*, vols. 24–25 (1989), pp. 11–30; see his complementary article on the resort to gentile authorities and its meaning within the local Jewish contexts: "The Role of Non-Jewish Authorities in Resolving Conflicts within Jewish Communities in the Early Modern Period," *Jewish Political Studies Review* 12 (2000), pp. 53–65; see also G. M. Steinberg, "Conflict Prevention and Mediation in the Jewish Tradition," ibid., pp. 3–21; on the *Va'ad*, see also Sh. Ettinger, "The Council of the Four Lands," in *The Jews in Old Poland 1000–1795*, ed. A. Polonsky (Oxford 1993), pp. 93–109, and J. Katz, *Tradition and Crisis* (New York 1993 [1958]), pp. 102–12.

Both dimensions are needed to help us delineate collective systems of representations as well as effective influence.

- Even when part of a local strategy, the turn to Amsterdam's *parnassim* says something about a feeling of connectedness, of belonging. In that sense it is impossible to understand the full scope of Amsterdam's *patrocinio* without considering the question of individuals from the diaspora turning to Amsterdam for help: The Amsterdam *parnassim* were very often requested, by individuals from different places, to act as intermediaries or tutors in family affairs. *Parnassim* acted in a number of private cases as testament executors, and individuals from the diaspora turned to the *Mahamad* of Amsterdam also with requests of a purely personal nature: in 1674 Jacob Cohen Henriques from London requested that the Amsterdam *parnassim* take his grandchildren away from their abusive father until the children could be sent to join him in Jamaica. While the *parnassim* agreed to serve as mediators as a favor to a widow in Livorno, they often turned down such requests, rerouting them to the good services of *particulares*. These requests and their metaphorical apparatus, with the role of surrogate tutor or father devoted to the metropolis, point again to the realm of image and representation,[35] as well as to the articulation between kinship, community, and the nação.

Metropolitan Model or Multipolar Diaspora?

An analysis of various patterns of intervention of the Amsterdam community in the inner life of the Sephardi nations makes it possible to assess the validity of the metropolitan model in the eighteenth century, and to go from *topos* to history. But an understanding of Amsterdam's role in the Sephardi diaspora much exceeds a simple model of center/periphery as is conveyed by the image of Amsterdam as the Sephardi metropolis: with the westward expansion of the Sephardi diaspora and the European turn to the Atlantic, the "newer" Portuguese nations such as London, Curaçao, and Jamaica take on an added weight in this spatial organization, and those in London and Curaçao developed their own sphere of influence and metropolitan role.[36]

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[35] See note 7 on the *parnassim* as "padres de la patria."
[36] Oliel-Grausz, *Relations et réseaux intercommunautaires*, pp. 693–700.

I have previously addressed the issue of the relationship between London and Amsterdam in the eighteenth century, pointing out that, early on, the Portuguese community of London signaled independence from the authority of Amsterdam.[37] Let us merely recall the institutional conclusion of the intercommunal conflict around *Hakham* Nieto, which involved London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, and in which the Amsterdam *parnassim* and *hakhamim* had refrained from taking sides with Nieto: that conclusion features in a resolution, adopted by the London *Mahamad* in 1705, never to appeal again to Amsterdam's rabbinical court, and, in case of need, to apply to another community. Without going into a lengthy exposition, suffice it to say that later interaction between the communities took more the form of collaboration than of allegiance. In a number of ways, the London Sephardi community developed as a concurrent or sub-metropolis, in relation to English colonial Jewries or the Mediterranean, developing networks and channels of assistance that were to a certain extent independent of Amsterdam's.

As for the Caribbean, the emphasis in current scholarship has been put mostly on the transatlantic dimension of the links, while only sporadic attention has been devoted to a Caribbean-centered network.[38] Suggested mostly in its economic and demographic dimensions, the demonstration of the emergence of a regional Caribbean network could be pursued on the level of intercommunal relations. A few elements of such a demonstration may be conjured up: the pool of contributors for the acquisition of a cemetery for the nascent community of Charleston included the Sephardi communities of London, New York, Newport, Savannah, Barbados, and Kingston, delineating, in this case, active solidarity within the British colonies. For the building of the Newport synagogue at the end of the 1750s, the primary benefactors included the Sephardi communities of New York, London, and Curaçao.[39] Jewish paupers, dispatched from European and American communities, circulated within the Caribbean. The history of David Aboab, a rebellious character as well as a shrewd polemicist and critic of community oligarchy, illustrates the sub metropolitan role played by the rabbinical

[37] Idem, "Study in Intercommunal Relations."

[38] See Kaplan, "The Curaçao and Amsterdam Jewish Communities"; Yerushalmi, "Between Amsterdam and New Amsterdam"; and Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora*, pp. 511–32.

[39] See the letter from Newport to Curaçao in I. and S. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, vol. 2, p. 1035.

court of Mikve Israel in Curaçao, which was appointed to judge his misconduct involving the Jamaican and Curaçoan communities, a truly Caribbean tale of deviance.[40] David Aboab himself explicitly emphasized the regional metropolitan function of Curaçao by designating it as the "mother city of all the American isles."[41]

Rabbinical Recruitment and Metropolis

A particular issue may serve as a paradigm for the polarization of the diasporic space: the process of hiring rabbinical and para-rabbinical staff, whether they be full-fledged rabbis [*hakhamim*], cantors [*hazanim*] or cantors-in-second, or teachers [*rubissim*]. Recruitment strategies, i.e. where a community turns when, as is often the case, no local candidate is available, indicate patterns of relations and allegiances, of existing hierarchies as well as patterns of self image and representation. For the historian, the various steps taken toward locating and selecting the candidates, as well as the recruitment process, matter as much as does the final choice: in many instances, Amsterdam *parnassim* were required by their London, Hamburg, Curaçao, and Surinam counterparts to select candidates from recruits at the Ets Haim seminary. But here again, resorting to the simpler metropolitan model falls short, since the process is often two-tiered: when in need of a rabbi or a *hazan*, the Nidhe Israel community of Barbados, the Sha'ar Hashamayim community of Jamaica, and Shearith Israel community of New York, resort to the London *Mahamad*, which, then, turned to the Amsterdam *parnassim* for a suitable candidate from Ets Haim. In 1752, the London *parnassim* sent a *hazan*, Isaac Cohen da Silva, to the Nidhe Israel community of Barbados, but the selection and hiring process was implemented by the Amsterdam *parnassim*;[42] a better known case demonstrating the same,

[40] GAA PA 334, no. 1028–1029, fols. 340–362, with copies of letters exchanged between the Jamaica Nation and Mikve Israel in Curaçao. For a brief sketch of Aboab's life, see I. and S. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, vol. 1, pp. 187–89; vol. 2, pp. 1020–1023.

[41] Ibid., p. 180. On rabbinical circulation and recruitment as an indication of intercommunal networks, see E. Oliel-Grausz, "La circulation du personnel rabbinique dans les communautés de la diaspora séfarade au XVIII[e] siècle," in *Transmission et passages en monde juif*, ed. E. Benbassa (Paris 1997), pp. 313–34.

[42] GAA PA 334, no. 93, *Copiador de cartas*, 1750–1757, fol. 104, 30 July 1752, 13 August 1752, letters from the *parnassim* of Amsterdam to Barbados and London.

two-tiered process, was that of *Hazan* Joseph Jeshurun Pinto, sent to the Shearith Israel community of New York in 1759.[43]

Curaçao provided the Caribbean area with a number of *hazanim* and school teachers. Their careers reflected the local hierarchy, delineating a Caribbean rabbinical *cursus honorum*: Josuah Hisquiau de Cordova, born in Amsterdam and trained in Ets Haim was sent to Curaçao to be a teacher, at the request of Mikve Israel; in 1755, eager to leave Curaçao and flee the irascible *Hakham* Samuel Mendes de Solla, he turned to the Jamaican community. His appointment in a lesser community led to a significant promotion, since he then became a full-fledged *hakham.*[44]

When it came to hiring a new rabbi, the London community found itself in a peculiar situation: it occasionally requested the intervention of the community of Amsterdam, but the latter's influence was rarely effective, and Amsterdam's role can hardly be deemed metropolitan in that relationship. A protracted crisis centering on the appointment of a new *hakham* in London, between 1760 and 1765, may illustrate this complex interaction. As stated above, a local candidate, Moses Cohen de Azevedo, was favored by the *parnassim* but strongly opposed by Isaac Nieto, son of *Hakham* David Nieto. Despite a decision of the rabbinical court of the community of Amsterdam that supported d'Azevedo's legitimacy in 1761, no compromise was reached. In terms of intercommunal interaction, the intervention of the Amsterdam community was ineffective and the decision of its *hakhamim* went unheeded. In 1765 the London Elders appointed an *ad hoc* commission for recruiting a new *hakham*. Amsterdam featured among the Sephardi communities contacted for the purpose of short-listing candidates, but was by no means the only one, since letters were also sent to Leghorn, Venice, and Smyrna.[45] The Amsterdam *parnassim*'s reply was curt and dismissive. They refused to collaborate for two different and cumulative reasons: first, they were displeased with the nature of the request, since they were only asked to provide a suitable candidate, while the final decision was

[43] H. P. Salomon, "A Dutch Hazan in Colonial New York," *StRos* 13 (1979), pp. 18–29; J. R. Marcus, *Colonial American Jew* (Detroit 1970), vol. 2, pp. 931–33; D. de Sola Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World. Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654–1954* (New York 1955), pp. 165–67.

[44] On Cordova, see B. W. Korn, "The Haham de Cordova of Jamaica," *American Jewish Archives* 18 (1966), pp. 141–54.

[45] Minutes of the *Mahamad*, 1751–1776, Letters to Livourne on 5 July and 27 September 1765, to Smyrna on 20 December 1765; Minutes of the Elders, 1764–1783, fols. 5 to 12.

left to the English Elders; the second motive, subtly but clearly enunciated, was their discontent with the fact that the London *parnassim* had disregarded the decision of their rabbinical court a few years earlier, supporting the candidacy of Moses Cohen de Azevedo; the signature of the *hakham* Solomon Salem is an unusual addition to those of the *parnassim* and serves as a solemn reminder of the offence.[46] This episode shows that while the Amsterdam *parnassim* expected to retain their metropolitan prerogatives they were reluctant to play any lesser role, and that Amsterdam no longer served as the exclusive metropolis for the English Sephardi community: Sha'ar Hashamayim had developed its own network, in which Amsterdam naturally featured prominently; from the viewpoint of the London *parnassim*, partnership had replaced—or should have replaced—dependence and subservience. At crucial times, in 1701 and again, a century later, the direct connection with Leghorn proved to be a more efficient one for procuring a *hakham*.

Though briefly sketched, the pattern that appears from the deciphering of eighteenth-century intercommunal relations in the western diaspora, is undeniably one of a multipolar system, in which the Portuguese community of Amsterdam retained some metropolitan preeminence, but not exclusive metropolitan functions.

A Weakening Commitment to the Diaspora?

The history of the Sephardi diaspora is one of multiple identities, with an evolving balance between a process of naturalization and the continuation of belonging to the larger entity, a balance gradually resolved in favor of the latter. Signs of the weakening links accumulate around and after the turn of the mid eighteenth century. Seen from Amsterdam, this can be read in a not-insignificant number of cases, in which the Amsterdam *parnassim* explicitly refrained from assuming the traditional *patrocinio*. In 1728, during the ritual bath affair, the Amsterdam *parnassim* firmly asserted that the Bordeaux community was under the *patrocinio* of the Amsterdam Sephardi community, as we saw. A little more than a generation later, the description of Amsterdam's obligation has

[46] GAA PA 334, no. 26, Resolutions of the *Mahamad*, fol. 258, 27 Shevat 5525: "A vista da natureza desta comição e as desatemcoems que en outra ocaziao uzou o K.K. de Londres com este K.K. resolverao ossr^rs^ do Mahamad não admitir d^a^ comição respondendolhes a sua carta muito brevemente."

considerably evolved: when asked to confirm the verdict of *mamzerut*, the *parnassim* and *hakhamim* refrained, saying that the *hakham* in Bordeaux was the head of the religion, that he should decide according to his conscience with the help of the local *parnassim*, and, what's more, "we are sufficiently burdened here with the government of the individuals of this *Kahal Kados*, which does not permit us to intervene in that of other *kehillot*."[47] Without going into a detailed discussion of that gradual but noticeable turn to more and more local commitments, a change that can be seen also in the regulations of the *kahal*'s charitable societies, let us mention that during that decade several intercommunal requests for help were turned down. The opposition between local and foreign poor had been radicalized into a process of naturalization of charity. Local concerns were gradually replacing the duty of *patrocinio*, in terms of effective involvement as well as representation.

The history of the Sephardi metropolis in the eighteenth century is one of paradox and discrepancy: this gradual, internal process of weakening diasporic commitments was concomitant with a persistence of the image of Amsterdam as a metropolis, in the Jewish world, where the influx of requests for help remained unabated, and the non-Jewish world, where it remained a central reference. As a testimony to the status of the Amsterdam nation in the minds of contemporaries, we may turn to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who wrote in *Emile ou de l'éducation* (1762): "En Sorbonne, il est clair comme le jour que les prédictions du Messie se rapportent à Jésus-Christ. Chez les rabbins d'Amsterdam, il est tout aussi clair qu'elles n'y ont pas le moindre rapport." Amsterdam's presence in the philosopher's mind was such that, just as the Sorbonne theologians epitomized Christianity, Amsterdam's rabbis epitomized Judaism.

[47] GAA PA 334, no. 93, *Copiador de cartas*, 1750–1757, fols. 266–67, 24 July 1755: "…no hallamos necessario nuestra intervencion en dicho cazo pues Su *Mala* representando en essa *kehila* la cabesa de la religion esta en su mano de hazer lo que ordena la Ley y dicta su concensia haziendo concurrir en sus ideas los señores *Parnassim* desse *Kaal Kados*, ademas que nos hallamos con bastante cargo con el regimen de los individuos deste *Kaal Kados* que no permiten intervenir en la de las demas *kehilot*."

PHILOSOPHY, DEISM, AND THE EARLY JEWISH ENLIGHTENMENT (1655–1740)

Jonathan Israel

In one of the many books published in Holland relating to the Bekker controversies (1691–1694), the Reformed theologian Melchior Leydekker (1642–1721) expressed his growing alarm at the way new post-Cartesian forms of rationalist philosophy were progressively undermining the ascendancy of theological concepts in Dutch society. Indeed, he was inclined to see the challenge posed by philosophy as the chief issue in contemporary Dutch culture and held up what to him was the terrifying and disastrous specter of the traditional Christian "kerkelijke Republijk" [church Republic] being totally overwhelmed by a tide of freethinking, generated by the ideas of Hobbes, Spinoza, and Bekker, which would finally give rise to "het rijk der philosophen" [the imperium of the *philosophes*]. Philosophy, he complained, especially among the young, was acquiring the upper hand over theology.[1] Admittedly, Bekker, he granted, did not altogether share Spinoza's views; yet on the subject of Satan, demonology, and witchcraft, he had openly contradicted "het generale consent van alle volkeren" [general consent of all peoples], the ancient Greeks and rabbinic Jews included, thereby promoting highly dangerous notions that lead directly to what he regarded as the evil of Spinozism.[2]

A great many people, he agreed, had risen up to defend the beliefs of their ancestors, and of the Church Fathers concerning Satan and demons, defending such beliefs against the mockery and slander of the libertines and freethinkers. However, the Dutch Jews, he was sorry to say, were no longer among those defending the beliefs of *their* forefathers on these crucial topics. Menasseh ben Israel, he adds, in conversation with the Calvinist "pope" of Utrecht, Gijsbertus Voetius,

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[1] Melchior Leydekker, *Historische en theologische redeneringe over het onlangs uitgegeve Boek van… Balthasar Bekker* (Utrecht 1692), "Voor-reden," p. 2; A. Fix, *Fallen Angels. Balthasar Bekker, Spirit Belief and Confessionalism in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht 1999), pp. 8–9.

[2] Leydekker, *Historische en theologische redeneringe*, pp. 3, 7, 13.

had even scandalously admitted that "he did not know whether devils exist."[3] Thus, "de hedendaagsche Joden," he lamented, "zijn mede in haar geheel Sadduceen" [the modern day Jews are likewise all Sadducees].[4] Some present-day Jews, he says, only concede the existence of good angels and not of bad. If Bekker, due to philosophy, was abandoning the Christian fold, held Leydekker, then in the process he was acquiring as allies not just mocking freethinkers but also the new Jewish Sadducees.

This philosophical rationalist streak in early modern western Sephardi culture was indeed destined to grow into something that can be usefully termed the "Early Jewish Enlightenment," though this phenomenon should by no means be regarded as solely Sephardi in character. It was rather a pan-European phenomenon recognized as a fact by a number of writers, most notably the eloquent Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, marquis d'Argens (1701–1771). His highly successful and several times republished—and translated[5]—*Lettres Juives* (6 vols., The Hague, 1738), written during the first part of the six-year period that this Provençal nobleman resided in the Dutch Republic (1734–1740), centers around three fictitious Ottoman Sephardi Jews who show great personal refinement, speak several languages fluently, are always courteous, and exhibit an ardent interest in intellectual life alike in the Christian West and the Islamic world, delighting in the progress of learning, philosophy, and toleration.[6] In this way, d'Argens used a literary device that was invented by Gian Paolo Marana in his *Espion Turc* of 1684, and subsequently employed by Montesquieu, in his *Lettres Persanes*, to striking effect.[7] The book deservedly enjoyed something of a vogue in fashionable society, being prized for its wit, graceful style, and enlightened views, by Voltaire and Paolo Mattia Doria, among

[3] Ibid. "Voor-reden," p. 2.

[4] Ibid.; J. I. Israel, "Was There a Pre-1740 Sephardic Jewish Enlightenment?" in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian* 48 (Lisbon and Paris 2004), pp. 19–20.

[5] A. Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge 2003), pp. 18, 209–12.

[6] Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, marquis d'Argens, *Lettres Juives ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique entre un Juif voiageur en differens états de l'Europe et ses correspondans en divers endroits* (1738; 2d ed. 6 vols, The Hague 1742), vol. 5, Preface pp. xiii–xiv.

[7] Ibid., pp. 9–20; P. M. Doria, *Manoscritti napoletani*, ed. G. Belgioioso, A. Spedicati, P. da Fabrizio M. de Marangio (5 vols.; Galatina, Puglia 1981–1982), vol. 3, p. 276; vol. 5, p. 291.

others, though the latter did not fail to notice that, between the lines, it cleverly propagated "the venom of atheism."[8]

In general, d'Argens' "reformed" Jews survey both Europe and Near Eastern Islamic and Jewish civilization "avec un oeil philosophe." One of his fictitious Ottoman Jews, Aaron Monceca—someone supposedly raised among the French and English merchants in Constantinople who knows their languages and ways—travels to Paris where, despite his background and education, he is nevertheless astounded by much of what he finds. One of his correspondents, Jacob Brito, for his part travels in Italy, Spain, and North Africa, whilst a third, "Rabbi Isaac," tours the Ottoman Near East, likewise appraising and commenting all he sees in shrewdly rationalistic terms. In this way they are able to compare the West, Iberia, and the Ottoman world, subjecting each to searching and, for the most part, highly unflattering criticism.

Conventionally-minded readers frequently took offence, it seems, at d'Argens' provocatively anti-clerical, deistic brand of philo-Semitism as well as his repeated charge that Christian hostility towards the Jews—however traditional and deeply embedded in the Early Christian world—is thoroughly irrational, unjustified, and reprehensible, nothing, in fact, but the worst kind of theological hatred, superstition, and prejudice. The Jesuits, according to d'Argens himself, were outraged by his work and flatly condemned it.[9] Of course, like Montesquieu, d'Argens considered many aspects of Jewish tradition, and not least the Talmud and Kabbalah, to be absurd but, if critical of many features of Jewish life, he clearly respected the moral ideals of Jewish society and staunchly defended the Jews against all ingrained hatred and defamation of their faith.[10] Indeed, his defense of the Jews goes significantly beyond that of Montesquieu.

At the same time, not a few readers must have been astonished by his equation of the "reformed," or purified, Jew with the concept of *philosophe*.[11] Some readers apparently protested in writing, complaining that d'Argens' brand of urbane, well-read, and philosophically adept Jews who utterly scorn Christianity on purely rational, as distinct from

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[8] *Notice historique sur le marquis d'Argens à la cour de Prusse et ses ouvrages* in the *Mémoires du marquis d'Argens*, new ed. (Paris 1807), pp. 8, 93–94; N. R. Bush, *The Marquis d'Argens and His Philosophical Correspondence* (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1953), pp. 76–77.

[9] D'Argens, *Lettres Juives*, vol. 5, Preface, p. 4.

[10] P. Kra, *Religion in Montesquieu's* Lettres Persanes (Geneva 1970), pp. 101–2.

[11] A. McKenna, "Le Marquis d'Argens et les manuscrits clandestins," *La Lettre Clandestine* 12 (2003), pp. 97–120, here p. 114.

theological, grounds, could not possibly exist but were merely a *topos* deployed for seditious purposes, a figment of that author's irreverently overwrought imagination.[12] D'Argens answers this charge that he had fabricated a type of Jew that did not actually exist in the preface to the third volume of the work's second edition:

> Le lecteur ne doit point regarder ces trois écrivains comme trois misérables Juifs tels que sont ceux qu'on voit à Mets, à Avignon, et dans quelques autres villes de France; mais, les considérer comme beaucoup de ceux qu'on trouve en assez grand nombre en Hollande et à Venise [the English translator added "London"], dont les décisions sur les ouvrages de l'esprit valent souvent beaucoup mieux que celles de bien de académiciens.[13]

This handsome compliment was plainly not intended for the great mass of contemporary Jewry, with its rigid and narrow loyalty to the Oral Law, tradition, and rabbinic authority. It was directed rather at that fringe of affluent "westernized," cosmopolitan Sephardi Jews, some of whom, d'Argens suggests, dwelt in Ottoman lands. Such men, as the Sephardi elite of Amsterdam, London, Hamburg, and The Hague, were natural supporters of d'Argens' campaign to convert society to his own brand of *philosophie de bon sens*. For d'Argens, a *déiste declaré* who privately—and to a degree openly—disdained all revealed religion, traditional Judaism (no less than Christianity and Islam) was irredeemably disfigured by ignorance, superstition, and bigotry. He was convinced, furthermore, that society urgently needed emancipating from what he considered false beliefs and negative values. Indeed, those flaws in society most detrimental to humanity's progress and well-being, he judged, were precisely those that thrive on credulity, tradition, ignorance, and superstition.[14]

While d'Argens, like most Enlightenment writers, was contemptuous of traditional Jewish belief and observance, judging traditional anti-

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[12] Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment*, pp. 211–12.

[13] D'Argens, *Lettres Juives*, vol. 3, Preface; Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, marquis d'Argens, *The Jewish Spy: Being a Philosophical, Historical and Critical Correspondence, By Letters Which Lately Pass'd between Certain Jews in Turkey, Italy, France etc.* (4 vols.; Dublin 1753), vol. 1 "Preface by the English translator," p. A3; A. Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (New York 1968), pp. 278–79.

[14] On d'Argens' deism and Spinozism, see P. Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française avant la Révolution* (Paris 1954), pp. 407–12; G. P. de Gurbert, "La philosophie du bon sens de Boyer d'Argens," in *La philosophie clandestine à l'âge classique*, ed. A. McKenna and A. Mothu (Paris and Oxford 1997), pp. 367–74.

Semitic stereotypes of Jewish avarice, fanaticism, and cruelty partly justified, he took the view that Jewish culture and morality had been disfigured by historically-forged social and cultural circumstances,[15] and seems to have been broadly sympathetic to the Jews as such. He studied a little Hebrew and some Jewish history whilst in Holland, and became convinced that a purified Judaism retaining only what he regarded as Judaism's deistic inner core would have much of a positive character to offer mankind. A fundamental reform of Jewish religion, education, culture, and outlook would, to his mind, safeguard the positive moral qualities of Jewish society, including the purity of their women, which his Sephardi correspondents held up as an example to others: "they are the only women in the world," as the point is expressed in the English version, "not influenc'd by the customs of countries; they have everywhere the same freedom and the same discretion. They are alike virtuous in Europe, Asia and Africa; but it is not so with women of other religions. The Mahometan women are only kept virtuous by bolts, doors and the vigilance of eunuchs, otherwise they are as much inclin'd to be vicious as the Nazarenes, and are even more easy to be debauch'd." By contrast, Jewesses supposedly enjoyed "as much freedom in Asia as the European women have, but are as careful of their honour as the Mahometan women, and preserve it even amidst the debaucheries of the Nazarene countries, without being drawn aside or tempted by bad example."[16]

D'Argens' philo-Semitism was driven by his deep aversion to any theologically based antipathy to anyone or anything. Dislike of the cramped and debased character of contemporary Jewish society and culture, in his opinion, does not justify hatred of and discrimination against Jews.[17] He detests all bigotry and fanaticism and fiercely derides the frequent Christian complaint that the Jews hate them. Unless one turns all the Jews into *philosophes* graced with the forebearance of a Socrates or Epictetus, as he puts it in his *Lettres Chinoises*, how can anyone expect "qu'ils puissent ne point haïr des gens qui les chassent de leurs maison, qui les pillent, qui les volent, qui les massacrent, qui prêchent

[15] D'Argens, *Lettres Juives*, vol. 3, pp. 2–3; Bush, *Marquis d'Argens*, pp. 125–30; McKenna, "Marquis d'Argens," pp. 122–23.

[16] D'Argens, *The Jewish Spy*, vol. 1, pp. 5–6.

[17] De Gurbert, "La philosophie du bon sens," p. 369; A. Altmann, *Moses Mendelssohn. A Biographical Study* (London 1973), p. 23; J. I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford 2001), p. 589.

sans cesse qu'on doit les détruire et les exterminer entièrement"?[18] D'Argens' philosophical Chinaman has, during the course of his travels in Europe, met "plusieurs Juifs très savants" and studied their doctrines with care. Remarkably, he assures his correspondent, "je n'ai jamais rien découvert qui pût approcher de tous les contes ridicules qu'ont débités certains auteurs Chrétiens qui ont écrit des fables puériles pour excuser les horribles persécutions qu'on a fait suffrir à ces misérables."[19]

Yet the only kind of Jews d'Argens could genuinely sympathize with were those of an unambiguously secular and deistic bent such as might embrace his own radical and broadly Spinozist-Baylean standpoint, an outlook somewhat in the tradition of the Huguenot freethinker Jean-Fréderic Bernard who, indeed, was one of d'Argens' main sources of information and inspiration and who had earlier dedicated one of his philosophically most-subversive works "au bon sens."[20] Furthermore, unlike Voltaire (who was not only deeply prejudiced against Jews but inclined to believe that Judaism and an enlightened attitude stood in unremitting opposition to each other),[21] d'Argens considered adherence to Judaism in a reformed version perfectly compatible with cultivating philosophy and a generally enlightened attitude.

Any lingering doubt in the reader's mind as to d'Argens' own preferences among the variant strains of Judaism is finally dispelled by his remarks on the ancient Sadducees in the fourth volume of the *Lettres Juives*. Like Bayle, by whom he was especially influenced and whom he immensely admired,[22] Bolingbroke, and other early Enlightenment writers,[23] d'Argens portrays the Sadducees, rather like Leydekker, as a sect of strict rationalists who reject immortality of the soul, angels, demons, Satan, and all spirits separate from bodies, as well as Heaven

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[18] McKenna, "Marquis d'Argens," pp. 124–25.

[19] Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, marquis d'Argens, *Lettres Chinoises, ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique* (5 vols.; The Hague 1739–1740), vol. 4, p. 202.

[20] Jean-Frédéric Bernard, *Reflexions morales, satiriques et comiques, sur les mœurs de notre siècle* ("Cologne. Chez Pierre Marteau" [Amsterdam?], 1711), Title Page; McKenna, "Marquis d'Argens," p. 115.

[21] F. E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff. Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge, Mass. 1992), pp. 193–201; A. Sutcliffe, "Can a Jew Be a *philosophe*? Isaac de Pinto, Voltaire and Jewish Participation in the European Enlightenment," *Jewish Social Studies* 4 (2000), pp. 31–51, here pp. 32–39.

[22] Bush, *Marquis d'Argens*, pp. 54, 66–67; McKenna, "Marquis d'Argens," pp. 115, 121, 131–32.

[23] On Bayle and the deists' usage of the term, "Sadducees," see F. Charles-Daubert and P.-F. Moreau (eds.), *Pierre Bayle. Écrits sur Spinoza* (Paris 1983), p. 29; P. Harrison, *"Religion" and the Religions in the English Enlightenment* (Cambridge 1990), p. 123.

and Hell, and Resurrection of the Dead, except that he, like they, views them favorably.[24] By association at least, he also links these attitudes to Spinozism, the Karaites, and western European neo-Karaites.[25] The original Karaites, or Scripturalists, were a medieval sect for whom d'Argens shows undisguised enthusiasm. Rejecting the Jewish Oral Law (the Talmud) as well as rabbinic authority, this sect, in his (as well as their) opinion, cultivated a purer Judaism than other Jews. His perspective here clearly derived from their having recently become a focus of Christian erudition, and he may well have heard it reported that in 1712, three modern Dutch Sephardi heretics—David Mendes Henriques (alias David Almanza) and the Brothers Aaron and Isaac Dias da Fonseca—were excommunicated in Amsterdam for "following the sect of Karaites and acting as they do, entirely denying the Oral Law, which is the foundation and underpinning of our Holy Law."[26] On that occasion, remarkably, the rabbis had employed the same formula of excommunication, their most severe ban, as they used for the expulsion of Spinoza from the synagogue, in 1656.

"Je te prie d'examiner, mon cher Monceca," writes d'Argens' "Rabbi Isaac"—who in fact soon resolves to join the Karaite sect—"que toutes les sectes qui divisent aujourd'hui les Nazaréens, ont été autrefois chez les Juifs, à peu de chose près. Les Sadducéens étoient en Judée ce que sont les Déistes de Paris dont tu m'a parlé dans tes premiers lettres."[27] Meanwhile, the Talmud in their correspondence is depicted as an obsolete, oppressive religious apparatus, which has supposedly corrupted and ruined the rational basis of Sadducean Judaism and Karaism. The Talmud, exclaims Rabbi Isaac, "s'éloigne en tout de la première simplicité de notre religion."[28] "Considères, mon cher Isaac," reports

[24] "Les Saducéens […] ils nièrent la resurrection des corps et l'existence des anges; ils soutinrent que l'âme étoit mortelle, et qu'il n'y avoit d'esprit que Dieu seul," from d'Argens, *Lettres Juives*, vol. 4, pp. 49–50; see also S. Nadler, *Spinoza's Heresy* (Oxford 2001), pp. 56, 175.

[25] Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment*, p. 279; McKenna, "Marquis d'Argens," p. 125; Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment*, p. 211.

[26] Y. Kaplan, "'Karaites' in Early Eighteenth Century Amsterdam," in *Sceptics, Millenarians and Jews*, ed. D. S. Katz and J. I. Israel (Leiden 1990), pp. 196–236, here pp. 238–39; idem, "The Intellectual Ferment in the Spanish-Portuguese Community of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," in *The Sephardi Legacy*, vol. 2, ed. H. Beinart (Jerusalem 1992), pp. 310–14.

[27] D'Argens, *Lettres Juives*, vol. 4, p. 51; Bush, *Marquis d'Argens*, pp. 115, 118, 128–30.

[28] D'Argens, *Lettres Juives*, vol. 2, p. 35.

Monceca in Paris to Rabbi Isaac in Constantinople, in a subsequent volume, "combien les écrits des rabbins ont été pernicieux aux Juifs. Le Talmud est la principale cause de la différence des Rabbinistes et des Caraïtes."[29] D'Argens, of course, knowingly or unknowingly obscures the fact that the authentic medieval and early modern Karaism was, in reality, less rationalist than Scripturalist and fundamentalist, denying the whole interpretive tradition in the name of "biblical literalism," more in the style, as Richard Simon appreciated, of Protestant reformers reacting to pre-Reformation Catholicism than eighteenth-century deists responding to priestly obscurantism.[30]

But if d'Argens' "Karaites" were a total fiction in one sense, they arguably mirrored contemporary reality in another. That is, they seemingly intentionally portrayed the rebels against rabbinic authority and tradition, the recent and actual "Karaites" known to exist among the Sephardim and a few Ashkenazim of north-west Europe. For in the early eighteenth century, the term "Karaite," while still meaning the Near Eastern and Lithuanian Karaites of the past, was also clearly being used in a quite new sense, to designate not biblical literalism but rather a growing deistic tendency, which called for the emancipation from the burdens and responsibilities of Jewish observance and the Oral Law. This was a new manifestation alleged to be welling up particularly in certain Sephardi circles.[31] David Almanza and the Brothers Dias de Fonseca, excommunicated in Amsterdam in 1712, were probably less adherents of Karaism in the strict sense (their knowledge of it must have been meager in the extreme) than of an idealized abstraction—of "Karaites" as "Juifs épurez," as formulated in late seventeenth-century Christian scholarly literature, especially by Richard Simon in his *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*.[32]

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[29] Ibid., vol. 5, p. 68; Bush, *Marquis d'Argens*, pp. 125, 128; see further, on the issue of so-called "Karaitism" in early eighteenth-century west European Sephardi Jewish history, J. J. Petuchowski, *The Theology of Haham David Nieto* (New York 1954), pp. 7–8; Kaplan, "Intellectual Ferment," pp. 311–12.

[30] Popkin, "Les Caraïtes," 140–41; see M. Walzer, M. Lorberbaum, and N. J. Zohar (eds.), *The Jewish Political Tradition* (New Haven 2000), vol. 1, *Authority*, p. 249.

[31] M. Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (London 1901), pp. 104, 111; Kaplan, "'Karaites' in Early Eighteenth Century Amsterdam," pp. 274–76.

[32] Kaplan, "Intellectual Ferment," p. 313.

In the opinion of d'Argens and that of his Jewish heroes, Judaism urgently required reducing "to its primitive simplicity."[33] He likewise viewed the original core of the Muslim faith as essentially equivalent to Judaism "in all articles of importance," not least because "our mosques"—as a fictitious French count who figures in d'Argens' story, having turned renegade and become the secretary of a high Ottoman minister, assures "Rabbi Isaac"—unlike the Orthodox and Catholic churches, "as well as your synagogues are not polluted with idols."[34] Indeed, claims this aristocratic renegade from Christianity, Islam is "the faith of Israel in its greatest luster, and such as subsisted in the time of David."[35] "Rabbi Isaac," for his part, first becomes a Karaite and, after seeing more of Muslim Arab lands, acknowledges that the Quran conveys a very majestic idea of God and that rabbinic Judaism has deteriorated further from its pristine integrity than has Islam, so that there are a hundred times more ridiculous things in the Talmud of the rabbis than can be found in the Holy Book of the Muslims.[36] Finally, he denounces the boundless prejudice against Muhammad encountered among both Christians and Jews, extolling the philosophical (i.e. deistic) inner core of the Islamic faith.[37]

D'Argens' cultivated, emancipated Jews are polished, intellectually sophisticated deists who know that the ancient Sadducees held much the same views as did the Parisian deists of their own time;[38] men whose "enlightened" attitude extended to all things. While they rightly disdain all Christianity and rabbinic Judaism, holding a higher opinion of Islam, at the same time they lament the defects of the Muslim body politic and the great harm which, most obviously in Algeria and Tunisia, the Muslims "avaient portés aux sciences et aux beaux-arts" as well as the "état pitoyable" to which the Turks had reduced the Greek lands.[39] D'Argens' cultivated Jews also expressly condemn the subjection of women they find practiced in Algeria, Tunisia, and

[33] D'Argens, *The Jewish Spy*, vol. 1, pp. 151, 154, 171–72, and vol. 3, pp. 145–46, 267–68.
[34] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 53; Bush, *Marquis d'Argens*, p. 121.
[35] D'Argens, *The Jewish Spy*, vol. 1, p. 53.
[36] Ibid., pp. 233–37; Bush, *Marquis d'Argens*, pp. 125–26, 128; McKenna, "Marquis d'Argens," pp. 125–26.
[37] D'Argens, *The Jewish Spy*, vol. 1, pp. 238–45.
[38] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 145; Bush, *Marquis d'Argens*, p. 116; Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment*, p. 211.
[39] A. Thomson, *Barbary and Enlightenment* (Leiden 1987), pp. 21, 59.

Turkey, as well as other traditional features of Islamic society, as good "Spinozists" evincing an unshakable commitment to the fundamental equality of mankind. They ascribe the chronic instability and frequent bloody upheavals in Turkey and the Maghreb not to religious defects or some innate social, ethnic, or cultural inferiority, but rather to political defects, especially the unresolved problem of the Janissaries, intrigues in the Sultan's court, and other deficiencies of their political institutions.[40] Considering the Christians as bigoted towards the Turks and Arabs as the Jews, they praise the Turks especially for their honesty, charity, and courtesy.[41]

D'Argens' Sephardi travelers, then, are intellectually attuned to be fairer and more objective toward Muslims than are Christians. In North Africa, his Sephardi travelers are particularly impressed with the nomadic Bedouin whom they see in Egypt and Libya, and especially their simplicity, strict morality, hospitality, and disdain for wealth, remarking that if they were not so indolent they could truly be styled "de véritables philosophes."[42] D'Argens playfully suggests that "these Bedouins borrowed their customs from those of the ancient Jews who were dispersed in Egypt, and over the coasts of Africa, after the destruction of Jerusalem […]."[43] Characteristically, his "enlightened" Jews remind Christian readers that despite what is commonly supposed in the West, Muslims actually showed no more cruelty, or fondness for enslaving captives in the constant raiding going on across the Mediterranean than the Knights of Malta and other Christians.[44]

In his reply to those who objected that there were no such Jews as he describes, d'Argens claimed to have firsthand knowledge of a positive philosophical attitude, anti-rabbinism, and deistic tendencies among contemporary Jews, especially in Holland and Venice. That there really existed such a freethinking, irreligious fringe was, in fact, also taken for granted, as Yosef Kaplan has shown, by a number of rabbis lamenting the recent decline of Jewish observance. The rise of a new secularism was regarded as a fact of early eighteenth-century Jewish society, one that was obvious and indisputable. Thus, Rabbi Moses Hagiz, in 1707,

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[40] Ibid., pp. 74, 94, 124; d'Argens, *The Jewish Spy*, vol. 1, pp. 32, 146, 165.
[41] Ibid., p. 104; Bush, *Marquis d'Argens*, p. 141.
[42] D'Argens, *The Jewish Spy*, vol. 2, p. 104 and vol. 4, p. 202; Thomson, *Barbary and Enlightenment*, p. 105.
[43] D'Argens, *The Jewish Spy*, vol. 4, p. 203.
[44] Ibid., p. 59; Bush, *Marquis d'Argens*, p. 200.

castigated the impulse to throw off the burden of the commandments typifying a substantial number of Dutch Sephardim: "since they live in lands where there is liberty combined with wealth, preserved for their undoing; they cast the yoke of the rabbis from their necks […] Some of those I saw in that diaspora […] began by doubting the teachings of the sages and ended by denying the Rock who dwells on high."[45]

The complaint that the "rebels and those who profane the tradition have multiplied in these days and at the present time" was also forcefully expressed by the first rabbi of the London Bevis Marks Sephardi community, David Nieto, in 1713.[46] What is more, to a certain extent, the London Sephardi communal elders felt obliged to tolerate the new, more casual attitude in matters of *kashrut*, Sabbath observance, sexual conduct, and other aspects of communal discipline and observance, in order to avoid having constantly to reprimand prominent and affluent persons with the attendant risk of such friction driving too many away. But this, in turn, precipitated a traditionalist revolt, from within, against the excessive laxity of the Portuguese patrician elite on the part of more strictly observant Sephardim, some of whom became so dissatisfied and resentful that they even preferred to defect to the scorned Ashkenazim than put up any longer with the lenient attitude of the Sephardi synagogue authorities. Among other steps, such conservatives appealed to Rabbi Zevi Hirsch Ashkenazi, chief rabbi of the triple community of Hamburg-Altona-Wandsbeck (1689–1709) and later rabbi of the Ashkenazi community in Amsterdam (1710–1714), who proved willing to exert his authority against the London Sephardi elders.[47]

Furthermore, d'Argens' Jewish deists, neo-Karaites, and neo-Sadducees nurtured an ideal that had only recently begun to pervade Enlightenment writing—fomenting a positive stereotype of the philosophical Jew who courteously holds his own in intellectual debate not just with non-Jewish *philosophes* but with even the most dogmatic Christian controversialists. This new breed of Jew shares the same intellectual premises as his enlightened gentile contemporaries and finds the Christian case unpersuasive primarily because, as with "Moses Germanus"

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[45] Kaplan, "Intellectual Ferment," p. 310; quoted in Kaplan, "'Karaites' in Early Eighteenth Century Amsterdam," p. 237.

[46] Quoted in ibid., p. 276.

[47] A. Ferziger, "Between 'Ashkenazi' and Sepharad: An Early Modern German Rabbinic Response to Religious Pluralism in the Spanish-Portuguese Community," *StudRos* 35 (2001), pp. 9–11.

or the French "Cartesian" Aaron d'Antan, who both converted—the first from Protestantism, the second from Catholicism, to Judaism in Amsterdam[48]—Christian belief was held to lack intellectual cogency. They make it clear that they would be persuaded by the Christians if Christianity's claims and arguments made sense. This new kind of Jew is thoroughly skeptical about traditional learning of whatever sort.

One element in the making of this *topos* was an intellectualized reconstruction of Isaac Orobio de Castro. Thus, the fictitious Sephardi Jew "Moïse Aboab," friendly with an English nobleman, supposedly "Mylord Bolingbroke," who engages with him in philosophical and theological debate in La Croze's *Entretiens surs divers sujets* (Amsterdam 1711), a work admired by d'Argens, the "Jewish" part of which was separately published in a curious Dutch version in Amsterdam in 1757,[49] definitely appears to be modeled on the figure of Orobio. "Moise Aboab" is a kind of "Nathan der Weise" *avant la lettre*,[50] who besides being in part a literary echo of Orobio, also portrays the Amsterdam Sephardi poet and publicist Abraham Gómez Silveyra (Arévalo, Spain 1656–Amsterdam 1741) who, in the years 1698–1700, entered into controversy with the Huguenot preacher Isaac Jaquelot over whether Jesus really was the Messiah.[51] The allusion to Orobio remained relevant apparently over many decades, for after appearing in new editions in 1733 and 1740, this text re-appeared in 1770 under an altered title, *Entretiens* […] *entre Mylord Bolingbroke et Isaac d'Orobio, Rabin des Juifs Portugais à Amsterdam* (à Londres [Paris?], 1770), making the allusion to Orobio explicit.[52]

La Croze's dialogue between an erudite Jew and a sophisticated Christian nobleman is set mainly in Amsterdam. His "Moïse Aboab" has ardently studied philosophy, theology, Latin, and Greek while whiling away spare time on his plantation, in Surinam, and then embarks on travels which take him all across Europe. Repelled by the narrowness

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[48] On the case of d'Antan, see M. Mulsow, "Cartesianism, Skepticism and Conversion to Judaism. The Case of Aaron d'Anton," in *Secret Conversions to Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. M. Mulsow and Richard H. Popkin (Leiden 2004), pp. 123–81.

[49] Bush, *Marquis d'Argens*, p. 57; the Dutch version of La Croze's text is entitled *Merkwaardig en zonderling Mond-gesprek, tusschen een Gereformeerd Christen en een Portugeesche Jood mitsgaders de Bekering dezer laatste* (Amsterdam 1757).

[50] F. Mauthner, *Der Atheismus und seine Geschichte im Abendlande* (4 vols.; Berlin 1922), vol. 3, p. 55.

[51] M. Mulsow, *Moderne aus dem Untergrund. Radikale Frühaufklärung in Deutschland (1680–1720)* (Hamburg 2002), pp. 54–56, 61.

[52] Ibid., 56; Y. Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism. The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro* (Oxford 1989), pp. 466–67.

of Jewish life as he encounters it in Poland, a country known to some as "le Paradis des Juifs" but where Jewish learned men unfortunately "s'appliquent uniquement au Talmud, et aux autres livres de notre nation," and where "il y en a fort peu qui connoîssent le Christianisme," he is initially attracted to Christianity.[53] Indeed, he decides to convert. However, after learning more about that faith he is repelled by Christianity, too: "ce que j'ai vû du Christianisme," he tells Bolingbroke, referring to the "idolatry" and intolerance of the Catholic and Greek Churches, the boundless feuding and divisions of the Protestants, and the persecution of the Jews by virtually all the Christians, "m'en a dégouté."[54] Aboab resolves to search for spiritual salvation elsewhere.

That d'Argens, who spent the intellectually most formative, and creatively most productive, period of his career in Holland, did indeed have first-hand experience of freethinking Jews, emerges from what we know of his life.[55] His personal philosophical odyssey began in Constantinople in 1727, he relates in his *Mémoires* (1735), when he made friends with—and was influenced by—a philosophically-minded Jewish physician named "Fonseca," and "un Arménien" who was a "grand Spinosiste." The latter lent him a copy of the atheistic, clandestine philosophical manuscript *Examen de la Religion*, by Du Marsais, which he says he read with keen interest but afterwards lost while traveling in Italy.[56] That his willingness to consort with Jews capable of a "philosophical" attitude was not confined to Sephardim was demonstrated after he settled in Berlin, in 1742, by the encouragement he gave to the young Aaron Gumpertz, one of the first of the Berlin Ashkenazim to embrace "enlightenment" and western culture and afterwards one of the strongest influences on the young Moses Mendelssohn.

The figure of Aaron Solomon Gumpertz (1723–1769), it is worth noting, has recently acquired some prominence in the context of the early stages of the German Haskalah. He received a traditional Jewish education, in Berlin, but also a wide general education, obtaining a medical degree at Frankfurt an der Oder, in 1751. Already in the early 1740s, he began to study general philosophy and mathematics as well

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[53] *Entretiens sur Divers Sujets d'Histoire et de Religion entre Mylord Bolingbroke, et Isaac D'Orobio, Rabin des Juifs Portugais à Amsterdam* ('Londres' [Paris?] 1770), p. 38; *Merkwaardig en zonderling Mond-gesprek*, pp. 16–17, 34.

[54] *Entretiens […] entre Mylord Bolingbroke et Isaac d'Orobio*, p. 41.

[55] McKenna, "Marquis d'Argens," pp. 114–16.

[56] Ibid., 117; Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, marquis d'Argens, *Mémoires de Monsieur le Marquis d'Argens*, 2d ed. ('Londres' 1737), p. 115; Vernière, *Spinoza*, p. 408.

as Latin, French, and English and it was he who encouraged the young Mendelssohn to study German philosophy when the latter first arrived in Berlin in 1743.[57] Soon Gumpertz knew French well enough to work for a time, during the 1740s, as personal secretary, first for the marquis d'Argens, by now an important courtier at the court of Frederick the Great, and then for Maupertuis, president of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. Later, in the 1760s, Gumpertz lived in Altona and Hamburg where he interacted with Lessing, the Jewish doctor Hartog (Hirsch) Gerson, a great admirer of Spinoza, and that sensational advocate of Enlightenment (as well as of Jewish integration into society), Johann Friedrich Struensee.[58]

An episode that particularly illustrates western European Jewry's involvement with the Early Enlightenment was the furor that erupted, in 1703, around the figure of David Nieto (1654–1728), rabbi of the London Sephardi community, at that time by constitution and cultural milieu essentially an offshoot of the community in Amsterdam. A Venetian, one of the best known representatives of Jewish learning during the Early Enlightenment,[59] and the first rabbi of the recently completed synagogue, Nieto had studied medicine at Padua and knew some philosophy and astronomy. In his chief work, *Matteh Dan* (1713), he not only extolled the microscope, telescope, and other recent innovations of science, but insisted that Jews could and should cultivate the study of gentile science and philosophy as these had developed since the ancient Greeks.[60] No doubt, his awareness of the importance of new scientific and philosophical developments had been stimulated by the lively intellectual atmosphere he encountered on arriving in England.

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[57] See A. Altmann, *Moses Mendelssohn. A Biographical Study* (London 1973), pp. 22–27; D. Sorkin, *The Berlin Haskalah and German Religious Thought* (London 2000), pp. 52–53, 56–62; S. Feiner, *The Jewish Enlightenment* (Philadelphia 2004), pp. 42–43.

[58] S. Winkle, "Johann Friedrich Struensee und das Judentum," in *Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte* 15 (Tel Aviv 1986), p. 16.

[59] See J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon* (64 vols., Leipzig and Halle), vol. 24, p. 864; D. Ruderman, "Jewish Thought in Newtonian England: The Career and Writings of David Nieto," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 58 (1992), pp. 193–219, here pp. 193–202; in Livorno from at least as early as 1684, Nieto presided from 1694 until he left in 1701, over the study academy *Reshit Hochma* (Beginning of Wisdom); see F. A. Levi d'Ancona, "The Sephardi Community of Leghorn (Livorno)," in *The Western Sephardim*, ed. R. Barnett and W. Schwab (Grendon, Northants 1989), p. 185.

[60] David Nieto, *Matteh Dan, y segunda parte del Cuzari* (London 5474 [1714]), fols. 98v–99, 112, 150v–151v.

Moreover, he firmly approved of Jews studying both Cartesianism and Newtonianism.[61] At the same time, though, he powerfully denounced Sadduceeism (that is what both Christians and Jews then deemed to be ancient Jewish Deism) as a "diabolico veneno, negando premio, y pena espiritual, la immortalidad del alma, y la tradicion de los sabios" [diabolical venom, denying spiritual reward and punishment, immortality of the soul and the tradition of the rabbis].[62] But if ancient Sadduceeism was pernicious, he admonishes even more sternly, having in mind no doubt the events of the previous year in Amsterdam, against the foremost threat now facing "mi pueblo" [my people] as he sees it—namely the revived Karaism (or Deism) rampant in Amsterdam and London "porque temo caiga en las assechanças de los Karraitas, quales ponen todo su conato en dissuardirlo, y retirarlo de agregarse a la Heredad de Dios, quiero dezir a la Ley Mental [I mean the Oral Law]."[63] He claims the impact of the *Karraitas* [i.e. Karaites] on the conventionally observant was growing in an alarming manner with the result that "en este siglo han aumentado los que se desverguençan y hablan mal de su explicacion [in this century the numbers of those who are shameless and speak against their (i.e. the rabbis') interpretation have increased]."[64] Philosophy and science are unquestionably useful and desirable. But philosophy in itself, stressed Nieto, however alluring, is always uncertain and doubtful. Philosophy can not bring man to salvation since there are many different and conflicting modern philosophies, all or many of which are in some degree plausible.[65]

This is indeed a core theme in Nieto's religious thought. The principal threat now facing the Jewish people, he affirms, is Deism or revived "Karaism," combined with philosophical irreligion. While philosophy and science have their value, they must be kept in their place and not permitted to endanger piety and faith. The prime argument with which theology trumps radical philosophy and Spinozism, in his opinion, is precisely that the modern philosophy schools are all rational and plausible but irreducibly conflict with each other so that no one philosophical solution seems possible: "hay controversias entre los philosophos?"

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[61] D. Ruderman, *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key. Anglo-Jewry's Construction of Modern Jewish Thought* (Princeton 2000), pp. 184–86, 198.

[62] Nieto, *Matteh Dan*, Preface and fol. 1v.

[63] Ibid., fols. 1v–2.

[64] Ibid., fol. 5; Kaplan, "'Karaites' in Early Eighteenth Century Amsterdam," p. 276.

[65] Nieto, *Matteh Dan*, fols. 146v–149v.

he asks rhetorically, "hay de modo, que jamas dos concurren en una opinion."[66] Of course, the rabbis, too, have their disagreements. But this is only on points of detail, secondary matters. By contrast, "los philosophos no acuerdan en los principios de la philosophia, ni en sus antecedentes y consequencias, como tengo provado [the philosophers do not agree in their principles, nor in their premises or conclusions, as I have proved]."[67]

It was thus as an intellectually aware, discerning, and also worried critic of deism within the Jewish community, or at least the Sephardi community of north west Europe, that Nieto delivered his famous discourse, in the London Yeshiva, in November 1703, in which, highly controversially, he seemingly equates God with Nature. A group among his audience, led by Joshua Sarfati, interpreted this address, and particularly the apparent equation of God with Nature with its obvious Spinozist resonance, as intolerable heresy and impiety, and loudly protested to the *parnassim* who, however, stood steadfastly by their rabbi.[68] While, Nieto made no direct reference to Spinoza or Spinozism in his November address or in subsequent texts, but rather spoke of his philosophical opponents rather as "deistas" (deists) as they were then known to the western European Sephardim in both Spanish and Portuguese,[69] it seems clear—not least from the employment of the phrase "Natura Naturante" in the subtitle of his *De la Divina Providencia*, the work on divine providence that Nieto published in London in 1704, to refute his critics—that whatever inhibitions applied on both sides about mentioning Spinoza's name, the real question in everybody's mind was in fact that of Spinoza and Spinozism.[70]

It is true that several modern scholars maintain that Spinozism was not in fact the issue here and that it was less Spinoza than English Deism and especially Toland's pantheism, which had posed the threat Nieto endeavored to combat.[71] But this claim is wholly invalidated

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[66] Ibid., fols. 136; 147, 149–149v, 151v, 157v.

[67] Ibid., fol. 158v.

[68] Petuchowski, *Theology of Haham David Nieto*, pp. 15–16; Roth, "David Nieto," pp. 278–82; D. Katz, *Jews in the History of England 1485–1850* (Oxford 1994), p. 197; Ruderman, "Jewish Thought," pp. 203–7.

[69] David Nieto, *De la Divina Providencia* (1704; 2d ed., London 1716), pp. 16–17.

[70] Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue*, p. 106; Roth, "David Nieto," pp. 278–82; J. I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism* (Oxford 1985; 3d ed. 1998), p. 180.

[71] Petuchowski, *Theology of Haham David Nieto*, pp. 15–16; Ruderman, "Jewish Thought," pp. 202–3; E. Oliel-Grausz, "Relations, coopération et conflits intercommunautaires dans la diaspora sefarade: l'affaire Nieto. Londres, Amsterdam, Hambourg

by the fact that Nieto knew no English—Toland had not then been translated into any other language—and had not been in London very long, having come there from Livorno only in 1701.[72] Since Toland only developed his concept of Pantheism whilst living in Holland, in the years around 1702–1704 and his name would certainly have been far less well known to Nieto than that of the exceedingly notorious Spinoza, this is not at all a cogent argument. Moreover, although many historians have insisted on the essentially British provenance of Toland's ideas, it is nevertheless quite wrong to see his chief source as being English rather than Spinozist so that even were there a strand of Tolandism in the furor this would hardly alter the case.[73] Either way, the primary philosophical issue in the Nieto controversy in London was not English deism but Spinozism.

Sarfati accused Nieto in Portuguese of being "hum herege e naturalista."[74] D'Argens provides a detailed account of this interesting episode in his *Lettres Cabalistiques* (1740), remarking that in the opening years of the new century philosophy virtually tore the London Jewish community apart. Zarfatti, according to d'Argens, "avoit accusé de Déisme, ou plûtôt d'un athéisme mitigé, sous le nom de Naturalisme, le rabin David Nieto, pour avoir dit dans le Jessiba, ou l'école, que Dieu et la Nature étoient la même chose."[75] Nieto, d'Argens accurately relates, then delivered a sermon in Bevis Marks Synagogue, on 20 November 1703, confirming what he was reported to have said in the yeshiva, "que Dieu et la Nature, que la Nature et Dieu, sont tant un," acknowledging that he had said this and that this was indeed his teaching. D'Argens was mostly extremely accurate in his reportage of Jewish controversies, indicating not only that the detail must have been recounted to him by a Jewish acquaintance but that it mattered to him to get these details right. And indeed that is precisely what Nieto did affirm in his *De la Divina Providencia* of 1704: "es lo que dixe," he wrote there, "que Dios y Naturaleza, y Naturaleza y Dios, es todo uno," confirming that

(1704–1705)," in *Mémorial I. S. Revah. Études sur le marranisme, l'hérodxie juive et Spinoza*, ed. H. Méchoulan and G. Nahon (Paris and Louvain 2001), pp. 373, 388.

[72] Barnett, "Sephardim of England," p. 14.

[73] Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 609–14.

[74] Oliel-Grausz, "Relations," p. 373.

[75] Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, marquis d'Argens, *Lettres Cabalistiques, ou correspondance philosophique, historique et critique* (1737–1740; 2d ed., 7 vols, The Hague, 1759), vol. 7, p. 123.

this was his doctrine and that he could prove this was true Judaism.[76] Everything modern thinkers attribute to Nature, he explained, derives from the action of God, so that in fact there is no such thing as Nature, "y assi aquello que es Providencia que llaman Tebah, Naturaleza, es lo que dixe, que Dios, y Naturaleza, y Naturaleza, y Dios es todo uno; esta Doctrina es devota, pia, y Santa y los que no la creyeren, ellos son hereges, y ellos son atheistas [what they call Nature being nothing other than the Providence of God, and that is what I said, that God and Nature, and Nature and God, is all one; and this doctrine is devout, pious and holy and those who do not believe it, they are heretics, and they are atheists]."[77]

This declaration, according to the *parnassim* of Bevis Marks, "pleased the major part of this congregation but some *yehidim* [members of the community] considering badly of it, censured it, and after many squabbles, presented us a petition." This was in November 1703, the petition being signed by Isaac Lopes Pereira, Aaron Franco Pacheco, David de Casseres Pinheiro, and ten other complainants. The atmosphere in the Bevis Marks congregation grew exceedingly tense. Though Nieto was plainly neither a Spinozist nor Pantheist, and in his *De la Divina Providencia* both justifies and demands belief in miracles, divine Providence, and submission to the Oral Law,[78] his remarks caused uproar and deep consternation, creating a highly paradoxical situation. His denial of an autonomous, creative "Naturaleza Universal" and his insistence that "la Naturaleza Universal no es otra cosa que la Providencia de Dios, que es la que cuida de cada criatura [Universal Nature is nothing other than God's Providence which is what cares for every creature],"[79] proved insufficient to resolve the controversy. D'Argens' fictitious Portuguese New Christian, "David Nunnez," supposedly newly arrived in London from Portugal and greatly perplexed by all this, resolves to stay neutral, but soon found himself being tugged at relentlessly by both sides. For

[76] Nieto, *De la Divina Providencia*, pp. 5–6; Roth, "David Nieto," p. 278; Oliel-Grausz, "Relations," p. 372; Nieto restated this doctrine later, in his *Matteh Dan*: "La Criatura pues es, una Naturaleza Particular, Naturalata y Paciente. Pero el Criador alabado, y ensalçado sea su nombre es santo Natura la Naturante, Universal, que obra con su sciencia y poder infinitos" (p. 101v).

[77] Nieto, *De la Divina Providencia*, pp. 5–6; Roth, "David Nieto," p. 278; Oliel-Grausz, "Relations," p. 373.

[78] Nieto, *De la Divina Providencia*, pp. 10–11; Ruderman, "Jewish Thought," pp. 203–4, 207.

[79] Nieto, *De la Divina Providencia*, pp. 33, 171.

this "dispute de religion avoit divisé tous les Juifs, la discorde alloit à la fureur, on ne vouloit plus se voir ni se parler," and, before long, Nunnez found himself so deeply troubled that he began to wish himself "with all my heart" back in Lisbon.[80]

Sarfati, meanwhile, was placed under a *herem* for defying the authority of the *parnassim*. But he and his adherents continued to resist. He published a brief account of his objections to Nieto's teaching in Spanish, entitled *Relacion del caso de Jehosuah Zarfatti*, which reappeared as a preface to the 1714 reprint of Nieto's tract.[81] As the controversy dragged on, narrates d'Argens,

> les Anglois commenceoient à y prendre intérêt; il y en eut qui prétendirent que la doctrine de David Nieto n'étoit autre chose que ce que leurs philosophes appellent le Spinosisme, et que le maudit Baruch Spinoza avoit moins inventé une opinion nouvelle, que répandu parmi les Nazaréens celle qu'il avoit sucée avec le lait dans la tradition des Juifs modernes.[82]

This indeed would have been an astounding conclusion to come to. Seeking a way to resolve the impasse, records d'Argens accurately enough, the London *parnassim* sought guidance, as was usual in matters of grave importance, from the Amsterdam *Mahamad* and *bet din*.[83] When confronted with Nieto's paradoxical words, reports d'Argens, the Amsterdam rabbis and *parnassim* were stupefied, something which, indeed, may well have been true. It is certain, in any case, that Sarfati did not lack support there and that the Amsterdam *Mahamad* found itself too divided to reach a clear-cut decision. Angered by the failure of Amsterdam to support their authority, the London *Mahamad* reacted, on 8 July 1705, by recording a resolution in their *haskamoth* to the effect that henceforth no London *Mahamad* could "pedir Din ou outro julgado aditto Bet Din ou Mahamad de Amsterdam [request a legal ruling or other judgment from the said *bet din* or *Mahamad* of Amsterdam]."[84]

Prompted by Joseph Vieira, *parnas* of Altona, the Bevis Marks leadership then turned instead to the learned Zevi Hirsch Ashkenazi

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[80] D'Argens, *Lettres Cabalistiques*, vol. 7, p. 123.

[81] Nieto, *De la Divina Providencia*, Preface; Katz, *Jews in the History of England*, p. 197.

[82] D'Argens, *Lettres Cabalistiques*, vol. 7, p. 125.

[83] Petuchowski, *Theology of Haham David Nieto*, p. 16.

[84] Ibid.; Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue*, p. 106; Oliel-Grausz, "Relations," p. 399.

(1658–1718), at Hamburg, an Ashkenazi rabbi with long familiarity with Sephardi communities and practice, sending him the petition of the thirteen protesters. Finally, in 1705, the London *parnassim* received a clear ruling, dated 7 August 1705, signed by Ashkenazi and countersigned by two other German rabbis, stating "I approve the opinion of the great and distinguished scholar Rabbi David Nieto, seeing that it is the very opinion of Rabbi Yehuda Halevi in his *Khuzari*," and that Nieto "is to be congratulated in that he has rejected the mischievous theories of the naturalistic philosophers despite being, as we have heard, deeply versed in them, and has followed the opinions of our holy men that all things depend directly on the providence of God."[85] This seems to confirm what is in any case hardly to be doubted, that Nieto was, and was known to be, familiar with Spinoza's, as well as other, "naturalistic" philosophy.

D'Argens, much struck by this intervention in the Jewish affairs of Amsterdam and London from Hamburg, as well as by Nieto's categorical words equating God and Nature, avidly seized the opportunity to exercise his ready wit at the expense of the three Hamburg Ashkenazi rabbis, "Zevi, fils de Jacob Ashquenazi, de Salomon fils de Natan, et Arich fils de Simha," on the one hand, and the divided, hesitant Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community leadership, who were unable to make up their minds what to do about Nieto's utterances, on the other. D'Argens' recently arrived Lisbon *marrano*, Nunnez, in surveying all this, concludes that if Nieto's doctrine boils down to "ce que les Nazaréens appellent le Spinosisme, je ne sais si l'on peut rendre raison de ce que Baruch Spinosa fut soumis à l'anathème dans la même ville, où son opinion triompha dans la suite."[86]

Another incident illustrative of the pervasive presence of Spinozism and quasi-Spinozist deism in the early Jewish Enlightenment of the north-west European Sephardim—again in London—occurred in the Bevis Marks *midrash*, in 1725, when a certain Isaac Baryentes interrupted a class being given by Nieto on the subject of the Creation and the first chapter of Genesis. Those present heard Baryentes affirm that they were deceiving themselves in believing that God had commanded what was written down by Moses. Moses, he claimed, was a great philosopher

[85] Roth, "David Nieto," pp. 278–79; Petuchowski, *Theology of Haham David Nieto*, pp. 16–17; Katz, *Jews in the History of England*, pp. 199–200.

[86] D'Argens, *Lettres Cabalistiques*, vol. 7, p. 125.

raised in the arts and sciences of Egypt who adjusted the idea of the "Creation" to the notions of the common people of the time. He categorically denied God had "spoken" to Moses, on the grounds that God has no human attributes such as "speech," and that the divine "speaking" mentioned in Scripture was really only imagined, arising from the state of drowsiness in which, he alleged, it appeared to Moses as if God had "spoken" to him: "que el ablar que dize la Escriptura es a modo de un letargo en que Mosseh contemplava y le parecia que Dios ablava."[87] On being rebuked for uttering such outrageous impiety and blasphemy and asked how he expected to find salvation, he answered that he would be saved like all those who observe without believing in the First Cause.[88] A detailed report on this scandal, dated 6 Elul 5485, was drawn up and included testimony from all twelve students present at the time.

The earliest surviving letters of the Dutch Sephardi *philosophe* Isaac de Pinto (1717–1787), provide yet further evidence of the pervasive preoccupation with the Spinozist threat among west European Jewry. By the time De Pinto married in 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was already regarded in Amsterdam as one of the congregation's leading personalities, someone with an exceptional aptitude for general philosophy and science.[89] By the time he was twenty-one, in 1738, he was secretary of a fledgling intellectual society of young men dedicated to the cultivation of philosophy and science within the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community. This "academy" continued for some years and was a typical Early Enlightenment gathering, characterized by a tone of high philosophical seriousness projected by formal lectures, such as that given by the well-known Sephardi natural scientist and "fossilist" from London, Emmanuel Mendes da Costa (1717–1791), when he visited Amsterdam and spoke at De Pinto's "academy" in 1738, on the subject of "human nature."[90]

Surviving notes about two lectures De Pinto himself delivered to the "academy" during the early 1740s indicate that his prime philosophical concern at that stage was with the danger of atheistic deism spreading

[87] Petuchowski, *Theology of Haham David Nieto*, pp. 8–9; Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue*, pp. 128–29.

[88] Ibid., 129.

[89] I. J. A. Nijenhuis, *Een joodse philosophe Isaac de Pinto (1717–1787)* (Amsterdam 1992), p. 8.

[90] Ibid.; British Library MS Add. 28540, fol. 228.

among the *esprit forts* in Jewish as well as wider gentile society. The challenge was once again perceived as arising from the irreligious materialist systems deriving from Epicurus, Hobbes, Spinoza, and Toland. As a counter-strategy, he and his associates searched for philosophical arguments that could rebut Spinozist monism and buttress revealed religion, in the process, as they saw it, rescuing the Jewish moral order based on religious observance and the synagogue. De Pinto was clearly already developing the arguments that he published much later under the title *Précis des arguments contre les matérialistes* (The Hague 1774).

Then, as earlier, the communal and ethical dimension was central to De Pinto's thought. He believed he could undercut Spinozism by showing—not unlike some Postmodernist thinkers in the 1990s—that a secular morality based on reason without a basis in revealed religion is an impossible delusion: "ils ont beau faire l'éloge de la morale, la vertu n'a point de base, si Dieu n'existe pas."[91]

In the first lecture on this material, dating from before 1742, De Pinto sought to refute Spinoza and Toland, employing the "argument from design" and warmly praising Newton for his ringing affirmation of divine providence. De Pinto tries to show that the contradictions he considered to be inherent in the Spinozist conception of motion as inherent in matter sufficed "pour faire evanouir le systeme de l'Athée."[92] In the second lecture, dating from January 1742, he again deploys the "argument from design" in an effort to demonstrate that contemporary mainstream philosophy and science, and especially Newtonianism, bolster belief in a personal and providential God who rewards and punishes, bitterly condemning the merging of "ce qui est au dessus de la raison avec ce qui lui est contraire," a merger firmly rejected in favor of a clear distinction between these two things by his heroes Locke, Le Clerc, and Newton, but categorically affirmed by Spinoza and Bayle; equally, he decries the misuse of "philosophy" by some misguided minds so that "l'étude qui ne devroit servir qu'à leur donner la connoissance de la Divinité et de sa providence ne sert qu'à leur faire douter l'un et de l'autre."[93] Despite his own, later, clearly deistic tendencies, and libertine sexual proclivities, De Pinto took a consistent stand against the

[91] Isaac de Pinto, *Précis des arguments contre les matérialistes* (The Hague 1774), p. 14; J. I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic* (Oxford 1995), p. 1063.

[92] Nijenhuis, *Een joodse philosophe*, p. 9; on movement in matter in the Early Enlightenment, see Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 251–52, 612.

[93] This is quoted in Nijenhuis, *Een joodse philosophe*, p. 10.

more radical *esprits forts* who identified with Spinozism, Bayle, Collins, and Toland's (Spinozistic) Pantheism.

Given the evidence that the portrayals of Jewish deists in La Croze and d'Argens reflect an actual phenomenon and that there really existed an undercurrent of deism, Spinozism, and Pantheism within north-west European Sephardi Jewry during the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, and a widespread realization of this among the communal leadership, it remains to ask what Sephardi Jewish freethinkers of this period, of the sort that La Croze and d'Argens delineate, might have regarded as the aims of the kind of philosophical Enlightenment they stood for. As De Pinto stresses, one central concern would certainly have been to construct a secular morality based on reason rather than revealed religion. A second major issue, typical also of the orthodox, Sephardi quasi-aristocrats of the period,[94] and of De Pinto himself, would have been to raise the status and prestige of the educated Sephardi elite in the eyes of the gentile society around them, except that Jewish radical deists would wish, as the orthodox would not, to extol Sadduceeism and Karaism as manifestations of an allegedly purer and more rational "Judaism" than the official Judaism of the Oral Law, the rabbis, and the synagogue. Thirdly, such Jewish deists sought to widen the basis of toleration in early eighteenth-century Europe by helping discredit and undermine theological justifications for intolerance. Fourthly, they promoted the notion that the supposedly purer and more rational non-rabbinical "Judaism" cultivated by men like d'Argens' Jewish friends, or the Altona Spinozist Dr. David Gerson, the father of Hartog Gerson, in whose house the intellectual refugee, Johann Lorenz Schmidt, translated Spinoza's *Ethics* into German in the years 1742–1744,[95] is more supportive than traditional religion of the Enlightenment's quest for a better, wiser, and more tolerant world.

In this regard the philo-Semitism of d'Argens, himself, and the strategic role it plays in projecting his radical and Spinozist stance, is surely instructive. In the *Lettres Chinoises*, for example, his visiting Chinese observer of western European society is amazed to discover to what an extent ignorance and superstition dominate in Europe, and that of all the forms of bigotry and superstition that characterize European civilization, surely none is more irrational and absurd than

[94] Israel, *Conflicts of Empires*, pp. 386–87.
[95] Winkle, "Johann Friedrich Struensee und das Judentum," p. 9.

the "barbaries et cruautés que les Européens ont exercées quelquefois contre les Juifs, sous le spécieux prétexte de les conduire à la véritable religion, et de les punir de certains crimes imaginaires, auxquels il est fort vraisemblable que ces misérables n'avoient jamais pensé."[96]

Hence anti-Semitism in d'Argens' philosophical world becomes the most extreme example of the theological rancor and irrational thinking that the Enlightenment needs to sweep away. The problem is attributed essentially to popular and theological resistance to accepting the dictates of philosophical reason. Despite the best efforts of numerous splendid philosophers, reports d'Argens' Chinese observer, most Europeans

> ont continué à regarder avec indifférence, et même avec mépris, tous les ouvrages et tous les savans qui auroient pû désabuser de leurs erreurs. L'amour d'une théologie scholastique l'a emporté sur l'utilité d'une saine morale, et pour un Européen assez sensé pour lire avec attention les livres précieux de plusieurs philosophes modernes, on en trouve cent qui préferent les ouvrages de quelques moines à ceux de Locke et de Grotius.[97]

D'Argens believed the way to end the degradation of the Jews by Christians was for the Jews themselves to become "enlightened" and throw off the shackles of the Talmud.[98] But was there also a sense in which enlightened Jews of the type he met could conceive of a strategy for helping to end that humiliation? By contributing to the progress of deism and Spinozism, philosophical Jews of the kind La Croze and d'Argens eulogized could, consistently with their premises, seek both to benefit humanity at large and alleviate the repellent, irrational state of subjection to which Christian theology, and the hatred of the common people, had reduced Jewish society. By using radical philosophy as an instrument to weaken intolerance and superstition, they would simultaneously be undermining the theological premises and ecclesiastical authority on which their formal disabilities and institutionalized humiliation rested. Thus, emancipated Jews could see themselves as able to do something practical to promote toleration and understanding, and end the persecution and degradation of the Jews in ways that other Jews could not do. In the *Lettres Juives*, Aaron Monceca remarks that the United Provinces and England were practically the only two countries in Europe where freedom to philosophize, and therefore tol-

[96] D'Argens, *Lettres Chinoises*, vol. 2, pp. 166–67.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid., p. 279.

eration, had reached the point that Jews could live as free men. "On peut dire justement, mon cher Isaac," he reports to Constantinople, "que les Juifs sont libres en Hollande et Angleterre, esclaves part-tout ailleurs, soit des Nazaréens, soit des Musulmans. Nous sommes soufferts à Rome," he added, contrasting the heavily restricted Counter Reformation toleration permitted by the papacy with what was available in north-west Europe, "nous y avons plusieurs synagogues; mais quelles contraintes ne nous impose-t-on point?"[99]

At this point it is worth asking, to what extent did the Anglo-Dutch Sephardi intellectual ferment of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, "primarily but not solely via Spinoza," as one scholar has put it, serve to generate Jewish support specifically for "the ideas and arguments of the wider European Radical Enlightenment," that is, for the ideas of Spinoza, Bayle, Diderot, and d'Argens as opposed to those of more moderate philosophers like Locke, Newton, and Montesquieu?[100] It is well known that several radical thinkers, such as Toland, Collins, and the French deists Saint Hyacinthe and Lévesque de Burigny, as well as, later, Baron d'Holbach, were both influenced by and made use of (as clandestine, philosophical manuscripts adapted to the new circumstances for subversive circulation) the anti-Christian tracts of Isaac of Troki, Montalto, Orobio de Castro, Saul Levi Mortera, Moseh Raphael d'Aguilar, Isaac Troki, Abraham Gomez Silveyra and others.[101] But the question has not really been posed in the existing historiography concerning how far members of the Dutch Sephardi community may have deliberately fostered this tendency by spreading awareness of, copying, translating, recommending, and finally supplying such Judaic polemical *clandestina* for "enlightened" purposes, both of their own and of the Radical Enlightenment.

There was, of course, as was well known during the Early Enlightenment period, a communal ban on revealing Jewish anti-Christian texts

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[99] D'Argens, *Lettres Juives*, vol. 3, p. 214.

[100] Sutcliffe, "Sephardi Amsterdam," p. 405.

[101] See, in particular, R. H. Popkin, "Image of the Jew in Clandestine Literature circa 1700," in *Filosofia e religione nella letteratura clandestina*, ed. G. Canziani (Milan 1994), pp. 31–34; idem, "Jewish Anti-Christian Arguments as a Source of Irreligion from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century," in *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, ed. M. Hunter and D. Wootton (Oxford 1992), pp. 165–78; W. Schröder, *Ursprünge des Atheismus. Untersuchungen zur Metaphysik- und Religionskritik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1998), pp. 40–41, 525; Mulsow, *Moderne aus dem Untergrund*, pp. 41, 49, 54–55.

to Christians, the synagogue elders being anxious to avoid provoking the secular and ecclesiastical Dutch authorities.[102] "The Jews take a particular care," as Pierre Des Maizeaux put it, when discussing the difficulties which Anthony Collins—like the German Hebraist, Johan Christoph Wolf—experienced when trying to obtain such material, "that these Books should not fall into the hands of the Christians, which is the reason why they are not to be found in the most compleat libraries."[103] Yet it is evident in several individual cases from the 1720s and 1730s where Christian *savants* succeeded in obtaining copies of these manuscripts, that they did so with the help of Jewish *savants* and, in several cases, that translations of these texts from Spanish, Portuguese, and Hebrew into French were specially executed for this purpose in Holland by Sephardi Jews at the behest of non-Jewish *érudits*. Thus, for example, the French deist Jean Lévesque de Burigny (1692–1785), who spent most of 1720 in Holland, recalled later that, whilst there, he met "des juifs savants" and that one of these told him about Orobio's anti-Christian tracts in manuscript, and also that he was able to have a copy made of Orobio de Castro's *Explicación paraphastica del cápitulo 53 del Propheta Isaías*,[104] while another source states that this text was translated into French in Holland by a Jew called Henríquez at the request of the *savant* (presumably Lévesque), who returned to Paris with this French version.[105] Similarly, Lévesque's friend Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe (1684–1746) recounts in Paris, in a letter to Des Maizeaux from October 1737, that he owned a copy of a French rendering of Orobio's *Explicación*, obtained in Holland, and that this French translation "a été faite par un juif même."[106]

Confirmation that there were indeed early eighteenth-century Sephardi Jews in north-west Europe who believed that they could actively contribute to the spread of enlightenment and toleration by helping undermine respect for the Christian Gospels, Christian theology, and ecclesiastical authority (and possibly also rabbinic prestige and status) by means of active propagation of clandestine and Karaite texts, translated

[102] Popkin, "Image of the Jew," pp. 20–21.
[103] British Library MS Add. 4254 "Des Maizeaux Papers," fol. 11v.
[104] M. Benítez, *La Face cachée des Lumières* (Paris and Oxford 1996), p. 150; Sutcliffe, "Judaism and Jewish Arguments," p. 103.
[105] Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism*, p. 451.
[106] BL MS Add. 4284 "Des Maizeaux Paper," fol. 162v. Saint Hyacinthe to Des Maizeaux, Paris, 23 Oct. 1737; E. Carayol, *Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe* (Paris-Oxford 1984), p. 143.

into French, is provided by the preface written by "D.D.L.P.," the initials of a Dutch Sephardi Jew that were appended to several translations of Isaac Troki's *Hisuk Emuna* and several other Jewish anti-Christian texts that circulated in and from Holland and Hamburg-Altona in the 1720s and 1730s.[107] A copy of D.D.L.P.'s version of the *Hisuk Emuna* preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal[108] in Paris, moreover, carries a preface by the translator that provides a few clues regarding his attitude and motivation. The very subtitle, indeed, is somewhat redolent of a radical deistic stance, since he there characterizes his text as "traduit d'Hebreu en françois pour l'vtilité des véritables croyans, par D.D.L.P. l'an 5490 de la Creation à Rotterdam."[109]

The preface proper contains what might be termed an "enlightened" Jewish credo combined with a strong dose of traditional Messianism: "car s'il est vrai, comme nous croyons tous, tant juifs que Chrétiens, qu'au temps à venir il n'y aura qu'une seul loi et une seule monarchie par tout le monde," it is through investigating the truth of things that readers will discover "la cause de nôtre élévation et de nos châtimens et de plus les assurances indubitables de notre futur et heureux retour dans notre patrie étant comblez de graces et de gloire."[110] Claiming that Troki's text, which he evidently prefers to those of the "sçavant Saul Levi Morteira et le Docteur Isaac Orobio de Castro," "surpasse tout autre ouvrage traittant de semblables matières" because Morteira and Orobio "n'ont fait que s'e(n)tendre sur des choses que cet auteur leur a prescrites, en rapportant des preuves philosophiques, pour confirmer les textes saintes, mais elles n'ont point la force que celles de notre auteur, parce qu'ils s'égarent souvent du bout du Saint Texte," whereas Troki "au contraire, se sert très peu de la philosophie."[111] What Rabbi Isaac had done was to demonstrate the inherent unreasonableness of Christian interpretations of the Old Testament from the Hebrew text of Scripture, itself. Further on, he reinforces this point by invoking

[107] Daniel de la Penha, in Rotterdam, rendered at least one copy of the work in Dutch dated 1729; see Kaplan, "Karaites in Early Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam," p. 211n.

[108] Schröder, *Ursprünge des Atheismus*, p. 40 n. 57.

[109] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 2240/2241, "Rabbi Isaac ben Abraham" of Lithuania, "Hisvk Emvna, ou L'Apui de la Foi," Subtitle and Preface.

[110] Ibid., Translator's Preface, p. 1.

[111] Ibid., p. vi; Popkin, "Jewish Anti-Christian Arguments," p. 166.

Basnage, who, he says, had placed Isaac of Troki at the very head of those who had defended Judaism against Christianity.[112]

As Richard Popkin has pointed out, Troki's *Hisuk Emuna* was the most popular of all the anti-Christian manuscripts circulating among the Sephardi Jews in Holland.[113] D.D.L.P.'s stress on the special qualities of Isaac of Troki as an author who makes no appeal to the authority of the rabbis, or tradition, may also, perhaps, in his case be indicative of a tendency to eulogize Karaism. Although our Sephardi *savant* clearly views traditional-minded Christians as adversaries, it is plain that he addresses himself to an essentially non-Jewish audience, for he maintains that Rabbi Isaac's arguments "méritent d'être traduits en toutes sortes de langues pour l'instruction universelle de tout le monde, et particulièrement en la langue françoise, laquelle est si généralement reçue dans nôtre siècle, de toutes les personnes d'esprit, lesquelles recueilliront plus de fruict de ceci que des auteurs grecs et latins qu'on traduit tous les jours, lesquels n'ont écrit que quelques fables et historiettes."[114] This can only mean that, in his opinion, the discrediting of Christian theological claims is universal business and will be of general benefit.

The details in the translator's subtitle, declaring the French translation to have been prepared by him in Rotterdam in 1730, help us to identify both the translator and his immediate milieu. If we look only at the initials and the provenance, these would suggest that our Sephardi deist could be one of no less than three bearers of those initials then living in that city, including David de la Penha (d. 1767) and a cousin, also named David de la Penha (d. 1750).[115] But given that the name "Daniel de la Penha" also appears in connection with the Dutch rendering of the same work preserved in the Ets Haim collection and dated 1729, there seems to be little doubt that the author of the preface was, in fact, this same Daniel de la Penha, the younger son of a prominent Rotterdam Sephardi merchant, ship-owner, and financier of privateers, Joseph de la Penha (1658–1731). This prominent personage, active in supporting the Habsburg Pretender to the Spanish throne during the

[112] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 2240, "Rabbi Isaac," pp. x–xi.

[113] Popkin, "Jewish Anti-Christian Arguments," pp. 166–67; Popkin, "Image of the Jew," pp. 22–24.

[114] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 22 40, "Rabbi Isaac," p. vii.

[115] D. Hausdorff, *Jizkor. Platenatlas van drie en halve eeuw geschiedenis van de joodse gemeente in Rotterdam* (Baarn 1978), pp. 18, 20.

War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714),[116] had fled to Holland from Spain in the late seventeenth century. He would have known no Hebrew and relatively little Judaism, but he was a man of very wide horizons. Clearly. his younger son, if less a man of the world, was well schooled in Judaism and admirably proficient in Hebrew, Dutch, and French, as well as Spanish and Portuguese.

In conclusion, it is perhaps worth restating that the Sephardi communities of Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam, together with London and Hamburg-Altona, plainly provided the material and cultural basis of the Jewish Early Enlightenment. At the same time, especially among the Huguenots resident in the United Provinces and other foreign exiles residing there, Holland was the milieu that became, as one scholar aptly termed it, the "véritable centre de la diffusion européenne des textes clandestins."[117] Since at least a few Sephardi Jews were actively aligning with the Radical Enlightenment, which they came to see as an agent of both toleration and emancipation, and as part of this process was promoting the clandestine diffusion of Jewish anti-Christian texts, it is now possible to connect these two salient facts together. Through conversation, collusion, and their contribution to the diffusion of clandestine manuscripts,[118] a handful of "enlightened" Jews significantly contributed to the development of a submerged, radical enlightenment, underground intellectual culture, and thereby materially assisted the advance of a Spinozistic program designed to revolutionize human life in general and, in the format projected by d'Argens, specifically emancipate the Jews from the shackles of the past.

[116] J. I. Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora. Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden 2002), pp. 557, 560.
[117] McKenna, "Marquis d'Argens," p. 133.
[118] Ibid., pp. 114–16, 132.

YIDDISH BOOK PRODUCTION IN AMSTERDAM BETWEEN 1650–1800: LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS

Shlomo Berger

The current paradigm governing the historiography of Yiddish literature in the early modern period emphasizes the wide range of book production in the city of Amsterdam, while dismissing a substantial local contribution to its contents.[1] It is the historical circumstance that made Amsterdam a center of Hebrew book production, but the local Ashkenazim had little to add to the corpus of Yiddish literature. Their achievement was in sustaining a Yiddish book industry, mostly by producing new editions of older books, thereby bridging one epoch of creativity, which had come to a close at the beginning of the seventeenth century, to another that would start in eastern Europe in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, for one scholar, this scheme supports a general view about a period of decline in Yiddish literature,[2] while, for another, it signals the retreat of Ashkenazi Jews into an internal, religious tradition, and thus defines this period as the "Period of Ethics in Yiddish Literature," when the genre of *muser sforim* [ethical books] held a leading position in the Yiddish literary corpus.[3] Therefore, we may draw the following conclusion: Amsterdam printers and publishers imported texts from all over the Ashkenazi diaspora and produced books that were initially intended to be exported and sent back to a host of locations on the European continent. There was, so to speak, a division of labor: importing texts and exporting books.[4]

Nevertheless, texts are not yet books while books put texts within another, specific context and, thus, both notions should be studied

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[1] See Ch. Shmeruk, *Yiddish Literature: Aspects of Its History* [in Yiddish] (Tel-Aviv 1988), pp. 131–34.

[2] M. Weinreich, *Bilder fun der yidisher literatur-geshikhte* (Pictures from the history of Yiddish literature) (Vilna 1928), pp. 272–75.

[3] M. Erik, *Geshikhte fun der yidisher literatur fun di elteste tsaytn biz der haskole tkufe* (A history of Yiddish literature from the oldest times to the period of the Haskalah) (Warsaw 1928), pp. 207–8.

[4] For an inventory of Yiddish printed books in Amsterdam, see M. Gutschow, *Inventory of Yiddish Publications from the Netherlands c. 1650–c. 1950* (Leiden 2007).

separately. To simply equate a text with a book is misleading. One cannot fully grasp the nature of books without considering the full range of activities in which they play a role, from the author's work of writing, to the consumer's purchasing a book and reading or reciting it, or merely placing it on his bookshelf.[5] A book is a product to sell, and therefore it contains a series of characteristics that should support and accompany the text; in fact, a printed text is a product that is not the responsibility of the author, or the author only. Furthermore, a book is a cultural product and is associated with a large spectrum of factors within a defined cultural space. Therefore, in a period when the distribution of books reached new heights, and when the Yiddish book became a household product, the book and its producers had a wider and more significant role than has been ascribed to them until now, and they exerted a clear influence on Yiddish texts as well.[6] The book, as a culturally manufactured product, depends on the cultural space within which it is produced; Ashkenazi Amsterdam was such a cultural space. The following discussion therefore concerns the particularities of this environment in which the Yiddish book was produced, its local and international character, and its effect on the Yiddish literary corpus.

The milieu of the Amsterdam Yiddish book had clear-cut local dimensions. It was based within a concrete topographical location: the city of Amsterdam. The Amsterdam municipal authorities had a liberal attitude towards the book industry in general[7] and, as they developed a liberal attitude towards the settlement of Jews within its confines, a Hebrew book industry was able to emerge in the city a few years after the establishment of the Jewish community there.[8] In time, the Jewish book industry created its own array of characteristics that lent

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[5] R. Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" in *Books and Society in History*, ed. K. E. Carpenter (New York 1983), pp. 3–26; R. Chartier, "Crossing Borders in Early Modern Europe: Sociology of Texts and Literature," *Book History* 8 (2005), pp. 37–50, esp. 40–43.

[6] Z. Gries, "The Book as Cultural Agent in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Printing Books, Reading Books and Book Criticism," *Jewish Studies* 39 (1999), pp. 5–33; idem, *The Book as a Cultural Agent in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* [in Hebrew] (Tel-Aviv 2001).

[7] On the Amsterdam book industry, see I. H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680–1725* (Amsterdam, 1978); Ch. Berkvens-Stevelinck (ed.), *Le magazin de l'univers: The Dutch Republic as the Center of the European Book-Trade* (Leiden 1992).

[8] On the Jewish (Hebrew and Yiddish) book industry, see L. Fuks and R. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands 1585–1815* (Leiden 1983–1987); on the Sephardi book industry, see H. den Boer, *La literatura sefardí de Amsterdam* (Alcalá de Henares 1996).

the Yiddish book a set of values that should have reflected the Jewish experience in the city. It represented the ethos of the local Ashkenazim (and Sephardim) and, indeed, Yiddish publishers announced that in Amsterdam things are done differently, better than in other places, and thus the produced book was of a higher quality, thus hinting that Jewish culture in Amsterdam was of an elevated level, as well.[9]

The Amsterdam Yiddish book also occupied another topographical location, literally and figuratively: the Ashkenazi diaspora. First of all, the local High Germans were immigrants in the city and therefore brought with them a cultural baggage that in essence was not Dutch, the important ingredient of which was their Jewish language. By the seventeenth century, Yiddish was already the lingua franca of the Ashkenazi diaspora, and it became the local tongue of Dutch Jews.[10] As long as they continued to employ this language, and they actually did so until the middle of the nineteenth century, they shared a language and culture that was both local and international. Using a notion elaborated and employed in post-colonial theory, Yiddish was a language belonging to a deterritorialized culture, and thus Ashkenazi Jews were members of an international as well as a local Jewish cultural unit. Deterritorialization denotes a process and effect whereby a culture loses a direct and binding link with a specific territory, be it a historical territory or a current and contemporary one. A deterritorialized culture adheres to a set of norms that is detached from a particular territory.[11] The Ashkenazi diaspora culture was a deterritorialized culture. By the time Ashkenazi Jews came to live in the Netherlands, their culture was stripped of almost all territorial connections: that to the ancestral territory (though, ideologically, the land of Israel still functioned as a realistic territory in religious ceremonies and belief), as well as any deep-rooted connection to a specific location on the European continent. Ashkenazi culture was based on a set of beliefs and cultural manifestations that developed in Europe at large and responded to the specific demands

[9] See, for instance, H. Druker's preface to his 1706 edition of *Sefer Lev Tov*: fol.1v.

[10] On the history of Yiddish, see M. Weinreich, *Di geshikhte fun der yidisher shprakh* (The history of the Yiddish language) (New York 1972); on the history of early Yiddish literature, see Shmeruk, *Yiddish Literature*; and now also J. Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature* (Oxford 2005); on Dutch Yiddish, see L. Fuks and R. Fuks-Mansfeld, "Yiddish Language and Literature in the Dutch Republic," *StRos* 20 (1986), pp. 34–57.

[11] N. Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity* (Oxford 2000), pp. 100–121, esp. 115–18.

of a nation in diaspora, and it was subsequently reworked within each particular location where Jews arrived and stayed, and turned into a local brand of Judaism. Diaspora (with an upper-case D) and Exile became diaspora (with a lowercase d). Indeed, each local Jewish culture included a deterritorialized component: a Jewish, "universal" element that united it with Jews from all over the diaspora and that served as the means by which other Jews could decipher and understand it. Although the local could and, occasionally, did clash with the supra-territorial Jewish culture, no Jewish community could—or wished to—detach itself from this universal component, and it accepted the general and universal premises of Jewish culture.[12] Jews were, according to post-colonial notions, transnational. In fact, it was also practical to adhere to the principles of a deterritorialized culture: the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community could depend, and was itself dependent on, this transnational network when, for instance, it regularly imported chief rabbis from their vast hinterland in central and eastern Europe, a practice they continued even after a century of Ashkenazi presence in the city.[13] Evidently, they believed that a rabbi from Poland would be able to lead Amsterdam Jews, since both experienced shared values and customs.

Because Jewish life favored a deterritorialized basic structure, and due to certain developments within the Ashkenazi diaspora (the decline of two other important centers of Yiddish book production, in Poland and Italy, by the first half of the seventeenth century),[14] Amsterdam became a center of Yiddish book publishing for the entire diaspora. Thus, other metaphorical spaces of Amsterdam Yiddish culture were created. The name "Amsterdam" itself turned into a supra-territorial notion. We encounter title pages of Yiddish books that contain the claim

[12] On current, post-modern interpretations of the Jewish diaspora, see J. Boyarin and D. Boyarin, "Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity," *Critical Inquiry* 19 (1993), pp. 693–725; idem, *Powers of Diaspora* (Minneapolis/London 2002), esp. pp. 1–33; J. Stratton, "(Dis)placing the Jews: Historicizing the Idea of Diaspora," *Diaspora* 6 (1997), pp. 301–29.

[13] D. M. Sluys, "Hoogduits-Joods Amsterdam van 1635 tot 1795," in *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland: Eerste deel (tot circa 1795)*, ed. H. Brugmans and A. Frank (Amsterdam 1940), pp. 306–81.

[14] Ch. Shmeruk, "Yiddish Printing in Italy," [in Hebrew] *Italia* 3 (1982), pp. 112–75; Ch. Turniansky and E. Timm (eds.), *Yiddish in Italia* (Milan 2003); Ch. Shmeruk, "Characteristics of Yiddish Literature in Poland and Lithuania before 1648/1649" [in Hebrew], in his *Yiddish Literature in Poland. Historical Studies and Perspectives* (Jerusalem 1981), pp. 11–116.

that they were produced "as in Amsterdam," such as Yechiel Mikhl Epstein's bilingual prayer book, published for the first time in 1697 and which, in the title page of the 1768 edition, claims: כמו באמשטרדם. We also possess a substantial group of Hebrew and Yiddish books that were not printed in Amsterdam but that nonetheless were said to be printed כאותיות אמשטרדם information which, the publishers considered, raised the prestige of their product and enhanced its value.[15] Thus, the produced "letter" [אות] received a particular Amsterdam aura and flavor. In this way, local publishing businesses created a special ingredient that could conquer the hearts of Jews outside of Amsterdam, since it was connected with the holy Hebrew printed letter. There are books, too, that are known to have been published somewhere else but nevertheless their title page misleadingly recorded Amsterdam as the place of production, as in the case of Moshe ben Abraham Avinu's *Tela'ot Moshe* or "The Trials and Tribulations of Moses," the first known Yiddish geography book.[16] The prestigious position of Amsterdam within the world of Jewish and Yiddish books continues to be evident well into the second half of the nineteenth century. A booklet containing two *mayses* [folktales], and published in Warsaw in 1865, included *Mayse Amsterdam* [A story from Amsterdam], a tale of a rich but childless couple who wished to compensate themselves and donate a Torah scroll to the synagogue, and the adventures they experienced before the scroll was eventually accepted in heaven, itself. The couple's home was in Amsterdam, but it is clear that the story had nothing to do with the Dutch city whatsoever, and that the name was employed as a metaphor for a rich city and rich Jews.[17] In Yiddish culture, the name "Amsterdam" played a far greater role and far outside the city's borders. Local became international, and vice versa.

The Yiddish book industry in Amsterdam was a laboratory of Yiddish for the whole Ashkenazi diaspora. Within the "guild" of Yiddish publishers, old and new texts were regularly discussed, checked, altered, and rewritten in order to produce a contemporary Yiddish book that

[15] See E. Schrijver, "The Hebrew Book," in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. J. Rose and S. Elliot (Oxford 2007).

[16] Ch. Shmeruk and I. Bartal, " 'Tela'ot Moshe'—The First Yiddish Geography Book and the Description of Eretz Israel of R. Moshe berav Abraham the Proselyte" [in Hebrew], *Cathedra* 40 (1986), pp. 121–37.

[17] "*Mayse* Amsterdam" was published together with another tale, "*Mayse* about Rabbi Abraham with One Eye," in a booklet entitled *Kol Pela'im* that was published by Gershon and Pesach Levenson in Warsaw, in 1865. The booklet is in my possession.

would be easy to understand and fluently read, or, as many publishers put it: that even a child could understand what he was reading. Scholars tend to ascribe this occupation with language to financial considerations only. They point out that, because he wanted to sell the edition in eastern Europe, the publisher Joseph Athias hired correctors (including the famous bibliographer Shabbetai Bass of Prague) to erase Dutch Yiddish idioms from the Yiddish translation of the Bible of 1679, and proudly mentions this fact in his preface.[18] Still, even if the corrections were carried out purely for economic reasons, they nevertheless show how Amsterdam publishers were attuned to local and international conditions, and subsequently provide an example of the interplay between the universal and the particular within Yiddish culture.

We know of other cases of Amsterdam editions of books that were previously published elsewhere and that were submitted to similar processes. *Sefer Lev Tov* and the *Tsene-Rene*, two of the most important books of early modern Yiddish, underwent language facelifts by the Amsterdam publisher Haim Druker in 1706 and 1711, respectively. In the preface of both editions, the Amsterdam publisher explains the reasons that justified the changes, claiming that the level of their Yiddish was poor—a claim that could be interpreted as resulting from envy or, again, by an attempt to justify the publication of yet another edition, and to persuade buyers to purchase a copy. Yet the publisher raises another argument, that the language of the previous editions was mistaken not only because the publishers were ignorant, but also because he considered the language of these books to be outdated and archaic. According to Druker, written Yiddish should correspond to the living and spoken tongue. Whatever style he considered correct, contemporary, and good, Druker was in fact engaged in rewriting the texts (he uses the verb שרייבן אויז>אויז and therefore consciously contributed to the development of Yiddish as a spoken—but, more importantly, a written—language. Living in Amsterdam, we must assume that he had mastered the local dialect of Yiddish, and since he was basing his own text on previous editions, he was also well versed in Western Yiddish literary style outside Amsterdam and the Netherlands. He is, then, a good example of how publishers of Yiddish books worked within the deterritorialized, transnational parameters: being an Amsterdam Yiddish speaking person, Druker and others must have taken the local

[18] See Printer's Preface.

dialect of Yiddish as the basis of their activity but, when necessary, they could change a text's language if they were concerned with exporting the edition abroad.[19] Conversely, they dealt also with texts that were written and printed outside Amsterdam, in other European cities, and these they reissued in new and modernized Yiddish. To what degree the Yiddish in these editions is Dutch Yiddish, and what Druker meant by his remark about modernizing Yiddish, are still open questions; it is an urgent desideratum to conduct a linguistic study of his editions of the *Tsene-Rene* and *Sefer Lev Tov*, which supposedly include new and modernized Yiddish.

As far as genres of literature are concerned, the picture of activities in Amsterdam shows the existence of an interchangeable local and international facet as well. *Musar* [ethical books], which had already been published elsewhere, were regularly reproduced for both the local and international reading publics. In 1711, Druker managed to sign up two hundred Jews, who prepaid for a copy of a folio edition of the *Tsene-Rene*, and thus made it possible for him to complete the project. Most probably these were local Jews, who knew the publisher personally and were not afraid of losing their money. In 1722, a first Yiddish translation of *Menorat ha-Ma'or* [The Candelabra of Light] was prepared and published in a beautiful folio edition, which was destined for local and, most probably, international markets. Druker cooperated here with Moshe Frankfurt, who had already written a Hebrew commentary (*Nefesh Yehuda*) on the *Menora* in 1700 and edited an anthology (*Sheva Petilot*) of that medieval text. Both books were popular in Amsterdam and also elsewhere, and therefore both Druker and Frankfurt may have thought that they could sell their new book in both the local and international markets. Copies of the book indeed reached Eastern Europe and were on offer in a book sale in Amsterdam circa 1760.[20]

Another genre that can be described as a genuinely local one, and which ultimately served both local and international markets, was the history book. Taking into account Yosef Hayyim Yerushalmi's reservations about the lack of Jewish modern historiography before the Jewish enlightenment of the nineteenth century, and although he dismisses the

[19] See S. Berger, "Hayyim ben Jacob alias Hayyim Druker: A Typesetter, Editor and Printer in Amsterdam and the Culture of the Yiddish Book in the Early Modern Period," forthcoming.

[20] See also, below.

value of the bestseller *She'eris Yisro'el*,[21] there is nevertheless good reason to describe the Yiddish historiography of Amsterdam as an important, maybe even crucial, bridge between the medieval and modern Jewish occupation with the past. As it seems, Amsterdam was a center of Yiddish historical prose that, on the one hand, employed an old tradition of chronicling the annals of communities and attempting to locate their survival and achievements, and, on the other hand, introduced a new urgency and interest in history that was fed both by an internal drive to understand the contemporary world as well as by the Dutch occupation with history, which aimed to clarify the position of the Republic, its establishment, and its politics in the seventeenth century.[22] Sephardi Jews in Amsterdam sent an emissary to Cochin in order to report on this lost tribe of Israel, and his report was translated into Yiddish;[23] Ashkenazi Jews read a local Yiddish newspaper that widely reported on the war against the Ottomans in the 1680s.[24] The bulk of texts in manuscript form and books show the division of interest between local (chronicles describing local Amsterdam events) and international stories, both historical and contemporary, Jewish and non-Jewish, between books that were destined for local consumption and others that found their way into the Ashkenazi diaspora.

The local market for Yiddish books was larger than scholars have assumed, and also had an international facet. Chone Shmeruk, for instance, has insisted that the industry worked primarily for the wider Ashkenazi diaspora and not for the local Ashkenazi population.[25] On one occasion he claims that we possess the texts of Yiddish historical songs, which were published in Amsterdam, only because Rabbi David Oppenheim of Prague bought and collected them.[26] This is, of course, a

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[21] Y. H. Yerushalmi, *Zachor*: *Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, 2nd ed. (New York 1989), pp. 140 n. 4.

[22] B. Wallet, "Yiddish Historiography in the Dutch Republic during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam, 2007).

[23] M. Pereyra de Paiva, *Kenis der Jehudim fun Kushin* (Amsterdam 1713). See also the article in this volume by J. Schorsh, "Mosseh Pereyra da Paiva: An Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish Merchant Abroad in the Seventeenth Century."

[24] H. Pach, "The Tuesday and Friday Kuranten" (Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam, forthcoming). See also her article in this volume, "'In Hamburg a High German Jew Was Murdered': The Representation of Foreign Jews in the *Dinstagishe un Fraytagishe Kuranten* (Amsterdam, 1686–1687)."

[25] Shmeruk, *Yiddish Literature*, pp. 131–34.

[26] Ch. Shmeruk, "'Historical Poems' in Yiddish, Printed in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" [in Hebrew], *Studies on the History of Dutch Jewry* 4 (1984), pp. 143–61, esp. 148.

historical fact that cannot be denied; but it is, nevertheless, an accidental event, a matter of historical circumstances, which cannot be taken at face value as capturing reality in its entirety, and Shmeruk admits that it is, in fact, the case.[27] In fact, we possess a series of postfaces, "epilogues," to Yiddish books in Amsterdam, that bear clear testimony to locally oriented activities which paralleled the known, international ones. Several prayer books published by Joseph Athias include a postface that has nothing to do with the book in question but rather with Athias being a bookseller, as well. On one occasion, after praising the prayer book in hand, the text goes on to refer to other books that Athias had in his storerooms and which he would like to sell: "…one can also find by Senhor Yosef Athias the Polish prayers as well as the small prayers with Psalm, *ma'amadot*, weekly lessons and *zemirot*, and also children prayers for the blessing of the month, and thick children *chumashim* and Yiddish supplication prayers [*tchines*], and many other books with which the Lord will bring our exile to an end…".[28] In another case, the text of the postface goes on: "these mentioned books are not to be found in Amsterdam except at the mentioned printer master Senhor Yosef Athias, and the one who wants to buy [the books] can get them for a low price."[29] Clearly, Athias placed all the books he had published also on the local market, particularly prayer books of all sorts and according to the various customs that were in regular demand.

We also posses a unique advertisement from *c.* 1760 that was written in Yiddish for a Hebrew and Yiddish book-sale, which shows how Amsterdam was open to the import of books from outside the Netherlands.[30] From the poster produced by the Proops family business and most probably hanging in various locations in the Jewish quarter, we learn that the list of three hundred and fifty books on sale included one hundred books (almost thirty percent of the books on sale) defined as "foreign books," i.e. imported books. These were books that the Proops family had probably bought from visiting Jews or imported directly from abroad and now sold to the Amsterdam public. Again, like Athias, the publisher was also a bookseller. Indeed, the economic

[27] Ibid.

[28] *Seder Perakim u-Parshiyot ve-Tehilim u-Ma'amadot ve-Techinot* (Amsterdam, n.d.).

[29] *Seder Techinot* (Amsterdam 1667).

[30] A. Offenberg, "Printed in Amsterdam for Immigrants," in *Speaking Jewish—Jewish Speak: Multilingualism in Western Ashkenazi Culture*, ed. S. Berger et al. (*StRos.* 36 [2002–2003]), pp. 319–24; see also S. Berger, "Selling Books in Eighteenth Century Amsterdam: A Sale Advertisement from c. 1760" (forthcoming).

necessity of publishers to also function as book dealers emphasizes the wide range of the local book market and the efforts to keep both channels of import and export open, and thus as much as local printers exerted an influence on the book industry all over the Ashkenazi diaspora, also the Yiddish from outside Amsterdam found its way into the local Yiddish culture.

Undeniably, books were regularly destined for the international market and the publishers usually hoped to sell a complete edition, or at least a significant portion of one, to a buyer who would then bring it to his home town in central or eastern Europe to sell it there. The stories of Mendele Mokher Sforim provide vivid descriptions of these dealers. Indeed, on one occasion, Haim Druker mentions on the title page of an historical poem, which he published in 1695, that if somebody were willing to buy a hundred copies of the book (א פארטייא פון מאה), he would receive a special price.[31] One can fairly assume that, among others things, he might also have had visiting Jews in Amsterdam in mind. Nevertheless, even in this case it is also fairly logical to assume that Druker would sell separate copies to local Dutch customers as well. Thus, we may conclude that each edition was offered both in the local and international markets.

We see, therefore, that one cannot speak of the import of texts and the export of books as the only feature of the Amsterdam book industry. Texts that had been brought to Amsterdam by various agents were reworked and then printed in the city, while copies of such locally produced books also remained in Amsterdam, and their contents were naturally absorbed into the fabric of local Yiddish culture. What's more, locally produced Yiddish texts that were turned into books in the city were exported to the Ashkenazi diaspora. In this way, the local contribution was deterritorialized and took its position in Ashkenazi Yiddish culture.

[31] *Ayn Nay Klog Lid Benign Rabi Rabi Shimon* (Amsterdam 1695).

"IN HAMBURG A HIGH GERMAN JEW WAS MURDERED": THE REPRESENTATION OF FOREIGN JEWS IN THE *DINSTAGISHE UN FRAYTAGISHE KURANTEN* (AMSTERDAM, 1686–1687)

Hilde Pach

צו (המכורג) האט מאן איין הויך טייטשן יודן אום גיכראכַט גלייך שיר אויף דיא זעלביגי מאניר וויא פַּאר צווייא יארן אין אמשטרדם גישעהן איז אבר דיא מערדר זיצן אין (אלטינא) גיפַנגן אונ׳ זיא ווערן בלד איר פַּר דינטן לוין ביקומן.

> In Hamburg a High German Jew was murdered, almost in the same way as two years ago in Amsterdam. But the murderers are being detained in Altona and they will soon receive their just deserts. (*Dinstagishe Kurant*, July 29, 1687)

This is one of the more spectacular reports in the *Dinstagishe un Fraytagishe Kuranten* or, to be precise, in the *Dinstagishe Kurant* of July 29, 1687. It is also one of the relatively few reports about Jews in the *Kuranten*. The *Dinstagishe un Fraytagishe Kuranten*, the world's oldest Yiddish newspaper, was published in Amsterdam, first by Uri Faybesh (or Phoebus) Halevi, and, from June 6, 1687, by David de Castro Tartas.[1] The typesetter (who was probably also the editor) was the convert Moushe bar Avrom Ovinu. The surviving copies date from August 9, 1686 to December 5, 1687, and contain primarily international news, mostly translated from Dutch newspapers. The paper was written in Yiddish and was meant for a Jewish audience, but the contents are not specifically Jewish. Nevertheless, the surviving copies contain several reports about Jews—foreign Jews, that is, because local Jewish news is virtually absent in the *Kuranten*. In this article I will discuss these reports, compare them

[1] During the time that Uri Faybesh Halevi was the publisher of the newspaper, every issue was called either *Dinstagishe Kuranten* or *Fraytagishe Kuranten*. So the plural *kuranten* (from Dutch *couranten*, "newspapers") was used for one issue. Possibly Halevi misunderstood the meaning of the word *courant*. David de Castro Tartas changed the word *Kuranten* in the title to *Kurant*. In this article, when I use the word *Kuranten*, in plural, I am either referring to an issue printed by Halevi, or to the newspaper in general. When the word *Kurant* is used, it refers to one or more issues printed by De Castro Tartas.

with the reports about Jews in the main Dutch newspapers, the *Amsterdamse Courant* and the *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, and I will present other sources that mention the events described in the *Kuranten*.

As most of the news in the *Kuranten* deals with the war in the Balkans between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire, it is not surprising that we can find reports about Jews involved in this war in some way or another, especially after the conquest of Buda by the Habsburg army in September 1686. Buda, the capital of Hungary, was conquered by the Turks in 1529. It took almost one hundred and sixty years before the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I, assisted by several German princes, was able to re-conquer it. The *Kuranten* write extensively about the siege, and after the conquest, on September 2, 1686, they contain several reports about the fate of the Jewish population of Buda. As subjects of the Ottoman Empire, the Jews had fought side by side with the Turks. The reports were published in the *Kuranten* between September 24, 1686 and January 17, 1687.

A report from Buda from September 8, in the *Kuranten* of September 24, tells us that more than three hundred Jews were in the synagogue, that the Imperial soldiers wanted to kill them, but that the Brandenburg general decided to let them live. The Jews were taken captive, together with a few hundred Turks, and were used as laborers to rebuild the city. A report from Vienna from September 12 in the same issue states that the Jewish and Turkish captives were to be taken there. According to another report from Vienna, dated September 15 in the *Kuranten* of September 27, Buda had been cleaned out: Imperial soldiers had thrown the dead bodies of the Turks and the Jews into the Danube, but had buried the dead bodies of those of their own faith (the *Kuranten* avoid using the term "Christians"). From a report from Vienna, dated September 18 in the *Kuranten* of October 1, 1686, we learn that the Jews who lived under the emperor collected money and sent two Jews to Buda to ransom the Jewish captives. They managed to ransom more than four hundred "small and great Jews"; for each Jew they paid a hundred—sometimes two hundred—*reyks taler*. According to the same report, the Jews were said to have shown the Imperial soldiers a treasure of three hundred thousand ducats. The money was to be transferred to Vienna as a war contribution. And, finally, it was reported from Berlin on January 4, in the *Kuranten* of January 17, that the Jews from Berlin or Vienna presented Lieutenant-General Schöning from Brandenburg with a splendid gift, because he let the Jews of Buda live.

These reports are in line with those in the Dutch newspapers, from which we get the impression that the Jews from Buda were treated

reasonably well by the Imperial troops. Quite another picture, however, emerges from the poem "Eyn sheyn nay lid fun Ofen" (Prague 1688) by Ahron ben Reb Josef, one of the ransomed Jews ("Ofen" is Buda).[2] As we read in the poem, it was written in honor of the young and brave person who took the initiative to save the Jews of Buda from the Imperial army: Alexander (Sender) Tausk from Prague. Tausk was assisted by Reb Shmuel Heidelberger, who can be identified as the well-known court Jew, Samuel Oppenheimer, to whom I will return later. When the walls of Buda fell, Tausk set out by boat from Prague in an attempt to save the Jews. He came to the Imperial commander and told him he wanted to ransom the Jews. The soldiers didn't distinguish between Muslims and Jews and slaughtered both in the streets. Sender gathered all the Jews into the synagogue and protected the entrance with the help of his own soldiers. After this, the duke of Lorraine promised him that no Jew would be killed, but that they would be detained. Several Jews were killed, however, or died from hardship. Sender managed to ransom two hundred and seventy-four Jews and several Torah scrolls, and to send them on a ship to Pressburg (Bratislava) and, finally, to Nikolsburg (Mikulov) in Moravia. With the help of Reb Shmuel Heidelberger and the king of Poland, another sixty Jews were ransomed. The whole operation had cost Sender so much money that he was unable to pay the ransom and even spent some time in prison. He wrote a plea to convince the authorities of his heroic deeds, and several Jewish communities sent letters of recommendation. So much for the poem.

The information in the poem appears to be trustworthy: a pamphlet existed, published by Sender Tausk himself, containing Tausk's plea as well as letters from the Jewish communities of Nikolsburg, Cracow, Frankfurt, and Amsterdam.[3] It seems, though, that he never got back his money.

The description of the facts in the *Kuranten* is quite similar to the description in the poem and the pamphlet: Jews are threatened with death in the synagogue but stay alive and are detained. In the *Kuranten* it is a Brandenburg general who promises not to kill them; in the poem it is the duke of Lorraine (the duke was the commander of the main

[2] Alfred Fürst, "Ein šein nai lid fun Ofen," *MGWJ* 81 (Breslau 1937), pp. 223–30; the poem is published in a booklet in the Bibliotheca Bodleiana Oxford (Opp. 8°–1103; M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* [Berlin 1852–1860], no. 3564).

[3] W. Brann, "Zum Ofener Judenmord 1686," *MGWJ* 30 (1881), pp. 540–53; in the nineteenth century, the pamphlet was kept in the city library of Breslau.

army that took Buda; the Brandenburg troops were part of the Imperial camp[4]). The *Kuranten* mention two Jews who were sent to Buda: these could well be identified as Reb Shmuel Heidelberger and Reb Sender Tausk from the poem. The numbers of ransomed Jews that are mentioned in each source correspond as well. And yet, the tone is quite different. Whereas the poem paints a dramatic picture of the situation, the *Kuranten* are detached and matter-of-fact, like the Dutch newspapers. The *Kuranten* report from the perspective of the Habsburg camp, write about the Jews unemotionally, and give the credit for their rescue to a Brandenburg general, rather than to the Jews who ransomed them. From other sources we know that the situation *was* dramatic for the Jews. According to Jonathan Israel, the conquest of Budapest and other Hungarian cities meant "utter disruption" for Hungarian Jewish communities, "the Jewish quarters of Budapest, Belgrade and many other places being brutally sacked by Austrian soldiers."[5]

In a sense, the same detachment can be seen in the reports about a fleet of river barges used to supply the Habsburg forces during and after the siege of Buda. The *Kuranten* write about this extensively while failing to mention the fact that the operation was entirely organized by the court Jew, Samuel Oppenheimer of Heidelberg. This is the very same Reb Shmuel Heidelberger from the poem, who ransomed the Jews in Buda in order to save them from the rage of the Habsburg forces while, on the other hand, supplying the same forces with food, clothing, ammunition, etc., mostly from Jewish dealers in Frankfurt, but also from Hamburg and Amsterdam.[6]

It is understandable that the Dutch newspapers don't mention this Jewish connection, but for the Jewish readers of the *Kuranten* it might have been quite interesting, especially because Oppenheimer's Amsterdam agent was the well-known Amsterdam businessman and printer Cosman Gompertz.[7] What is more, there are even links between Cosman Gompertz and the *Kuranten*. The typesetter and editor of the *Kuranten*, Moushe bar Avrom Ovinu, decided to start his own printing

[4] M. Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence 1683–1797* (London, etc. 2003), p. 159.

[5] J. I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550–1750* (London 1998), pp. 102–3.

[6] Ibid., p. 102; M. Grunwald, *Samuel Oppenheimer und sein Kreis* (Vienna and Leipzig 1913), pp. 59–63.

[7] Israel, *European Jewry*, p. 102; D. Kaufmann and M. Freudenthal, *Die Familie Gomperz* (Frankfurt am Main 1907), pp. 333–34.

business in 1688, and after working briefly with Cosman Gompertz he took over the latter's printing house.[8]

Of course, one can claim that the *Kuranten* were only a vehicle for bringing the important international news to an audience that wasn't able to read the Dutch newspapers, so that one can't expect it to present a specifically Jewish viewpoint. Occasionally, however, we do see a Jewish emphasis in the *Kuranten*. The *Fraytagishe Kuranten* of May 9, 1687 reports that "Sir Emanuel de Belmonte, a Portuguese Jew, count palatine of the Roman Empire and resident of the King from Spain, left for Antwerp." This report about the remarkable and influential Sephardic Jew in the service of the Spanish King was probably taken from the *Haarlemse Courant* of May 6, but the words "a Portuguese Jew" are an addition by the *Kuranten*.

Another example of Jewish emphasis can be seen in a report in the *Dinstagishe Kurant* of August 27 [26], 1687, dated Amsterdam, August 25. It reads: "From East India [= India] letters have been received that thousands of black and white Jews have been living there for about fourteen hundred years, and they settled there after the destruction of Jerusalem, and great, wise men are among them, and they have the same books or Torah as here in this country."

The *Amsterdamse Courant* doesn't mention anything of the kind, but in the *Haarlemse Courant* of August 23, 1687, we find the following report: "It has been confirmed that a great multitude of Jews was found around and in Suratte, whose ancestors have lived there for hundreds of years; but the majority is black and the others are white."

These reports clearly refer to the Jews of Cochin, in Malabar, southwestern India (Suratte, or Surat, is situated more to the north). From the tenth century there had been rumors about a Jewish settlement there. In 1663 Cochin came under Dutch rule, and in 1686 a delegation of Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam set out on a fact-finding mission to the Jews of Cochin. On their return, the head of the delegation reported their findings in a booklet called *Notisias dos Judeos de Cochim*, published by Uri Faybesh Halevi (Amsterdam, August 18, 1687). Ten days later, a Yiddish translation appeared with the same

[8] L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands 1595–1815. Historical Evaluation and Descriptive Bibliography*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1984–1987), pp. 384–88; I. H. van Eeghen, "Moses Abrahamsz, boekdrukker in Amsterdam," *StRos* 6 (1972), pp. 58–64.

publisher, *Tsaytung oys India*, or: *Kenis der yehudim fun Cochin.*[9] Although, at that time, the *Kuranten* were no longer being published by Halevi, it seems likely that the paper's editor used some inside information not available to the Dutch newspapers, which would account for the mentioning of the Torah.

In striking contrast to this is the announcement we find in the *Fraytagishe Kurant* of August 5 [8], 1687: "On August 26 three thousand High German Jewish Bibles [הויך טייטשע יודישע ביבלן] will be sold in Amsterdam in the Keizerskroon in the Kalverstraat"—a very un-Jewish way to refer to a Yiddish translation of the *Tanakh*, and apparently a literal translation of the advertisement in the *Amsterdamse Courant* of August 7, 1687: "3000 Hoogduytse Jode Bybels." The Dutch advertisement also mentions the publisher, Joseph Athias, so that we know that it refers to the Bible translation by Witzenhausen (1679). The coming about of the translation caused a great deal of controversy in the world of Jewish printing, because another Yiddish Bible translation was published simultaneously by the first printer of the *Kuranten*, Uri Faybesh Halevi.[10] Could this be the reason that the announcement in the *Kurant* (by then already published by David de Castro Tartas) is so scant and detached?

In some cases, the *Kuranten* seem to be even less interested in things Jewish than were the Dutch newspapers. For instance, on November 2, 1686 both Dutch newspapers write in great detail about a magnificent sound-and-light show in the Venice ghetto, in honor of the conquest of Napoli de Romania (now Nafplio, in Greece) by the Venetians, who, in alliance with the Habsburg Empire and Poland, also fought against the Turks. The show, which represented the battle between the Venetians and the Turks, included severed heads and limbs (of the Turks), and lasted three days, from Friday to Sunday.

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[9] J. B. Segal, *A History of the Jews of Cochin* (London 1993), pp. 37–44; *Notisias dos Judeos de Cochim mandadas por Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva, Acuya Custa se imprimiraô. Em Amsterdam, Estampada em caza de Vry Levy em 9 de Ilul 5447* (= August 18, 1687); Steinschneider *Cat. Bodl.* col. 1980, no. 6540; Fuks & Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*, vol. 2, p. 241. Of the Yiddish translation of 1687 no copy has survived. We know of its existence from a reprint of the text by Samuel b. Judah Shamash, Amsterdam, 1713. On the title page of that reprint, the edition of Uri Faybesh Halevi with the exact date of publication is stated. See J. Schorch's article in this volume, pp. 63–85.

[10] M. Aptroot, *Bible Translation as Cultural Reform: The Amsterdam Yiddish Bibles (1678–1679)* (Oxford 1989).

Nothing of the kind can be found in the *Kuranten*. Only after more than two weeks, on November 19, the paper produced the following report: "Venice, November 1. Because the gentleman of Venice are so lucky in the Turkish war, the Jews who live in Venice again lighted lots of fireworks of joy and demonstrated in all manners the lucky blow to the Turks. And the Jews in Venice spare no money to display this kind of fireworks."

But this is probably taken from another report in the *Haarlemse Courant*, from November 16. Could it be, then, that the pious editor of the *Kuranten* was afraid to confront his readers with the fact that their Venetian brothers and sisters clearly hadn't observed the Sabbath (which was, by the way, quite common among Venetian Jews)?[11] The Ashkenazim living in Holland may have been interested in what was going on in the world, but they were still traditional in their behavior and may have harbored some suspicions against the more easy-going Venetian Jews, who shared the passion of their non-Jewish townsmen for music and theater, and performed plays that had nothing Jewish about them except their author, for an audience of Jews as well as Christians.[12]

Although quite a few inhabitants of the Venice ghetto were Turkish Jewish merchants, who were often seen as spies,[13] in the *Kuranten* there are no signs of hatred towards the Jews of Venice in relation to the war against the Turks. In the *Haarlemse Courant* of September 28 we find a report about the festivities after the conquest of Buda during which the Jews stayed inside the ghetto, but according to the edicts that were issued nobody was harmed.

In Rome, the situation looked less bright. And, apparently, Jewish *tsores* were of more interest to the Dutch Jews than was the (secular) Jewish theater, because the *Kuranten* report about the troubles quite extensively. The first report, from Rome, dated August 13, is published in the *Dinstagishe Kuranten* of September 3, 1686. It states that the ordinary people—the mob—in Rome understood that the Imperial army was unable to conquer Buda. "And because the ordinary people couldn't seek revenge on the Turks, they attacked the Jews. And many

[11] C. Roth, *History of the Jews in Venice* (1930; reprint, New York 1975), p. 192.
[12] R. Curiel and B. D. Cooperman, *The Ghetto of Venice* (London 1990), p. 54.
[13] Ibid., p. 15.

Jews might have been killed, God forbid, but God made the soldiers protect them and the Jews shut themselves in their houses."

The reports in the Dutch newspapers are quite similar, apart from one interesting detail. According to the Dutch newspapers, it wasn't God, but the militia itself that prevented the people from starting a pogrom. The mentioning of God in the *Kuranten* reminds us of another report, from Lisbon on July 26, in the *Fraytagishe Kuranten* of August 23, 1686, about three Portuguese Jews who were burnt at the stake in Lisbon after they had refused to renounce their faith. While the Dutch papers stress the cruelty of the punishment, the *Kuranten* emphasize the fact that the three men decided to die as Jews, and add a prayer about the divine punishment that will await the ones who carried out the sentence.

The report from Rome in the *Kuranten* is followed by two others that are more in line with the Dutch papers, both dating from just before the conquest of Buda. According to an undated report in the *Dinstagishe Kuranten* of September 17, 1686, the Jews of Rome were advised to stay indoors the whole night, because the ordinary people were "very embittered" about the Jews. According to the other report, from Rome, on September 1, in the *Dinstagishe Kuranten* of September 24, the Pope had summoned another two hundred soldiers to protect the Jews against a pogrom.

Then Buda was finally conquered. The *Kuranten* of October 8 printed a report from Rome, dated September 14, quite similar to a report from the *Haarlemse Courant* of October 5, telling that cannons were fired and church bells tolled all over the city. And despite the close watch of the guards, the mob was offending the Jews: by night it pestered them with fireworks, by day it threw stones at them. Moreover, the Turks and the Jews were portrayed "in an odd and terrible way."

A week later, on October 15, the *Kuranten* reported from Rome, September 21, that the Jews had to pay a large sum of money to buy firework, which they then had to set off themselves. There is a similar report in the *Haarlemse Courant* of October 5, but there no mention is made of the fact that the Jews had to pay for the firework themselves, whereas the *Amsterdamse Courant* mentions the festivities in Rome, but not the Jews. So the *Kuranten* may have had information from elsewhere. We know from other sources that the Jews of Rome were often obliged to pay for the festivities of their Christian fellow-townsmen. Beginning in the fourteenth century, the Jews had to pay a special "festivity tax." During Carnival and other festivals they were forced to make fools of

themselves and were ridiculed in several ways.[14] On the other hand, it is true that Pope Innocentius XI, who reigned during the conquest of Buda, had no ill feelings for the Jews and did his best to protect them from the mob.[15]

And now, finally, to the killing of the High German Jew in Hamburg, which received prominent coverage in the *Kurant*. The reports are as follows:

> *Dinstagishe Kurant*, July 29, 1687: "Amsterdam, July 28. In Hamburg a High German Jew was murdered, almost in the same way as two years ago in Amsterdam. But the murderers are being detained in Altona and they will soon receive their just deserts."
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> *Fraytagishe Kurant*, August 1, 1687: "Hamburg, July 25. The Jew-murderer with his wife and maid are still detained in Altona. A message was sent to Glückstadt asking whether they can be released [from Altona, a suburb of Hamburg, which was under Danish rule]. Because they committed the murder in Hamburg, it is considered preferable to punish them in Hamburg as well."
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> *Fraytagishe Kurant*, September 13 [12], 1687: "Hamburg, September 5. On Tuesday the citizens in Altona ruled that the Jew-murderer be decapitated and buried. And that the maid be whipped and branded. The father and the mother are found innocent. But it is yet unknown what the supreme court will deem good or will rule."
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> *Fraytagishe Kurant*, September 19, 1687: "Amsterdam, September 18. From Hamburg a report arrived that the Jew-murderer is still detained in Altona and his case was sent to several universities to learn in what way he should be put to death."
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> *Fraytagishe Kurant*, September 26, 1687: "Hamburg, September 20. Finally the Jew-murderer got his legitimate verdict, that he will be broken on the wheel alive."
>
> *Fraytagishe Kurant*, October 3, 1687: "Hamburg, September 26. The Jew-murderer was broken on the wheel alive."
>
> *Fraytagishe Kurant*, October 10, 1687: "Hamburg, October 4. After the Jew-murderer was broken on the wheel alive, recently, the maid who helped him with the murder was also whipped and branded. But in Hamburg in the New Town some boys and sailors ransacked two Jewish houses and beat many other Jews and caused great mischief and things might

[14] A. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom von der aeltesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart (2050 Jahre)* (Frankfurt am Main 1893), vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 46–47.

[15] A. Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma. Illustrazioni storiche* (Rome 1988), pp. 93, 98; H. Vogelstein and P. Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom* (Berlin 1895), p. 226.

> have turned out badly, but the mounted guards intervened and dispersed the mob. Subsequently an edict was issued that very firm action will be taken against unruly persons of this kind."

Except for the war against the Turks, no subject in the *Kuranten* was dealt with as extensively as was this murder. And yet, the two Dutch newspapers cover it even more exhaustively. Virtually everything mentioned in the *Kurant* can be traced to either the *Amsterdamse* or the *Haarlemse Courant*. With one exception: according to the *Kurant* the murder was committed "almost in the same way as two years ago in Amsterdam." Neither of the Dutch papers mentions this fact. They both do refer, though, to the disappearance of another Jew some years before in Altona, who now turns out to have been murdered by the same person, under similar circumstances. It seems likely that the *Kurant* is referring to this event as well, and accidentally writes "Amsterdam" instead of "Altona." In any event, the two Dutch papers report in greater detail about the circumstances of the murder, the arrest of the murderer, his wife, maid, and parents, the confession of the maid and that of the murderer.

We know about the two murder cases in Hamburg and Altona from yet another source: the memoirs of Glikl Hamel (1645–1724), who wrote about her life as a Jewish businesswoman in Germany. At the time of the murders she lived in Hamburg. She wrote about them because they had made a profound impression on the townspeople, and also because she was a distant relative of the wife of the first victim. She recalled them in her memoirs four years after the second murder, helped by the account of an eyewitness, Samuel ben Meir Heckscher.[16] Although Glikl's story differs in places from Heckscher's account, together they make a coherent report of what happened, which is in line with—though much more detailed than—the reports in the *Kurant* and the Dutch newspapers. The edict mentioned in the *Fraytagishe Kurant* of October 10, 1687 (and in the *Amsterdamse Courant* of October 4) was issued by the Hamburg Senat on September 16, 1687.[17]

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[16] Samuel ben Meir Heckscher, "Notizen hinter צמח דוד in Besitze von Rabb. Dr. Sg. Auerbach in Halberstadt," in D. Kaufmann, *Die Memoiren der Glückel von Hameln* (Frankfurt am Main 1896), pp. 394–400; *De memoires van Glikl Hamel (1645–1724). Door haarzelf geschreven*, trans. M. Rafalowicz (Amsterdam 1987), pp. 225–34; M. Grunwald, *Hamburgs deutsche Juden* (Hamburg 1904), pp. 14–17.

[17] Grunwald, *Hamburgs deutsche Juden*, p. 17; *Denkwürdigkeiten von Glückel von Hameln*. Aus dem Jüdisch-Deutschen übersetzt, mit Erläuterungen versehen und herausgegeben

The murders of the two Jews in Hamburg and Altona were clearly shocking events, both among Jews and non-Jews. As most information about them probably came from Jewish sources (albeit not Glikl Hamel and Heckscher, because their accounts were written some time after the event), one would expect the *Kurant* to provide some inside information lacking in the Dutch newspapers. This is not the case, however. On the contrary, the reports in the *Kurant* are less extensive and less detailed than those in the Dutch newspapers.

The overall impression of the news-coverage concerning Jews in the *Kuranten* is that it follows the Dutch newspapers—which appear to be reliable, if detached, sources. If there is some way in which the *Kuranten* differ from the Dutch newspapers, it may be in their tendency to play down or ignore any references to the worldly undertakings of Jews, such as the sound-and-light show in Venice. The *Kuranten* were more interested in news about the plight of the Jews, especially when that had a religious aspect, in which case this aspect received more stress than it did in the Dutch newspapers. In the reports about Buda and in the sensational case of the Hamburg Jew-murderer, however, the Yiddish paper refrained from adding information from Jewish sources. In this way we see, that the *Kuranten* were a newspaper that occasionally wrote about Jews, rather than being a Jewish newspaper.

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von Dr. Alfred Feilchenfeld, 1913, 22, n. 54; about ninety years ago the edict was kept in the Staatsarchiv in Hamburg.

AMSTERDAM AND THE INCEPTION OF THE JEWISH REPUBLIC OF LETTERS

*Avriel Bar-Levav**

In memoriam:
Liora Elias Bar-Levav, 1966–2006

Amsterdam played a central role in at least two of the processes that took place in Jewish cultural history in the early modern period: in the development of a new stage in Jewish library awareness; and in the inception of a Jewish, traditional republic of letters. I will demonstrate this centrality through the analysis of two noteworthy Ashkenazi rabbinic figures of Amsterdam, R. Shimon Frankfurt (1634–1712) and his son R. Moshe Frankfurt (1672–1762).[1]

"Library awareness" is how I suggest we describe the awareness of the ideological and practical significance of libraries, of the concept of libraries as a whole combined with an understanding that a corpus of books parallels a corpus of knowledge. Library awareness is also connected to other concepts of wholeness, such as seeing the world, or the Torah, as a unity, and looking for the rules of this unity. This notion is related, of course, to the actual existence of libraries and book collections,[2] but the two are not identical. Library awareness belongs to another sphere, the sphere of awareness, which has a complex relationship with the sphere of reality.

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* My work on R. Shimon and R. Moshe Frankfurt began in a doctoral dissertation, which I wrote under the supervision of Z. Gries, M. Idel, and Y. Kaplan, "The Concept of Death in the Book of Life (Sefer ha-Hayyim) by R. Shimon Frankfurt" [in Hebrew] (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997). I am grateful to my teachers for all that I have learned from them and for their support. This paper is partly based on my Hebrew paper, mentioned below. I would like to thank Dr. Iris Shagrir for her reading and useful remarks.

[1] On these figures, see Bar-Levav, "The Concept of Death," pp. 256–302; idem, "Between Library Awareness and the Jewish Republic of Letters" [in Hebrew], in *Libraries and Book Collections*, ed. Y. Kaplan and M. Sluhovsky (Jerusalem 2006), pp. 209–20.

[2] On Jewish public and private libraries, see Z. Gries, *The Book in the Jewish World 1700–1900* (Oxford 2007), pp. 57–68.

Library awareness is not a stable concept throughout history, but an evolving one. It keeps changing even in our own time because of the internet, which is a form of library, and because of different electronic and other means of collecting and storing information, such as comprehensive bibliographies or digital databases. However, an appreciation of the necessity of comprehensive professional libraries is almost trivial for most of us, because we live in an advanced phase in the history of library awareness. Things were quite different during medieval times. Jewish medieval writers had the notion of having books, sometimes many books, but in many cases they perceived them as many separate and different books, neither as a unity nor as a whole. I have discussed this topic in detail elsewhere.[3] However, library awareness, together with the actual existence of libraries, changed significantly in the early modern period and in the wake of printing. Jewish library awareness is linked also to the flourishing of Jewish public libraries, namely the libraries of the institutions of learning, the *batei midrash*, and also to the growth in the number and size of private libraries. Among these libraries, the magnificent library of the Sephardi *bet hamidrash* Ets Haim in Amsterdam,[4] and the grand libraries of the affluent intellectual figures of the Sephardi community in Amsterdam deserve special mention.[5] Library awareness is certainly also related to the tremendous Jewish printing industry in Amsterdam.[6]

A distinct stage in the development of Jewish library awareness was the publication in Amsterdam in 1680 of the first Hebrew bibliography by Shabbetai Meshorer Bass of Prague (1641–1718), known as the first Hebrew bibliographer. His book, *Siftei Yeshenim*, is the first list of printed Hebrew books, arranged according to ten categories. In his introduction, the author quotes the *Shelah*, R. Isaiah Horowitz of Prague, the famous author of *Shenei Luhot ha-Brit* [the two tabernacles]. The *Shelah* states that for people who are not learned, reading with full intention (*kavana*) just

[3] On library awareness, see Bar-Levav, "Between Library Awareness," pp. 201–20.

[4] See R. Weiser and Y. Kaplan (eds.), *Treasures from the Library Ets Haim/Livraria Montezinos* (Jerusalem 1980).

[5] See Y. Kaplan, "The Libraries of Three Sephardi Rabbis in Early Modern Western Europe" [in Hebrew], in *Libraries and Book Collections*, pp. 225–60.

[6] See Y. Kaplan, "Jewish Printers in Amsterdam," in *The History of the Jews in the Netherlands*, ed. J. C. H. Blom et al. (Oxford 2002), pp. 138–40; L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands 1585–1815: Historical Evaluation and Descriptive Bibliography*, vols. 1–2 (Leiden 1984–1987).

the names of the books will be regarded by God as a spiritual merit, as if the reader had studied all of those books. Every name of a book, Shabbetai Bass explains, evokes an angel connected with this book, and this angel would protect the reader. In both *Shelah* and Shabbetai Bass we find a concept of the literary corpus as a totality.[7]

A developed sense of library awareness is well reflected in the writings of R. Shimon Frankfurt of Amsterdam.[8] He was born in Polish Schwerin in the Poznan region in about 1634, and left his hometown in 1656 on account of the Swedish invasion of Poland. He acquired the name "Frankfurt" from his father-in-law, and after settling in Amsterdam, served as the rabbi of the local burial society, the *hevra kadisha*, for more than thirty years, until his death in 1712. His son R. Moshe, who will be discussed later, succeeded him in this position. R. Shimon is known especially as the author of *Sefer ha-Hayyim* [Book of Life], a bilingual Hebrew and Yiddish manual for the sick and dying that was later printed in many editions and shaped Jewish death-rituals in the western world. In this article, however, I would like to draw attention to another work of R. Shimon's, *Sefer Yitnu*, which he wrote in his late years, and which remains in manuscript form, having never been printed. *Sefer Yitnu* is a book of customs [*minhagim*], reflecting the Amsterdam Ashkenazi custom.[9] In his introduction, R. Shimon includes a strongly worded appeal for rabbis to always consult as many books as they can:

> Rabban Shimeon ben Gamaliel said further: "Make for yourself a teacher and depart from doubt" (*Avot* 1:16). Who is the teacher? It is the book that is a man's teacher, that he should carefully examine and study it before deciding the law. He will then neither err nor be ashamed. As it has been permitted, at the present, to write down the Oral Law, all is written in reliable script—it is forbidden to make a ruling orally. "And he who makes a legal ruling in the presence of his teacher deserves

[7] A similar connection between a concept of totality and lists of books can be found in the writings of R. Naftali ha-Kohen Katz, who was rabbi in Poznan and in Frankfurt am Main. See A. Bar-Levav, "Death in the World of the Kabbalist R. Naftali ha-Kohen Katz" (Master's thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 40–45.

[8] On Shimon and Moshe Frankfurt see Bar-Levav, "Concept of Death," pp. 256–302.

[9] On this literature, see E. Zimmer, *Society and Its Customs: Studies in the History and Metamorphosis of Jewish Customs* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1996); D. Sperber, *Sources and History* [in Hebrew], vol. 5 (Jerusalem 1995) includes a bibliography of studies on Jewish customs. Many of the customs of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi Jews are presented in *Customs of Amsterdam* [in Hebrew], ed. J. Brilman (Jerusalem 2001).

> death" (BT *Berakhot* 31b)—that means prior to examining the book, which is his teacher. "And the judge has only that which is set before his eyes" (BT *Baba Batra* 131a)—in the book. "And judge not your colleague before you are in his position" (*Avot* 2:4)—to the source of the law, which is in the book; "and do not rely upon your own understanding" (*Avot* 4:14)—to give instruction without examining the book.
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> And it is well known that he who lacks books lacks knowledge, for the wisdom of a man does not reach beyond the extent of his books,[10] and there is no artisan without tools. That which is found in one book to be permitted is found in another to be forbidden, and all this contributes to the making of an endless number of books. For this reason, we should not rely on one book for the ruling even if [the author] was a leader within his generation in practical legal rulings, for the decision follows the majority. For this reason, whoever makes legal rulings should possess a sufficient quantity of books, such that he is able to follow the majority in all his legal decisions that are followed at the outset in these lands.
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> And since the Lord has given me the merit that I dealt extensively with many books, and hardly was there any book that I was lacking, I declared that I would list in reliable script all the laws and all the common customs that are practiced at the present in all these lands […] to be with me inside my pouch at all times that I have not with me a sufficient number of books to study.

Mastering a rabbinic library is portrayed here as a religious obligation for rabbis: "whoever makes legal rulings should possess a sufficient quantity of books." Amsterdam, full of books, libraries, and Jewish printers, was no doubt the appropriate place for such a demand. R. Moshe, the son, also testifies that his father had "all the works of the religious authorities and the *responsa* and lacked nothing."[11] This practical accessibility had an impact also on a theoretical level. The notion that there are very many books and one must know their different opinions in order to crystallize one's own judgment, reveals an understanding of the complexity and diversity of the Jewish reality. A similar sensibility to the varied aspects of Jewish religious life is reflected in the fact that this same author wrote a bilingual book, *Sefer ha-Hayyim*, containing both Hebrew and Yiddish sections, each designated for a different Jewish audience. There are different kinds of readers, and many kinds of books, and the rabbi should know them all. By way of exaggeration one might say that it seems that, according to R. Shimon Frankfurt, one could

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[10] The source of this saying is found in Isaac Campanton, *Ways of the Talmud* [in Hebrew], ed. I. H. Weiss (Vienna 1891), p. 20.

[11] Shimon Frankfurt, *Sefer ha-Hayyim* (Amsterdam 1716) (the second print), end of the book; see Bar-Levav, "Concept of Death," p. 269.

be a proper rabbi only in Amsterdam, or in places like Amsterdam, where many books were accessible. Thus Amsterdam was an important station in the development of Jewish library awareness.

Library awareness is phenomenologically connected, in my opinion, to the evolving notion of a Jewish republic of letters. This term is usually associated with the Jewish German Enlightenment. Nevertheless, I would like to suggest that, in the early modern period in places like Amsterdam, there evolved a sense of a traditional Jewish republic of letters. In order to prove this claim, I would like to move from father to son, from Shimon Frankfurt to Moshe Frankfurt, turning first to the significance of Jewish printing in Amsterdam at the time.

Jewish printing began in Amsterdam in 1627 with Menasseh ben Israel, who was joined by other Sephardi printers. By the eighteenth century we find increased activity on the part of Ashkenazi printers as well. This reflects a rise in the standard of living of the community, whose numbers increased with the arrival of refugees, such as R. Shimon Frankfurt, from Poland, after the 1648 riots and the Swedish invasion of Poland and Russia. It also reflects a decrease in the printing costs, which enabled comparatively small printers to operate alongside the large establishments.

Like Menasseh ben Israel before him, Rabbi Moshe Frankfurt exemplifies the printer-scholar, a model prevalent during and after the first century of printing. Born in Amsterdam in 1672, Frankfurt spent almost his entire life there, until his death at the age of ninety. He held influential positions in the Ashkenazi communal structure, serving for many years as one of the two Ashkenazi *dayyanim* [members of the rabbinical court], and, like his father, Shimon Frankfurt, as the rabbi of the burial society. He wrote in both Hebrew and Yiddish, and knew Dutch as well.

From 1721 to 1730, Frankfurt printed some thirty titles, and an additional four over the next fifteen years.[12] As compared to the large Jewish printers of Amsterdam, e.g. Solomon Proops, who printed two hundred and thirty books, this output is moderate. However, given both the ambitious scope of his projects and his central role in projects promoted by other printers, the numbers are misleading. Frankfurt was the chief *magiha*—the equivalent of a modern editor (behold, not

[12] For a list of the books printed by Moshe Frankfurt see Bar-Levav, "Between Library Awareness," p. 212, n. 41.

of the modern proofreader!)—for the Markus edition of the Talmud. He also collaborated with the other Ashkenazi printer, Rabbi Joseph Dayyan, on various projects, including the editing and publication of Alfasi on the Talmud. As shown by Renata Fuks-Mansfeld,[13] Moshe Frankfurt was a member of the Amsterdam Book Guild in the years 1727 to 1739. This means that he was rich enough to pay the fees for Jewish members of the guild, and that he was able to speak and write Dutch fluently (a proficiency also necessary in his role as the rabbi of the Jewish burial society, being responsible for writing the names of the deceased, in Dutch, on the municipal list).

The books that Frankfurt printed may be categorized as follows: canonical literature (Hebrew Bible, Mishna, and Talmud); exegesis of canonical literature (e.g. commentaries on the Bible, the *Shulhan Arukh*, and the *Mekhilta*); Hebrew ethical literature (e.g. Isaac Aboab's *Menorat ha-Ma'or*); Yiddish ethical literature; historical works; Halakha; and assorted works, such as *responsa* and grammar books. These fields reflect the wide-ranging interests of a *talmid hakham*. Frankfurt's work as a printer reflects a textual-philological sensitivity, as well as other aspects: the sale of books by subscription, and an interest in history. As I will explain shortly, these features are related to the concept of a republic of letters.

As an editor of printed editions of the Talmud and Midrash, Frankfurt displayed not only textual-philological sensitivity, but also awareness of the transmission process, including textual corruptions and the difficulty in reading old and unclear manuscripts.[14] Nevertheless, he made a point of not emending texts, but rather placed suggested changes in square brackets. Apparently, this was his contribution also to the Amsterdam edition of the Talmud: Amsterdam was the first place in which parentheses were placed into the Talmudic text in order to indicate different textual sources. These small marks represent a critical and a somewhat distant approach to the text, an awareness of the limitations of its transmission. In this respect, they denote a modern sentiment.

Evidently, this textual-philological sensitivity should be attributed to the context of the Amsterdam printing industry. As a world center

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[13] See R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, "The Role of Yiddish in Early Dutch-Jewish Haskalah," *StRos* 36 (2002–2003), pp. 147–55.

[14] See his introduction to *Ze Yenachamenu*, a commentary on the *Mekhilta* (Amsterdam 1712).

for the preservation of texts, the influence of philological progress in eighteenth-century Amsterdam penetrated also to the Jews, just as it had in seventeenth-century Venice. The commercial advantages of printing Jewish canonical literature, in wide demand and in use in the educational system, are self-evident.

Frankfurt's most important project was the printing of the *Biblia Rabbinica magna (Mikra'ot Gedolot)*, entitled *Kehilot Moshe*. Still the largest collection of biblical commentaries published together to date, this large format, a four-volume compendium printed between 1724 and 1727, reflects as well the Amsterdam context, both Christian and Jewish. The spiritual ferment in Christian Amsterdam sparked a need for a polyphonic presentation of the various Jewish traditions of biblical interpretation. In addition, we should bear in mind that modern biblical criticism began in Amsterdam, with Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico Politicus*, and Amsterdam's position as a center of Christian biblical scholarship and Bible printing in that period, especially for Christian missionary purposes. On the other hand, the Jewish context of Frankfurt's project cannot be overlooked. Amsterdam's Sephardi Jewish community had well-established commercial and intellectual connections with the Christian world. The compendium of traditional exegetical works also served the spiritual needs of former *conversos* familiar with Christian culture. Given the centrality of Sephardi exegetical works within the larger framework of biblical exegesis, it is hardly surprising that most of the commentaries in *Kehilot Moshe* were written by Sephardi scholars. Biblical commentary represents an overlapping cultural sphere shared by both the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities. As a scholar, Frankfurt was aware of the richness of the Sephardi tradition, and in compiling this *Biblia Rabbinica magna* Frankfurt included obscure Sephardi commentators, whose works were not published again until the late twentieth century.

A project of such magnitude as the *Kehilot Moshe* was very costly and Frankfurt met this challenge via subscription. Every paying subscriber received several sheets of the book on a weekly basis. Subscriptions not only bridged the gap between the printer's cultural ambitions and his economic means, but also signified a socio-cultural phenomenon, an early form of the republic of letters.

Frankfurt's *Kehilot Moshe* was not the sole work produced for subscribers. The treatise *Megishei Minhah*, a Bible with Rashi's commentary along with a Yiddish translation, published in 1725, was also distributed to subscribers on a weekly basis. It represents another attempt,

in addition to the better-known seventeenth-century attempts by Blitz and Witzenhausen, studied by Marion Aptroot, to produce a Yiddish translation of the Bible.[15] Printed by Frankfurt's disciple, Rabbi Menahem Man Amelander, *Megishei Minhah* illustrates the somewhat random link between capitalism (production systems and production relations), publication (communication technology), and multiple languages. As Benedict Anderson has noted, this link is significant for the growth of the imagined community.[16]

The publication of *Megishei Minhah* by no means subsumes Frankfurt's efforts to promote Yiddish literature. Literary creativity and publication in vernacular languages form a focal part of the age of print. In western cultures, literary creativity in vulgar languages, subsequently transformed into national ones, meant the elevation of Latin to a cultural and religious language. The vernacular replaced Latin as the language of culture. This, however, was not the case for the first three centuries of Yiddish publishing. In traditional Jewish society, the rise of Yiddish was not accompanied by contesting the status of Hebrew as a sanctified language. Hebrew remained the language of prayer, and of halakhic and literary creativity. Yiddish emerged as an alternative cultural option, a secondary vehicle of cultural expression.

This was not the first instance where a second language of culture existed alongside Hebrew. An earlier example is the Judeo-Arabic of Spain and the East. As that development preceded his invention of printing, Judeo-Arabic literature was differently disseminated than the later, Yiddish literature. In the introduction to his Yiddish translation of *Menorat ha-Ma'or* (1722), Frankfurt himself compared the status of Judeo-Arabic and Yiddish vis-à-vis Hebrew. With his broad knowledge, Frankfurt was able to operate in the overlapping spheres of the two Jewish cultures and to expand their shared aspects.

Frankfurt's need to legitimize the translation of *Menorat ha-Ma'or* into Yiddish fueled this and other comparisons made in the introduction. Yiddish translations of traditional works can be viewed as the distribution of a cultural resource and the dissemination of a source of social power, thus explaining their controversial nature. There were those who

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[15] See M. Aptroot, "'In galkhes they do not say so, but the taytsh is as it stands here': Notes on the Amsterdam Yiddish Bible Translations by Blitz and Witzenhausen," *StRos* 27 (1993), pp. 136–58.

[16] See B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London 1991).

argued that Yiddish versions of halakhic works would weaken rabbinic authority by allowing the masses to reach independent conclusions. It was these opposing voices that Frankfurt addressed in the introduction to his commentary and translation of the ethical work, *Menorat ha-Ma'or.* By Frankfurt's day, the Yiddish press had been operating for about one hundred and fifty years; therefore his remarks represent yet another stage in the attempt to provide a theoretical rationale for Yiddish translations of traditional works.

Yiddish translations served a new circle of readers, including women and unscholarly men, to whom Hebrew works were not accessible. Termed "the widening circle of readers" in the study of the cultural influence of printing, this target audience was defined as a group that had begun to join the reading public and required appropriate literary material. Frankfurt's translations show his attentiveness to this need.

In addition to his Yiddish translation of the Bible, Frankfurt published (in partnership) a *mahzor* with a Yiddish translation. Interestingly, despite the fact that Frankfurt himself translated works into Yiddish and obviously ascribed importance to their distribution, we know of no Yiddish booklets printed by him. He did, however, print Hebrew booklets and ethical works, including *Gefen Yehidit*, a short ethical work that was popular in the eighteenth century, as well as an abridged version of *Menorat ha-Ma'or* that he prepared, entitled *Sheva Petilot.* As Zeev Gries has shown, ethical booklets were one means of meeting the needs of a widening circle of readers in the eighteenth century.[17] Perhaps there was a division of labor between Frankfurt and his fellow *dayyan*, Joseph Dayyan. Dayyan's printing establishment published a greater number of booklets, including Kabbalistic *tikkunim* that were not published by Frankfurt.

The place of historical awareness in developing an alternative to Jewish religious identity is, of course, crucial. Although here the identity is not alternative, as it was for the early development of Jewish studies, nonetheless, sensitivity to historiography is noticeable. One of the more interesting aspects in the collection of books published by Frankfurt is the place given to historical memory, particularly Ashkenazi historical memory. Thus the treatise *Gefen Yehidit* included a prayer for the martyrs and captives of Podolia in 1677. Frankfurt also published a book totally devoted to historical testimony concerning the 1730 Hamburg

[17] See Gries, *The Book in the Jewish World.*

pogroms. It is possible that he influenced the pioneering Yiddish historiography of his disciple, Menahem Man Amelander. Amelander's *She'eris Yisro'el*, a continuation of the Yiddish translation of *Yossipon*, was named by Chone Shmeruk the "first original historical work in Yiddish."[18] Amelander's reliance on subscribers for this project was so great that when, on one occasion, printing was delayed and some subscribers withdrew, he found himself unable to continue. The most important eighteenth-century Ashkenazi printer, Naftali Herz Levi Rofe, rescued him by underwriting the cost of continued publication.

A printer or publisher never operates in a vacuum, nor does he publish only according to his own preference. We also cannot ignore the economic facet of his work. At times, printers hire out their services. An entertaining example of the combination of personal and economic interests comes from the treatise *Oz Mivtahah* by Shlomo Zalman Segal. Frankfurt apparently took special interest in this book about the Hamburg pogroms, as evidenced by his introduction to the work. He relates how his liking for the book's content and style induced him to undertake its publication. But the author's introduction reveals another aspect: the purpose of this publication was to raise funds for his daughter's dowry. Published in the *Tsene-Rene* font, used to print many Yiddish works during the period, a few lines were printed in Sephardi-style square letters in order to encourage Sephardim to purchase the book. These lines praised the Sephardim for their erudition and style, adding the author's hope that "once they find the book praiseworthy, they will not withhold their funds and will purchase the book, all this for the need and for the benefit of the dowry of my daughter, the bride, so that she should not be embarrassed, heaven forbid." The words "the dowry of my daughter, the bride" [נדן בתי הכלה] are in large, bold letters. Thus historical interest and practical motivation are here integrated.

From Moshe Frankfurt's printing activities, we turn now to the republic of letters. The publication of the first Hebrew literary journals, *ha-Melits* and *ha-Me'asef*, in 1784 in Germany, usually marks the beginning of the Jewish republic of letters. According to this description, the Hebrew republic of letters was a product of the Jewish Enlightenment movement, and the bonds of literature are viewed as a replacement for an identity grounded in religious bonds. I suggest, instead, that forerun-

[18] Ch. Shmeruk, *Yiddish Literature: Aspects of Its History* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv 1978), p. 85.

ners of what is regarded as a late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century secular development appear in traditional, early modern Amsterdam Jewish society. I do not seek to establish a historical link; rather I am interested in examining certain institutions, the activities of early to mid eighteenth-century Ashkenazi printers in Amsterdam in particular.

The term "republic of letters," in the sense of an autonomous socio-cultural space, first appeared in the late fifteenth century, in the context of Renaissance Humanism. Later on, especially in pre-revolution and revolutionary France, it acquired the meaning of literature that creates a community based upon shared knowledge of specific texts and the ideas they express. The republic of letters replaced other, weakened social and cultural bonds, mainly the unifying power of religion. Primarily applied to the history of literature, this notion gained a new lease on life with Benedict Anderson's late twentieth-century introduction of the concept of the "imagined community." A literary common denominator was now deemed, an initial criterion and necessary condition for an imagined community.

The "republic of letters" is defined as the group of people who make literature, cultural agents such as printers and editors, and especially the wide circle of readers who, with their expectations and interests, make literature possible.[19] The Jewish republic of letters did not emerge *ex nihilo* when *ha-Me'asef* appeared; rather, this journal poured new content into an incipient institution. By supplying both an economic base as well as a cultural partnership, the subscribers to the various religious works produced by Amsterdam printers resemble later subscribers to Enlightenment journals. We first find subscribers appearing in Amsterdam. *Prenumeranten*, those who pay for a book in advance, apparently made their first appearance in Venice, but literary subscriptions were a well-developed phenomenon in eighteenth-century Amsterdam.

Another sign of the emerging republic of letters in Amsterdam is the publication of what can be termed the first rabbinical *responsa* that was published periodically, *Pri Ets Haim*, which presented the novellae of the scholars of Ets Haim, the Sephardi *bet midrash*. The fact that Moshe Frankfurt had a separate agent and supplier for Sephardi subscribers is significant. This was not simply a practical matter, but was grounded in the need to approach each community separately. Despite their wide cultural disparity, these communities did share the traditional literary

[19] See D. Miron, *Bodedim be-Mo'adam* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv 1988), p. 10.

republic of letters, which would eventually be replaced by secular literature. There were also other "republics" whose origins are in traditional literature: the republic of customs and *hanhagot*, for example, whose members took upon themselves to observe the new practices mandated by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century conduct books.[20]

The above-mentioned phenomenon of the widening circle of readers was not restricted solely to Amsterdam. This cultural process affected Jews and non-Jews alike throughout Europe. Its reflections in Amsterdam are of particular interest, first of all, because Amsterdam was a large center of Jewish and general printing, and because it served two distinct Jewish communities. Frankfurt's and others' sensitivity to the spiritual needs of the masses was perhaps their answer to the cultural gap between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities.

Of course there are also many important differences between the traditional republic of letters and the modern one. Members of the latter could find themselves in the texts of the republic, and identify almost directly with the literary heroes about whom they were reading. The situation is different with traditional literature, which tends to be more fragmentary and less hero-oriented than modern literature. However, the relationship between the Berlin Enlightenment and previous forms of the Jewish republic of letters may be illuminated by the useful distinction of the Dutch literary historian Gert-Jan Johannes, about the difference between "beginning" and "threshold" in the history of literature.[21] Johannes discusses these stages in the development of Dutch literature, and they are useful for many other aspects as well. Berlin no doubt stands at the threshold in the history of the Jewish republic of letters; the beginnings, however, were in places like Amsterdam.

To summarize: Moshe Frankfurt's printing activity most likely belongs to an early, formative phase of a Jewish republic of letters, which was followed by the growth of a Jewish imagined community. Yiddish works, in particular, served as an invitation to new sectors to join in the community, to consolidate their self-image as Jews acquiring knowledge

[20] See Z. Gries, *Conduct Literature (Regimen Vitae): Its History and Place in the Life of Beshtian Hasidism* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1989); A. Bar-Levav, "Ritualisation of Jewish Life and Death in the Early Modern Period," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 47 (2002), pp. 69–82.

[21] See G.-J. Johannes, "The Development of the Literary Field and the Limitation of 'Minor' Languages: The Case of Northern Netherlands, 1750–1850," *Poetics* 28 (2001), pp. 349–76.

via a new tool: reading in Yiddish.[22] In developing the notion of the imaginary community as a basis for modern nationalism, Anderson stressed the importance of printing and dissemination of knowledge for the consolidation of imaginary communities, which later developed into national states. Anderson describes the waning of the importance of Latin and the shift to vernacular. As noted, with regard to Jews the situation is more complex; only at a much later stage does the use of Yiddish mean the abandonment of Hebrew. Yet the process that began with the translation and publication of Yiddish books reached its apex in the creation of a Jewish, imagined community, a national community that replaced the religious community, in principle at least. By supplying new kinds of books to a new type of readership, early modern Jewish printers assisted in redefining the imagined Jewish community. Amsterdam was one of the central places in which the Jewish republic of letters was founded.

[22] See Sh. Berger, *Yiddish and Jewish Modernization in the Eighteenth Century* [in Hebrew] (Brown Lectures in the History of the Jews in Prussia 12; Ramat Gan 2006).

ASHKENAZI-DUTCH *PINKASSIM* AS SOURCES FOR STUDYING EUROPEAN-JEWISH MIGRATION: THE CASES OF MIDDELBURG AND THE HAGUE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Stefan Litt

Compared with the vivid international research activities on both Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews in Amsterdam, the issue of Ashkenazi communities outside the Dutch metropolis has suffered from certain neglect. This certainly applies to the early decades of these Jewish groups, which were constituted mostly at the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. That fact stands in contrast to the rich source material about the provincial communities that can be found mainly in numerous public archives in the Netherlands and that has only recently been rediscovered.[1]

For a part of the bi-national research project, "Yiddish in the Netherlands," that recently has been realized in Amsterdam and in Düsseldorf, we have decided on a comparative study of early modern Ashkenazi communities and their administration in the Netherlands, as they appear from the central documents of the communal leadership, the minute books, in four communities: The Hague, Middelburg, Leeuwarden, and Oisterwijk.[2] These places, and their Jewish populations, differed greatly in size, importance, and location within the Dutch territory. As the main political center of the Dutch republic and the residence of its Stadtholders, and located in the rich province of Holland, The Hague could boast a prestigious position. Middelburg and Leeuwarden, on the other hand, were merely provincial capitals of Zeeland and Friesland. Oisterwijk was by far the smallest, being not more than a village; it was situated in Brabant in the Generality lands. To a certain degree, the difference in stature of these places is reflected in the *pinkassim* [minute books] of their Jewish communities. The minute books of the

[1] Riety van Luit (ed.), *Yiddish Sources in Dutch Archives Outside Amsterdam. What is Left in the Medine?* (forthcoming).

[2] S. Litt, *Pinkas, Kahal, and the Mediene: The Records of Dutch Ashkenazi Communities in the Eighteenth Century as Historical Sources* (forthcoming).

congregations of The Hague and Leeuwarden were kept very systematically, whereas those of the communities of Middelburg and Oisterwijk show considerable deficiencies.

In this article I would like to present the examples of The Hague and of Middelburg by using rather unusual parts of those manuscripts. My intention, therefore, is not only to focus on *pinkassim* in general, but also to demonstrate the rather unexpected fields of research that can be covered by using the minute books. Among the many other minutes and entries, both *pinkassim* include pages with names of the annually-listed new community members who, by writing their names in the *pinkas*, declared their desire to know and to adhere to the community regulations, the *takkanot*. In the minute book of The Hague we find twenty pages filled with a total of five hundred and seventy signatures of heads of families (in Yiddish, *ba'ale battim*) between the years 1723 and 1798.[3] The *pinkas* of Middelburg includes only five pages with this content, containing eighty-eight signatures altogether, covering the years between 1724 and 1797.[4] Despite the remarkable quantitative difference in the number of newly added members, the fact remains that the identical type of sources, which cover nearly the same period, enable us to distil the hidden statistical data held in these lists. This data enables us to compare both Jewish groups regarding the number of annually-joining members, which is, needless to say, also an indication of each community's size. In addition, in some cases, new members mentioned also their places of origin, provided they were not living in The Hague or Middelburg before founding their own households. This particular data enables us to gain new insights into the question of eighteenth century Ashkenazi Jewish migration, both within and towards the Dutch republic.[5]

Before focusing on these lists, it is helpful to have a short look at the history of the communities of The Hague and Middelburg. The

[3] Gemeentearchief Den Haag, NIG, no. 1, fols. 16, 16v., 17v.–18v., 19v., 24v., 25v., 26v., 27v., 28v., 29v., 30v., 31v., 32v., 33v., 34v., 35v., 36v., 37v. The equal distribution of the lists in the first part of the *pinkas* indicates that the *ne'emanim* left place for them in advance.

[4] Zeeuws Archief Middelburg, NIG Middelburg, no. 1, pp. 9–12, 14.

[5] Only little research has been done on Jewish migration to the Netherlands. For Amsterdam, see Y. Kaplan, "Amsterdam and Ashkenazi Migration in the Seventeenth Century," in his *An Alternative Path to Modernity*: *The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden 2000), pp. 78–107.

first Ashkenazi Jew, being from Poland, settled in The Hague in 1675.[6] Yet in the last decades of the seventeenth century, more Polish Jews joined him, and in about the year 1700 the Ashkenazi group was large enough for founding its own community; this, of course, caused a need for statutes. Interestingly enough, these statutes were not enacted by the Ashkenazim, but by two influential Sephardi Jews.[7] Similar to the case in Amsterdam, a Sephardi community was established in The Hague long before its Ashkenazi counterpart. In 1717, the Ashkenazim enacted new *takkanot* [regulations] for the first time by themselves,[8] and six years later a final version was presented to the community and the city council.[9] Apparently, at this moment the leadership of the community felt the need to organize the duties of the elders in a new and more systematic way, since the impressive *pinkas* starts at this moment, in the year 1723. During the whole eighteenth century, the community of The Hague played an important role for all Dutch Jews, although it was considerably smaller than *the* community, in Amsterdam. Whenever a new stadtholder came to power, a legation of the important communities of the United Provinces came to The Hague to pay homage to him.[10]

The most dominant and influential Jewish family in The Hague was the Boas family. The famous Tobias Boas, who was not only a successful trader and banker but also—for more than thirty years—one of the leaders of the Ashkenazi community in the city, could use his extraordinary connections to the House of Orange in order to improve the situation of the Jews both in the Netherlands and outside it.[11] He played an important role during the expulsion of the Bohemian Jews

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[6] J. Michman et al. (eds.), *Pinkas: Geschiedenis van de joodse gemeenschap in Nederland* (Amsterdam/Antwerpen 1999), p. 365.

[7] D. S. van Zuiden, *De Hoogduitsche joden in 's Gravenhage* ('s Gravenhage 1913), pp. 9–10.

[8] Gemeentearchief Den Haag, NIG, no. 625, fols. 40v.–47.

[9] See my article: "The first Regulations of the Ashkenazi Community in The Hague from 1723," *Zutot* 3 (2003), pp. 160–64.

[10] See the entry in the *pinkas* of The Hague about the legation of 1766; Gemeentearchief Den Haag, NIG, no. 1, fol. 195v.

[11] The history of that important family has yet to be researched completely; a number of articles by van Zuiden, all written in Dutch in the first half of the twentieth century, are still the main sources: "De val van een Haagsch bankiershuis," *Die Haghe* (1919/20), pp. 112–26; "Iets over Tobias Boas en zijn relaties met het stadhouderlijke hof," *Die Haghe* (1932), pp. 53–68; "Nog meer over Boas," *Die Haghe* (1933), pp. 135–46; "Nog iets over Boas," *Die Haghe* (1935), pp. 61–64. More recent: I. B. van Creveld, "De Haagse familie Boas tijdens het ancien régime," *Misjpoge* 10 (1997), pp. 49–66.

in 1743/44, when a network of court Jews and bankers successfully influenced the European rulers in favor of their expelled Jewish brethren from Prague and Bohemia.[12] We may assume that an urban community of this importance, comprising approximately eight hundred individuals, attracted Jews from different places; it will later be shown that this was indeed the case.

The Jewish community of Middelburg was considerably smaller than that of The Hague. The reason was undoubtedly the town's position on the southwestern outskirts of the Northern Netherlands; situated on an island with the sea and the Spanish Netherlands as its closest neighbors, the prosperous era of the town had ended long before.[13] The community has been founded some years after 1700 and in its early years resembled, to a certain degree, the beginning of the community in The Hague, since the first *takkanot* were enacted in Middelburg in 1725, only two years after The Hague. Here, too, enacting the regulations was the turning point for the community's administration, which began keeping a minute book from that year on.[14]

Apparently, severe disputes occurred within the Ashkenazi population of Middelburg concerning the elections in the mid-eighteenth century. In the end, this conflict led to the complete taking over of the leaders' elections by the Christian city council, in about the year 1759.[15] This step seemed to put an end to the open conflict, but unfortunately it also weakened the autonomy of the community to the point of dissolving it entirely, as can be seen in the *pinkas*, which subsequently deteriorated to being a cash book.

Returning to the issue of Jews joining the two communities, one must look at the communities' regulations concerning new members. Compared with older *takkanot* from other places, the documents from The Hague and Middelburg remain rather brief regarding this issue. In The Hague, only paragraph 44 declares that a new member was obliged to pay at least ten guilders to the elders, who would set the exact amount. He was to pay within thirty days; otherwise he was regarded

[12] See the comprehensive article about the diplomatic efforts by B. Mevorah: "Jewish Diplomatic Activities to Prevent the Expulsion of Jews from Bohemia and Moravia in 1744–45" [in Hebrew], *Zion* 28 (1963), pp. 125–64.

[13] A. H. Huussen, Jr, *Historical Dictionary of the Netherlands* (Lanham 1998), p. 110.

[14] Zeeuws Archief Middelburg, NIG Middelburg, no. 1, pp. 1–7.

[15] Ibid., p. 94.

as an *oreakh*, a (poor) guest.[16] We may assume that the children of established members were to pay less than foreigners, as was usual in other places, for instance in Middelburg. Here the issue gained more attention, since already the first two paragraphs were dedicated to it. The first paragraph fixes the lowest amount to be paid by new members at three Reichstaler, which was similar to the ten guilders in The Hague. Also here, the last word remained with the leaders, who could demand more than the mentioned amount. The second paragraph, eventually, decreases the fee to only one Reichstaler for children of community members.[17]

So far, the laws of the Christian authorities concerning the matter of Jews to be accepted has not been investigated for the two mentioned places, but examples from Friesland[18] and other areas show that there were strict orders not to grant the status of community member to poor Jews, an act which, in fact, would have worked also against the interests of the community. A poor family would not be able to contribute in an appropriate way to a community whose finances had never been sufficient for the various needs.

The aforementioned pages of the minute books are filled with chronologically listed signatures of new heads of households, who were in almost every case male individuals.[19] Occasionally one can find remarks that have been added to the signature, apparently by the *ne'eman*, who usually was the person responsible for keeping the *pinkas*.[20] For the most part, these remarks explained the relations of the new member to an established family, usually stating that someone was the son or son-in-law of a known member of the community. Other remarks explain that the new member was still residing in a different place, a case that has been taken into consideration also in the regulations.

As a first step, the annually listed signatures for a period of seventy-five years has been counted. This data has been put into a figure that includes both the development of The Hague, and of Middelburg

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[16] Gemeentearchief Den Haag, NIG Den Haag, no. 1, statutes at the beginning of the *pinkas* (not part of the volume, itself).

[17] Zeeuws Archief Middelburg, NIG Middelburg, no. 1, fol. 1.

[18] See the Dutch mandate in the Leeuwarden *pinkas* from 1757, Leeuwarden Provincial Archives, Tresoar, Documents from Jewish Communities in Friesland, no. 1, Sefer Sikhronot, entry no. 39.

[19] In a very few cases, widows were accepted as community members.

[20] This can be seen in both of the *pinkassim* used for this article: In most cases the *ne'eman* would sign the entries.

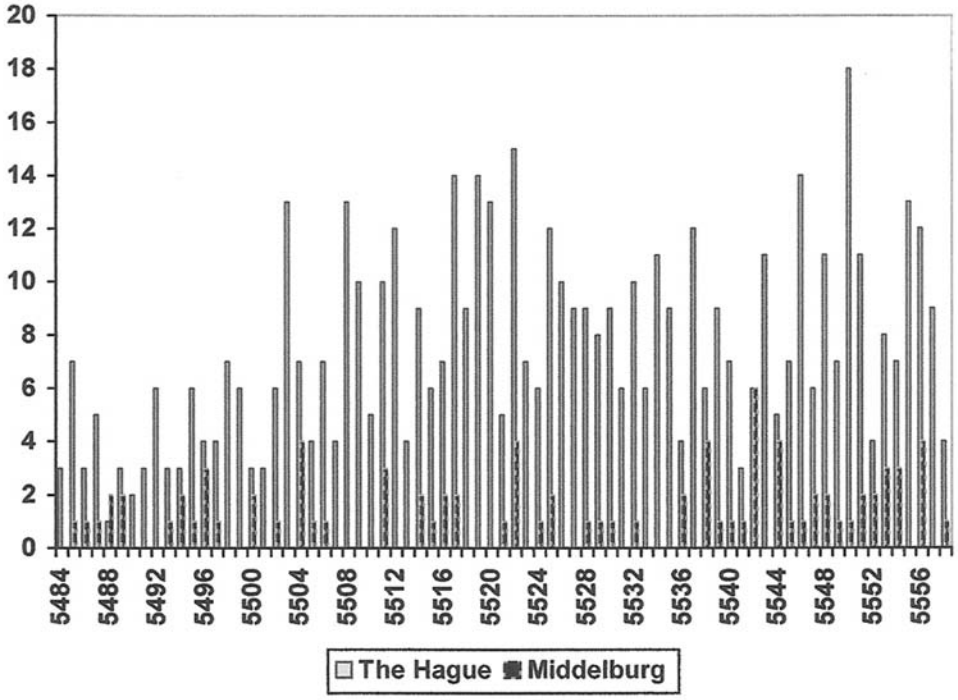

Figure 1: New members of the Ashkenazi communities in The Hague and Middelburg 5484–5558 (1723–1798)

(figure 1). As can be seen, I have chosen the Jewish years for my analysis, since they provide the basis for the lists in the *pinkassim*. This figure illustrates several facts. Firstly, it is obvious that we compare two communities with considerable differences in size. The total number of new members per year in The Hague is almost always higher than that in Middelburg, with the exception of the years 5489 (1728/29) and 5543 (1782/83). We can also see that there were several years without a new family joining the Ashkenazi community in Middelburg. This phenomenon does not occur in The Hague at all, a fact that emphasizes, again, the higher importance, the singular dynamics, and the attraction of that town with its important Jewish community. Ultimately, the statistical basis for Middelburg is too small and cannot really supply reliable data for further considerations. In addition, it is striking that during two-thirds of the investigated period, there were scarcely any significant changes

or developments regarding the matter of new community members. Only in 5539, i.e. 1778/79, a period of almost uninterrupted motion began and continued for roughly twenty years.

The data from the last part of the figure has its counterpart for The Hague. Here we find similar development for the same period, though it is, of course, on a considerably higher level. In contrast to that, during the first twenty years the number of new members remained rather low, and it seems that migration from outside did not play a role during that period. For the very first years we also do not know whether the signatures stem from people whose status was already acknowledged within the community, but who simply were in no hurry to confirm the regulations, or whether they were indeed new members. The first time that a person not from The Hague is mentioned is the year 5493, i.e. 1732/33, when a man from Amsterdam wrote his name in the *pinkas*.[21]

A few years later, two foreigners from Hamburg and Prague joined the community,[22] and from that moment on there were only a few years without recorded migration to The Hague. For the whole period, there are sixty-nine signatures from persons who apparently came from outside to the Dutch capital.

Naturally, there are several methodological problems that are connected with this kind of material. First of all, we almost never know whether these foreigners came directly from the places they mentioned or whether they stayed for a certain time in other communities—or even in The Hague—without being members of the community. Furthermore, it might very well be that, for various reasons, some of the new members felt no need to add the place of their origin. Therefore, only signatures that show clearly the addition "from xyz," i.e. only those geographical names that have the Hebrew prefix *mi*, were considered. There are other cases in which geographical names have apparently been used as family names, for instance Witzenhausen which appears several times without the prefix. In addition, this name can be found in different connections also in other entries of the *pinkas*, a fact that indicates the meaning of a family name.

[21] Gemeentearchief Den Haag, NIG Den Haag, no. 1, fol. 16v.
[22] Ibid.

Place of Origin	Migrants
Amsterdam	6
Leiden	3
Delfgauw	3
Rotterdam	2
Nijmegen	2
Eindhoven	1
Loosduinel	1
's Gravensand	1
Haarlem	1

Figure 2: Dutch Jews migrating to The Hague 1723–1789

Having recognized the inherent problems of the sources and the restrictions that they carry, we now turn to look at the group of the persons who came to The Hague, apparently, from other locations.

About thirty percent, or twenty-one individuals, came from places within the Netherlands, first of all from Amsterdam, in six cases, followed by Leiden and Delfgauw, a small village in the vicinity of The Hague, with three persons each. According to figure 2, Jews from nine different places came to The Hague. With the exception of Nijmegen and Eindhoven, they all came from localities within the province of Holland, most of the towns known to us as having harbored Jewish communities. Only the small towns near The Hague might have been without their own Jewish community. Since some of these places are mentioned in entries in the *pinkas*, it seems that, in fact, they were connected to the central urban community, as was usual in other places within the Ashkenazi world.

The group of German Jews arriving to The Hague was even more important than the inner-Dutch migration. Here, twenty-three people signed their names, while an analysis of their places of origin reveals a wide distribution of fifteen locations in Germany. In this group, Jews descending from Fürth create the largest sub-group, with four names, followed by Hamburg, Worms, Mannheim, and Dresden, with two names, each. The remaining eleven places are mentioned only once (see figure 3). The towns found here represent the more important and chiefly urban communities in eighteenth-century Germany, with the exceptions of Barby, Usingen, Kirburg, Nordstetten, and Geldern. Most of the German Jews who found their way to The Hague came from

Place of Origin	Migrants
Fürth	4
Hamburg	2
Worms	2
Dresden	2
Mannheim	2
Barby	1
Berlin	1
Bonn	1
Usingen	1
Kirburg	1
Nordstetten	1
Breslau	1
Strelitz	1
Geldern	1
Kissingen	1
Offenbach	1

Figure 3: German Jews migrating to The Hague 1723–1789

the western part of Germany, only those from Berlin, Strelitz, Barby, Dresden, and Breslau arriving from central or eastern Germany.

There are four more countries from which Jews came to The Hague: Poland, Bohemia and Moravia, France, and even the Land of Israel. We have evidence that six Jews arrived from Poland and Ukraine: two from Poznan, two from Hrushka, one from Leszno, and another from Teschen. From the region of Bohemia and Moravia we find, not unexpectedly, three signatures of people from Prague, and another two of people from Lipnik nad Bečvou, in the *pinkas* called Leipnik. All of the Czech Jews came after 1744, the year of the great expulsion of the Jews from Prague and Bohemia, and we can certainly assume that there is a connection between these immigrants and the expulsion. Two more signatures are from Jews from Türkheim, in Alsace, and one has signed his name with the addition "*ish Yerushalaim*."[23] I have been unable to identify eleven other places of origin, either because of great difficulties in reading the handwriting, or due to difficulties in identifying the geographical name.

[23] Ibid., fol. 18.

Despite the considerably smaller number of signatures in the Middelburg *pinkas*, the included geographical names from that document should be mentioned, too. The names of only seven places have been written down, each mentioned only once. One place of origin remained unidentified, so that there are only six geographical names that can be named with certainty: Dessau, Workum, Hamburg, Leeuwarden, Prague, and Breslau. Once again, those from Germany form the largest group, with three locations, followed by the two names from the Netherlands, and the one from Bohemia.

Reading the complete *pinkas* from Middelburg reveals some more information concerning a particular group of Jewish inhabitants of the town: the *hazanim* and the teachers of the community. Due to their special status as community officials, the *hazanim* were not forced to join the community. In Middelburg, they usually served only for a very short period, so that we repeatedly find entries about new men in that office. Interestingly, they proudly signed these entries with their full names, and, in most of cases, added their places of origin. Here we find places like Krotoczin,[24] Wiśnicza,[25] Tykocin,[26] Leszno,[27] Głogowa,[28] Corvey,[29] and Walcz.[30] It seems that these officials, once they finished their contracts, left Middelburg for other places, since we do not find them in the aforementioned lists of new members. Certainly, one can see them as rather privileged members of the lower class of the Jews, who were too poor to be accepted as *ba'ale battim* in any community, and, therefore, were uninterruptedly in a situation of migration from community to community in order to make their living by begging or working in low-paid jobs in various places. Usually, that large group remained without particular attention, so that we find only very little concrete information regarding their origins and fates.

The only expression for these numerous people can be found in the annual number of the *pletten* in the Middelburg *pinkas* that grew from

[24] Zeeuws Archief, NIG Middelburg, no. 1, p. 23.
[25] Ibid., p. 36.
[26] Ibid., p. 53.
[27] Ibid., p. 59.
[28] Ibid., p. 67.
[29] Ibid., p. 77.
[30] Ibid., p. 97, in German, called *Deutsch Krone*.

173 in the year 5487 (1726/7),[31] to 258 in 5538 (1777/8),[32] the last year to be recorded for that issue.

In general, the picture we receive from the introduced material confirms the regions and countries that are often postulated as the origins for the growing Ashkenazi population in the Netherlands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Germany, Bohemia, and Poland.[33] Most striking, however, is the considerable inner-Dutch migration that played a growing role during the eighteenth century.

For asking some more questions about the statistical data that is hidden in the lists, we have to focus mainly on the facts we know from The Hague, due to the more substantial numbers from there. These data have been analyzed again to see whether there was any period during the eighteenth century that was of greater importance concerning the migration to the town. A comparison between the total number of new community members and the migrants from other places shows us that, during the earliest reported years, there was almost no new member coming from outside, and only starting with 5498 (1737/8) do we find the phenomenon of Jews coming to The Hague at a steady rate. We can also see that there is no definite connection between peaks in total numbers, and peaks in migration. Considering the whole period, one can see that, once begun, the migration of foreign Jews to The Hague continued at a low rate, without significant changes.

Comparing the development of non-Dutch migration with the inner-Dutch cases, however, reveals a remarkable development, which should receive more attention in future investigations (see figure 4). There is clear evidence that migration from other countries played an important role in the mid-eighteenth century, whereas inner-Dutch migration was less important then. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the situation changed completely, and now the inner-Dutch migration became much more important, in the case of The Hague.

Of course, from this investigation we cannot draw the general conclusion that Jewish migration in the Netherlands completely changed during the eighteenth century—a tendency detected in the data from The Hague; it is our expectation, however, that further research on

[31] Ibid., p. 21.
[32] Ibid., p. 117.
[33] Compare Michman et al. (eds.), *Pinkas*, p. 49.

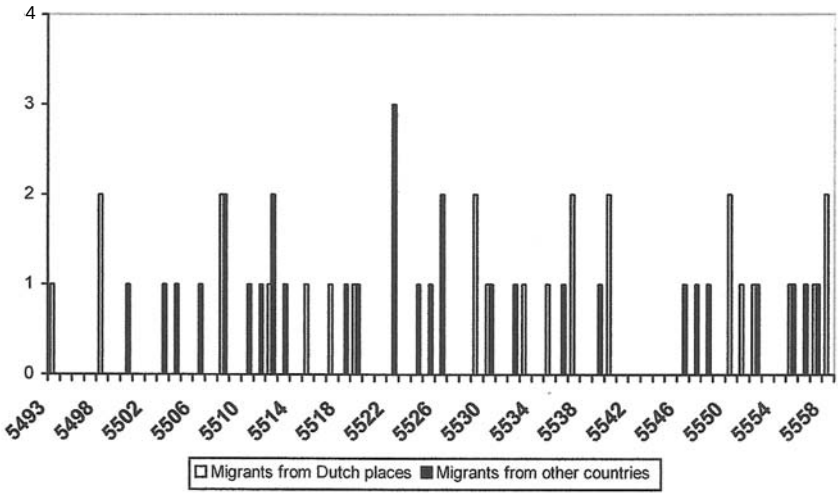

Figure 4: Jewish Migrants to The Hague from Dutch towns and from Other Countries

this matter will possibly provide the necessary proof. The Ashkenazi population of the Netherlands had become large enough to develop its own migration-dynamics within the Netherlands, which, compared to other European countries in the second half of the eighteenth century, was still one of the most attractive places for Jews to live. Therefore, only few Ashkenazi Jews felt the urge to leave the Dutch republic, but they changed, more and more, the places within its territory.

It appears that there are no other contemporary Dutch *pinkassim* with similar material that would help us to enlarge the basis of data presented here for the cases of The Hague and Middelburg. In the future, therefore, we will have to include all kinds of suitable sources in order to gain more insight into the general phenomenon of migration to the Dutch republic on the one hand, and of inner-Dutch migration, on the other. Investigating the problem would not only deepen our understanding of the Dutch-Jewish society, but could also supply important data for further research on European Jewish migration during the eighteenth century.

THE HAGUE, AMSTERDAM, ISTANBUL, JERUSALEM: DAVID DE PINTO AND THE *JESIBA* MAGEN DAVID, 1750–1767

Gérard Nahon

On September 21, 1750 (20 Elul 5510) in The Hague, before the notary public Johannes Sythoff, David de Joseph de Pinto, by a Portuguese codicil to his last will, founded a yeshiva in Jerusalem that would bear the name Magen David.[1] Seventeen years later, on 30 July 1767, Shem Tov b. Jacob Gabay and Ephraim b. Judah Navon, Jerusalem rabbis sojourning in Istanbul, completed the necessary arrangements and the yeshiva was opened. Thus Magen David joined the other yeshivot that operated in the Holy City according to the model of the famous yeshiva, Beth Ya'akov, founded in 1691 by Jacob Pereyra from Amsterdam. The present article is only a prelude to a larger work containing Hebrew and Portuguese documents that I promised several years ago to my colleague and friend Professor Meir Benayahu, who put at my disposal unpublished documents kept in his personal collection. These documents complement those I have found in the records of the Jewish Portuguese Nation in Amsterdam.[2] This material provides us with the opportunity for following, over a long period, and across the geography of the western Portuguese diaspora and its links with the Ottoman Empire, the genesis of a yeshiva characteristic of eighteenth-century Jerusalem.[3] The Jerusalem community, according to Jacob Barnai's view,

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[1] GAA PA 334, no. 801 no. 12; the document is a copy drawn up by the notary in 1761. Concerning the will itself, I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Edgar Samuel, who sent me, as a precious gift, David de Pinto's will, legalized in London in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Prerogative Court on 14 May 1761, upon the request of his widow, Clara de Pinto. For bibliography on the Portuguese Jews in The Hague, see J. Michman, H. Beem, D. Michman, *Pinkas Hakehillot. Encylopædia of Jewish Communities, The Netherlands* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1985), pp. 390–91, pp. 258–59.

[2] Cf. W. C. Pieterse, *Inventaris van de Archieven der Portugees-Israëlitische Gemeente te Amsterdam 1614–1870* (Amsterdam 1964). I thank deeply my friend Drs. W. C. Pieterse, former director of the Municipal Archives of Amsterdam, who provided me with documents and microfilms and helped me in all manners.

[3] Much has been written on the Jerusalem yeshivot; see M. Benayahu, "Towards a History of the Study Houses in Jerusalem in the Seventeenth Century" [in Hebrew],

was an emanation of the diaspora, on which it depended entirely.[4] The difficult birth of Magen David provides us with a tool for understanding how communal power was wielded at the head of the community, and the links it fostered with the *Mahamad*, the governing Council of the Amsterdam Portuguese community on one hand, and the *Va'ad Pekidim* for the Holy Land at Istanbul on the other. With Magen David we are witnesses to a complex process, from personal devotion to an inter-communal joint venture that involved The Hague, London, Amsterdam, Istanbul, and Jerusalem. Five distinguished rabbis of Jerusalem played an unplanned but decisive role in this process: Jacob Ashkenazi de Corona (c. 1698–1768), Ephraim b. Arieh-Judah Navon (d. 1784), Shem Tov b. Jacob Gabay, Raphael-Semah Bensimon (d. 1780), and Yom-Tov b. Israel-Jacob Algazi (1727–1802).[5]

The Yeshiva as Reflected in the Codicil of David de Pinto

On September 21, 1750 in The Hague, where he lived, David de Joseph de Pinto, forty-six years old with an annual income (in 1743) of 28,000 guilders[6] (people would say "Rich as Pinto"), met with the notary Johannes Sythoff and added a codicil to his previous will, thereby

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HUCA 21 (1948), pp. 1–28. For a general picture of the eighteenth century, see my "*Yeshivot* hiérosolymites au XVIII[e] siècle," in *Les juifs au regard de l'histoire. Mélanges en l'honneur de Bernhard Blumenkranz*, ed. G. Dahan (Paris 1985), pp. 301–26, reprinted in my book, *Métropoles et périphéries sefarades d'Occident. Kairouan, Amsterdam, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Jérusalem* (Paris 1993), pp. 419–46; and idem, "Jérusalem au XVIII[e] siècle: Rabbinat et Yeshiva," in *Permanences et mutations dans la société israélienne, Actes du Colloque international du Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes juives et hébraïques*, ed. C. Iancu (Montpellier 1996), pp. 26–42.

[4] See J. Barnai, "The Leadership of the Jewish Community of Jerusalem in the Mid-eighteenth Century" [in Hebrew], *Shalem* 1 (1974), pp. 271–316; idem, *The Jews of Eretz-Israel in the Eighteenth Century under the Patronage of the Constantinople Committee Officials of Eretz-Israel* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1982); idem, *The Jews in Palestine in the Eighteenth Century under the Patronage of the Istanbul Committee of Officials for Palestine*, trans. N. Goldblum (Tuscaloosa, Ala. 1992).

[5] On these rabbis, see A.-L. Frumkin, *History of the Rabbis of Jerusalem (1490–1870)* [in Hebrew], vol. 3, ed. E. Rivlin (Jerusalem 1929), pp. 70 (de Corona), 129 (Navon), 36 (Gabay), 123 (Bensimon), 108–11 (Algazi) and vol. 4, v. index. Of the last, there is a mention in the records of the Moslem Religious Court (February 5, 1795), see A. Cohen, E. Simon-Pikali, and O. Salama, *Jews in the Moslem Religious Court: Society, Economy and Communal Organization in the XVIII Century. Documents from Ottoman Jerusalem* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1996), p. 32.

[6] H. Bloom, *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Williamsport 1937), p. 212 n. 30; on the Jews in The Hague, cf. M. Henriquez

settling his legacy (August 22, 1750). The codicil instituted a yeshiva in Jerusalem and organized its functioning and funding. In this way De Pinto hoped to atone for his sins and win *eterna gloria*. He unknowingly followed in the path of Abraham-Benjamin-George de Francia, who died in Bordeaux on December 10, 1739. On his grave we read "*Jesiba* en *Yerusalaim* estableció para gosar de la morada del cielo."[7]

In fact, every person is obligated to study the Holy Law his whole life, especially in the Holy Land. Nevertheless, David de Pinto could devote very little time to learning and meditation, and instead helped other people to study. With the codicil he wished to perpetuate that help after his own death and that of his wife, Clara de Pinto, who was then fifty-two years old.[8] His purpose was to implement the doctrine formulated by Jacob Pereyra, that is to say, to establish an association between students of the Law and laymen who support them, the well-known biblical association of Issachar and Zebulun: the former learns Torah, the latter earns a living and supplies him with financial help (comp. Deut. 33:18). Targum Onqelos comments on Moses's blessing: "And of Zebulun he said: Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out: and, Issachar, in thy tents," with the following: "Rejoice Zebulun when you are starting to war and Issachar when going to establish times for study in Jerusalem." To the latter belongs, normally, the first rank in the scale of merits.[9]

Pimentel, *Geschiedkundige Aanteekeningen betreffende de Portugeesche Israëliten in Den Haag en hunne Synagogen aldaar* (The Hague 1876).

[7] G. Cirot, *Recherches sur les Juifs espagnols et portugais à Bordeaux*, pt. 1 (Bordeaux l908), pp. 130–31; cf. G. Nahon, "Un espace religieux du XVIII^{e} siècle: Le premier cimetière des 'Portugais' de Bordeaux, 105 cours de la Marne 1724–1768," in *La mort et ses représentations dans le judaïsme*, *Actes du Colloque organisé par le Centre d'études juives de l'Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne en décembre 1989*, ed. D. Tollet (Paris 2000), pp. 243–72.

[8] David de Joseph de Pinto married his cousin, Clara de Aron de Pinto, in Amsterdam on Shevat 10 5482 (January 28, 1722); D. Verdooner and H. J. W. Snel, *Handleiding bij de index op de Ketuboth van de Portugees-Israelietische Gemeente te Amsterdam van 1650–1911*, p. 79; GAA, DTB 713/47, January 20, 1722, see I.-S. Révah, "Généalogie de l'économiste Isaac de Pinto," in *Mélanges à la mémoire de Jean Sarrailh* (Paris 1966), vol. 2, p. 274.

[9] All these points are explained in the foreword by Jacob Pereyra to his *Livro que contem as condiçoês com que os Senhores do Mahamad do K[ahal] K[ados] de T[almud] T[ora] de Amsterdam se emcargarão de treze obrigaçoës dos Senhores Estados importantes florins 40.000 que eu Jahacob Pereyra fis kodes para servirem os reditos pra as Jesiboth que institui em Jerusalaim è Hebron intituladas Beth Jahacob, è Emeth le Jahacob para que o que fis tambem codes 1500 para a sedaca […] Com as escamoth que dittas Jesiboth devem observar ca forma em que tudo se deve distribuir: que seja para honra è Gloria del Dio Bendito è augmento de sua Sanaa Ley* [Amsterdam 1696]. On Jacob Pereyra's father, Abraham Pereyra, see a fascinating portrayal in H. Méchoulan, *Hispanidad y Judaísmo en tiempos de Espinoza. Edición de La Certeza del Camino de Abraham Pereyra, Amsterdam 1666* (Salamanca 1987).

The *esguer* [school] that was founded in Jerusalem received ten well-known *hakhamim* endowed with deep knowledge and of pious behavior, under the guidance of one *rosh* [dean] of high rank and virtue, and with the office of a learned *samas* [beadle]. The *samas* was in charge of the library. The books in the library were to be purchased according to the choice of the Jerusalem *parnassim*, who would have at their disposal a budget of up to 150 patacas. The students of Magen David would be chosen by the *parnassim* and *pekidim* [officers] of the Holy Community of Jerusalem from among the rabbis living there or others to come from Safed, Hebron, or Tiberias. At the death of the *rosh*, the *hakhamim* of Magen David would submit to the *parnassim* of Amsterdam the name of their candidate for his successor. These men were to request the agreement from Aron de Pinto, the founder's brother, or Aron de Pinto's sons, before the final appointment of the *rosh*. In the school, learning would take place every day including the holy days, and included studies on Gemara, *Bet Yosef* by Joseph Caro, Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, Rashi, *Sefer ha-Zohar*, or *Reshit Hokhma* by Eliahu de Vidas; on Sabbath and feasts the students were to learn *Eyn Ya'akov* by Jacob Ibn Habib. At the end of the morning or afternoon sessions, they were to recite an *ascaba* (prayer for the dead) for the soul of the founder and that of his spouse, his parents Aron and Sara de Pinto, and their children, after their death. For the living members of the family, the students would recite a *misheberakh* (a special blessing). On the anniversary of his death and that of his wife, the *hakhamim* and their *rosh* were to fast. People skipping classes without good reasons were to be punished by exclusion, while idle talk was prohibited: only pious topics would be allowed in the yeshiva. The budget would amount to 226 patacas[10] per year, ten patacas for each student, forty for the *rosh*, six for the *samas*.

As a matter of fact, David de Pinto left the care of his annual legacy of six hundred patacas to the Amsterdam *parnassim*, and this was to be recorded in the *Livros dos Termos*. After his death, the *parnassim* were to transfer to their Jerusalem colleagues the tasks of appointing the learned members of Magen David, opening the yeshiva, directing and overseeing its scholars, sending the annual salaries, and collecting the

[10] According to a document quoted by Barnai, *Jews of Eretz-Israel*, p. 299; in the year 1750, the Dutch *pataca* was equivalent to approximately 1,676 piastres.

receipts. The Amsterdam *parnassim* were to have the people sign the rules of Magen David, and then store those documents in their files.

When founding Magen David, David de Pinto relied on family precedent and tradition that was influenced by a *marrano* background, a family saga carefully described by I.-S. Révah and Herman P. Salomon. One of De Pinto's forefathers had instituted in Rotterdam the *Jesiba de los Pintos*. De Pinto himself supported that yeshiva, knew its merits, and was familiar with its daily operation before moving to The Hague.[11]

De Pinto inherited two traditions, one from Abraham and Isaac de Pinto concerning the *Jesiba de los Pintos*, and one from Abraham and Jacob Pereyra. The ties between the two families may explain a certain merger of both traditions. On June 3, 1648 (13 Sivan 5408), the wedding of Rachel, daughter of Abraham de Pinto, and Isaac, son of Abraham Pereyra, took place in Rotterdam.[12] On August 11, 1649 the wedding of Jacob de Pinto, alias André Lopes Pinto—David de Joseph de Pinto's grandfather—to Ribca Pereyra, daughter of Abraham Pereyra, took place in Amsterdam.

The story of the Pintos began with Rodrigo Alvares Pinto, possibly converted in the mass baptism of 1497 in Lisbon. As a Catholic, Rodrigo Alvares Pinto was interred in the Franciscan monastery of Lisbon. His son, Gil Lopes Pinto, was "a very eminent surgeon" in Lisbon, where he lived and died. Manuel Alvares Pinto, Lopes Pinto's son, was also active in Lisbon, as was his son, Gil Lopes Pinto II, who was born there in 1588 and moved to Antwerpen in 1607, where he lived as a Catholic until 1646. That year he escaped with his family to Rotterdam where he arrived on November 27, 1646. In 1647, the Rotterdam city council adopted a resolution that granted Portuguese Jews all the rights they had received in Amsterdam, including religious freedom: for the Pintos, a small Jewish community came into existence. The male members of the Pinto family were circumcised several weeks after their arrival by the *hakham* David Pardo from Amsterdam, and all took Jewish first names.

Founded in Rotterdam on May 5, 1650 by Gil Lopes Pinto II (alias Abraham de Pinto), head of the wealthiest Jewish family in Rotterdam,

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[11] Révah, "Généalogie de l'économiste Isaac de Pinto (1711–1787)," pp. 265–80; H. P. Salomon, "The De Pinto Manuscript: A Seventeenth Century Marrano Family History," *StRos* 9 (1975), pp. 1–62.

[12] Illuminated *ketubbah* by Shalom Italia, kept in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem; see Michman et al., *Pinkas Hakehillot*, pp. 390–91.

along with his son, Manuel Alvares de Pinto (alias Isaac de Pinto), the *Jesiba de los Pintos* moved to Amsterdam in 1669. In 1683 Miguel de Barrios wrote a sonnet in honor of its founder:

Ab[raha]m de Pinto, Bienaventurado
Me fundó en Roterdam con santo zelo
Y su Hermano David: suben al cielo
p[o]r el premio de haverme edificado.

In Amsterdam the yeshiva was supported by Abraham's son André Lopes Pinto (alias Jacob de Pinto) and Jacob's son Joseph. It was later renamed Beth Yosef by Joseph's son, our David de Pinto. According to Herman P. Salomon, the "academy" was not properly a school or a college, but a pious foundation to support needy young men. Between 1672 and 1678 the famous rabbi Jacob Sasportas stood at the head of the yeshiva.[13] In a *Registro de todas as Irmandades em Amsterdam*, we find in the category of *Irmandades academicas* the *Jesiba de Pinto* renamed Beth Yosef.[14] In The Hague, the rebirth of the Portuguese community was credited to Jacob Abenacar Veiga, a student of the *Jesiba de los Pintos*.

The difference between the two traditions was perhaps the land of learning: the Pereyra family had located its yeshivot in the Holy Land: Emet le-Ya'akov and Hesed le-Abraham were established in Hebron (1659) and Beth Ya'akov in Jerusalem (1691), as recorded in chapter 2 of *La Certeza del Camino*, "De las excelencias y perrogativas de la Tierra Sancta."[15] When he completed his last will, David de Pinto chose the

[13] See E. Moyal, *Rabbi Ya'akov Sasportas* [in Hebrew with French Preface] (Jerusalem 1992).

[14] On the Pintos and their yeshiva, see J. Zwaarts, "Een Joodsche Academie uit de XVII[de] eeuw," in his *Hoofdstukken uit de geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* (Zutphen 1929), pp. 88–117; W. C. Pieterse, *Daniel Levi de Barrios als geschiedschrijver van de Portugees-Israelietische gemeente te Amsterdam in zijn "Triumpho del govierno popular"* (Amsterdam 1968), pp. 111–13; Salomon, "The De Pinto Manuscript," p. 42 n. 131. The entire poem by Miguel de Barrios is found in David Franco Mendes, *Memorias do estabelecimento e progresso dos Judeos Portuguezes e Espanhoes nesta famosa citade de Amsterdam, A Portuguese Chronicle of the History of the Sephardim in Amsterdam up to 1772*, ed. L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *StRos* 9 (1975), pp. 70–71; cf. G. Nahon, "The Portuguese Jewish Nation of Amsterdam as Reflected in the Memoirs of Abraham-Haim Lopes Arias, 1752," in *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others*, ed. C. Brasz and Y. Kaplan (Leiden 2001), pp. 59–78.

[15] A. Yaari, "The Pereyra Yeshivot in Jerusalem and Hebron" [in Hebrew], in *Yerushalayim*, ed. M. Benayahu, M. Ish-Shalom, and A. Shohet (Jerusalem 1953), pp. 185–202; for the second chapter of Abraham Pereyra's treatise, see the Méchoulan edition, pp. 112–13. About the reasons for pious foundations by Jacob Pereyra, cf. Y. Kaplan, "The Religious World of a Jewish International Merchant in the Age of

Pereyras' territory; he explains at the beginning of his codicil: "I, the undersigned, declare in the following that, considering how pleasant is the study of the Holy Law in the eyes of the Supreme Creator, particularly in the Holy Land…".[16]

The Failure of Jacob Ashkenazi de Corona (1761–1767)

More than ten years elapsed after the codicil of 1750. As a matter of fact, we have little information about the will after his death, on 29 Adar II 5521 (April 4, 1761), because the volume concerning the years 1757 to 1764 of the *Copiador de Cartas*, the book of outgoing mail of the Jewish Portuguese community of Amsterdam,[17] has disappeared. Nevertheless we know that the *parnassim* of Jerusalem were not enthusiastic to comply with the wishes of Amsterdam: "se arespondio que esta Jesiba *tena'eha merubim we-hakhnasata mu'etet.*" That yeshiva, the rabbis Shem Tov Gabay and Ephraim Navon recorded in their undated Hebrew and Judæo-Spanish letter of 1767, had "many regulations but a very small income."[18]

However, the *parnassim* commissioned Jacob Ashkenazi de Corona, a respected rabbi and emissary from the Holy Land, to prepare a project for Magen David. On 29 Heshvan, 5497 (November 2, 1736), De Corona signed a regulation concerning the legacies of people who died in Jerusalem without leaving heirs there.[19] As an influential scholar in Jerusalem his name appears among the approbators in many rabbinic

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Mercantalism: The Embarrassment of Riches of Abraham Israel Pereyra" [in Hebrew], in *Religion and Economy: Connections and Interactions*, ed. M. Ben Sasson (Jerusalem 1995), pp. 233–51.

[16] "Eu abaixo firmado, declaro por estas que, considerando o quanto grato he nos olhos do Supremo Criador a meditação do estudo da Sagrada Leÿ, particularmente em Terra Santa….".

[17] On these documents, see G. Nahon, "Une source pour l'histoire de la diaspora sefarade au XVIII[e] siècle: le *Copiador de Cartas* de la communauté portugaise d'Amsterdam," in *The Sepharadi and Oriental Jewish Heritage, Studies*, ed. I. Ben-Ami (Jerusalem 1981), pp. 109–22.

[18] Professor M. Benayahu put at my disposal this document from his private collection. Written in Hebrew script, it contains, for the most part, a Spanish summary about the founding of the new yeshiva. Possibly it was sent to the heads of the Jerusalem community for the purpose of implementing the will of David de Pinto. The death of the testator occurred, according to the Amsterdam letter of 13 Tishri 5528, [October 6, 1767; in my publication I erroneously wrote September], on 29 Adar II; only the year 1761 is compatible with our data.

[19] A. M. Luncz, "The Jews in the Holy Land" [in Hebrew], *Jerusalem* 3 (1889), pp. 51–52; I. b. Michael b. Rafael Badhav, *Kovetz ha-Yerushalmi Shelishi* (Jerusalem 1931),

books: Eliezer b. Jacob Nahum, *Sefer Hazon Nahum* (Istanbul 1742), Benjamin b. Jonah Navon, *Sefer Nehpah va-Kesef* (Istanbul 1746), David Hazan, *Sefer Kohelet ben David* (ed. Isaac de Mayo, Salonica 1748), David Hazan, *Sefer Agan ha-Sahar* (Salonica 1749), Raphael Behar Samuel Meyuhas, *Sefer Pri ha-Adama* (Salonica 1753–1763), Nissim-Haim-Moses b. Juda Mizrahi, *Sefer Admat Kodesh* (1753), Joseph Molkho, *Shulhan Gavoha* (Salonica 1764), Israel Meir b. Joseph Mizrahi, *Sefer Pri ha-Aretz*, pt. 2 (Salonica 1754/1755), and Joseph-Haim-David Azulay, *Sefer Sha'ar Yosef* (Leghorn 1757). In 1758, the sixty-year-old Jacob Ashkenazi de Corona held the second rank amongst the scholars at Beth Ya'akov Pereyra, the most prestigious yeshiva in Jerusalem. Journeying in Europe and busy fundraising for Jerusalem, Jacob de Corona came to Amsterdam and opened discussions with the *parnassim* of the Jewish Portuguese community. De Corona failed in his pious task despite the fact that Joseph de Aron de Pinto, the community's *parnas* president, was the nephew of David de Pinto.[20]

A new start was signaled with the intervention of the *Va'ad Pekidim* of the Holy Land in Istanbul. This committee, founded in 1726 in order to solve the problem of Jerusalem's indebtedness, assumed control over the finances and the communal administration of the Holy City. Jacob Barnai has analyzed the work and achievements of the Istanbul committee,[21] making extensive use of the *pinkas* of the Istanbul *Va'ad*,

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fols. 42v–43r. Indeed, we find the name De Corona only in the Amsterdam letters; otherwise he always signed as Jacob Askhenazi.

[20] On Jacob Ashkenazi de Corona, his travels in Europe, and his books and manuscripts, see A. Yaari, *The Emissaries of Eretz Israel* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1951), pp. 396–97; his *responsa* were published after his death, *Petiha le-Kuntres me-ha-Rav Ruah Ya'akov* (Salonica 1793). In an unpublished Hebrew letter written in Istanbul on 30 July 1767, Shem Tov Gabay and Ephraim Navon explain all the previous transactions of Jacob Ashkenazi de Corona with the *parnassim* of Amsterdam and declare that neither in the present year nor in the following should he come to Jerusalem (GAA PA 334, no. 801). In the book of outgoing mail of the Amsterdam Portuguese community, GAA PA 334, no. 94, one letter from the *parnassim* to Istanbul (June 26, 1767) asked for the Regulations of Magen David in connection to the mission of Jacob Ashkenazi de Corona. In the same book, another letter told the Jerusalem *parnassim* of the urgency for implementing the project upon the request of Joseph de Aron de Pinto, President of Talmud Torah.

[21] Barnai, *Jews in Eretz-Israel*. It is necessary to use also the English edition, which contains important additions and changes; see *The Jews in Palestine*. On the links between Amsterdam and Istanbul, see my study, "Les relations entre Amsterdam et Constantinople au XVIII[e] siècle d'après le Copiador de Cartas de la Nation juive portugaise d'Amsterdam," in *Dutch Jewish History* [1], ed. J. Michman and T. Levie (Jerusalem 1984), pp. 157–84.

but unfortunately, as far as I know, that invaluable source remains unpublished. Concerning Magen David, Barnai quotes three letters from the *pinkas*, letters dated 31 July 1761, 3 September 1761, and 5 April 1762. In the first, the Istanbul *pekidim* announced to the *parnassim* of Jerusalem that they had received a request from Amsterdam for the purpose of founding an *esguer* in Jerusalem. In the second, they present the same request. Only in the third letter they mentioned the name of the founder, David [de] Joseph de Pinto.[22]

The Amsterdam *parnassim* sent one letter to the deputies of the four congregations in the Holy Land of the Portuguese Nation in Istanbul on December 29, 1765. In it, they complained about *Hakham* De Corona, "from whom we have had no advice and desire greatly to know what he has done regarding the establishment of the *esguer* of Señor David de Joseph de Pinto, who is with God, for he has committed himself to putting [the *esguer*] in good order; indeed the heirs of the said Señor de Pinto feel that enough time has elapsed for complying with the pious intention of the deceased, and when you will receive any information on this matter we beg you to notify us regarding it."[23]

David de Pinto's documents were sent from Amsterdam to Istanbul and stored in the records of the *pekidim*. Using that material, two famous rabbis, Ephraim de Judah Navon and Shem Tov Gabay, applied themselves—after Jacob Ashkenazi de Corona—to implement the last will of David de Pinto. We don't know exactly when the Amsterdam *parnassim* wrote their letters, first to the *pekidim* of Istanbul, then to Navon and Gabay who were staying for a long period in Istanbul, having been commissioned by Jerusalem in order to raise money for the holy city. Therefore the Istanbul officials instructed them to carry out immediately the founding of Magen David and to report to Amsterdam regarding their achievements. From two letters written in Amsterdam on the same day, June 26, 1767, we know about the urgency of opening the

[22] The Istanbul *pinkas* contains the outgoing Hebrew mail of the *pekidim*. It is kept at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York (MS 4008 [0151]), and at the Ben Zvi Institute in Jerusalem (microfilm 1857); see Barnai, *Jews in Eretz-Israel*, p. 248.

[23] "D[it]o s[enho]r H[a]h[am] de Corona de quien no tenemos ningun avizo, y lo dezeamos mucho saber lo que executó con el establesimiento del Esguer del s[enho]r David de Joseph de Pinto que D[eu] tiene, siendo que se empeñó de ponerlo en buena regla, pues los herederos de d[ich]o s[enho]r de Pinto sienten se retarde de tanto tiempo de cumplir con la devota intension del diffunto, y resibiendo Vmds algun avizo sobre este particular, suplicamos nos hagan saber" (GAA PA 334, no. 94 p. 95).

yeshiva after the death of the founder's widow, Clara de Pinto, on 10 Iyyar 5527 (May 9, 1767). The first was sent to the Istanbul officials, the second to the Jerusalem officials and rabbis: for the last time, the Amsterdam *parnassim* were appealing to the good will of Jacob Ashkenazi de Corona.[24]

1767: The Successful Work of Ephraim de Juda Navon and Shem Tov Gabay

Ephraim Navon, son of the well-known Judah b. Ephraim Navon, submitted his father's book on Maimonides, *Sefer Kiryat Melekh Rav*, to the printers in Istanbul in 1751. Later, he also submitted his own work, *Kuntres Bet Moav*, on the rules of the judges at the end of the second part of *Sefer Kiryat Melekh Rav*, which he edited in Istanbul in 1765. In his foreword, Navon expressed his longing for Jerusalem. When he returned to Jerusalem in 1768, he entered the court of Yom Tov Algazi.

A disciple of Haim Ibn Attar, Shem Tov b. Jacob Gabay was known as a *dayyan* and kabbalist, and he signed various regulations of Jerusalem, for instance the regulation concerning the judges on June 13, 1760. Along with Benjamin b. Jonah Navon (the author of *Nehpa va-Kesef*), Gabay was chosen to supervise Gedulat Mordecai, the yeshiva of Mordecai Taluq from Morocco, where he appeared second on the list of scholars. He also held the second rank in the yeshiva Knesset Israel, founded by Haim Ibn Attar in 1740.[25] These two positions were apparently not enough for him to make his living there, and he wished to become a member of a third yeshiva. However that may be, with his colleague Ephraim Navon, he declared, in their Judeo-Spanish letter, that a scholar of Magen David *no puede estar en otra jesiba*, "is not allowed to be in another yeshiva."

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[24] "Constantinopola. Muy illustres ss[eño]res Pekidim de las Kehilot de Tierra Santa de la Nasion Portuguese, Amsterdam 29 sivan 5527, 26 junio 1767, Tengan Vmds la bondad de avizarnos si dicho H[a]H[am] de Corona a llegado a Jerusalaim pues lo dezeamos saber p[ar]a el areglo de la Jesiba del s[eño]r David de Joseph de Pinto (Q[ue] D[eu]s T[iene])" (GAA PA 334, no. 94, pp. 177–78). See the appendix, §3, for the letter to Jerusalem.

[25] Jacob Saul Eliyashar, *Sefer ha-Takkanot* (Jerusalem 1883), fols. 47v–48r, and see M. Benayahu, *Rabbi H. Y. D. Azulai* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1959), vol. 2, p. 393. For a manuscript list of the Jerusalem yeshivot drawn up in 1758, see Solomon Hazan, *Ha-Ma'aloth le-Shelomo* (Alexandria 1899), fols. 102b–103b [in Hebrew]; see Frumkin, *History of the Rabbis*, vol. 3, p. 45.

In response to Amsterdam's demand, the two rabbis sent a lengthy Hebrew letter to the *parnassim* on July 30, 1767. For us it represents—after the codicil of David de Pinto—the magna carta of Magen David. In this letter, Rabbis Gabay and Navon announced that the *pekidim* of Istanbul had decided to open the yeshiva as early as possible, and had put them in charge of implementing their resolution. They announced the opening of Magen David on 1 Elul 1767 (August 26, 1767), only two months later! In fact, the yeshiva was officially open only at the beginning of Nisan 5528 (March 19, 1768), after the requested documents and funds had arrived from Amsterdam.

At the end of their letter, both rabbis appended a revised version of Magen David's regulations along with a list of suggested members, provided they didn't belong to another yeshiva. That list reserved two blank lines for themselves—immediately following the name of the dean—and the names of seven candidate rabbis: Haim Ma'ali ha-Cohen, Isaiah b. Furado, Isaac Shami, Mordecai ha-Levy, Shabbetai Shami, Hisquiau Bahlul, Haim ben Adam. They proposed the rabbi Nissim Haim Yeruham Wilna for the position of *rosh*, and for that of *samas*, Shimon Matalon. As Jacob Barnai has pointed out, "the order of appearance of the Sages of the Yeshiva in the list of the appointees was considered of great importance, because the relative amount of financial support in each yeshiva was determined by it."[26] In spite of this principle, at Magen David only the dean received more money than the other scholars—forty patacas—while each of the scholars received only eighteen patacas. As a matter of fact, a high rank in the list meant also authority in the community leadership in the Holy City, the faculty of acting as *dayyanim* [rabbinical judges] at the same time, and for the second in the list, perhaps the possibility of being elected *rosh* at the death of the present *rosh*.

Navon and Gabay did not need to give any justification for their choice. However that may be, let us consider the rabbis who were suggested as candidates. We find nothing concerning Isaiah ben Furado,[27] Isaac Shami, Shabbetai Shami, or Haim Ben-Adam. A Jacob-Simon Matalon was recorded between the rabbis of Magen David in the year

[26] Barnai, *The Jews in Palestine*, p. 168.

[27] The family is not completely unknown due to the epitaph of a rabbi named David Ibn Furado, who died on 1 Kislev 5522 (November 27, 1761), which was published by A. L. Brisk, *Sefer Helkat ha-Mehokek* (Jerusalem 1909), beginning, fol. 24 §30.

5610 (1850).[28] A Haim [Shalom] Ma'ali ha-Cohen edited *Sefer ha-Mevakesh* by Shem Tov Falaquera at The Hague in 1778. Perhaps he is identical with a member of a rabbinical court in Egypt. Mordecai ha-Levy [b. Aaron?] became one of the most famous rabbis in Jerusalem. He was called "ha-Melitz" for his knowledge of languages, and edited *Ishei ha-Shem Hilkhot ha-Ramban ve-Hidushei ha-Ritba al Massekhet Nedarim we-Nimukei Yosef le-Massekhot Ketubot u-Nedarim* (Leghorn 1795). He was chief rabbi of Jerusalem in 1806 and left for Istanbul, where he died the following year. Hisquiau Bahlul, a well-known rabbi in Jerusalem, would die on June 10, 1807; on his epitaph in the cemetery on the Mount of Olives, published by Asher Leib Brisk, Bahlul is called *he-Hakham ha-Shalem ha-Rav ha-Kollel.*[29]

The proposed *rosh*, Haim-Yeruham Nissim Wilna, was born in Jerusalem c. 1703, the son of the kabbalist Jacob b. Benjamin Wolf Wilna. The latter belonged to the circle of Judah Hassid, who immigrated to Jerusalem in 1700. When the Ashkenazi community, indebted to Turks and Arabs, broke down and disappeared from the Holy City after the burning of its synagogue on 8 Heshvan 5481 (November 9, 1720), the family left for Safed. After his father's death Wilna went to Istanbul where he corrected the *Tikkune Zohar* prepared by his father: the book was printed at Ortaköy in 1739. In the following years he journeyed as an emissary in Europe and wrote approbations for many rabbinic works. Taking the side of Jonathan Eybeschutz in the latter's conflict with Jacob Emden, Wilna sent him written testimonials in his favor, which Eybeschutz published in *Luhot ha-Edut, Tabulae testimonii, Apologia contra accusationes cum documentis* (Altona 1755). It seems that he was the head of the small Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem. Wilna, a very learned scholar and man of action, the first *rosh* of the Portuguese yeshiva Magen David, was an Ashkenazi rabbi.[30]

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[28] Cf. Frumkin, *History of the Rabbis*, vol. 4 Supplement, p. 89; I found no "historical documents" quoted there.

[29] On Haim Ma'ali ha-Cohen, see Benayahu, *Rabbi Y. H. D. Azulai*, pp. 259, 343, 411; on Mordecai Ha-Levi see Frumkin, *History of the Rabbis*, vol. 3, pp. 187–89; Yaari, *Emissaries*, pp. 561–63, Benayahu, *Rabbi Y. H. D. Azulai*, pp. 450, 451, 478; on Hisquiau Bahlul, see Frumkin, *History of the Rabbis*, vol. 3, p. 213; Brisk, *Sefer Helkat ha-Mehokek*, no. 59 fol. 47v.

[30] Frumkin, *History of the Rabbis*, vol. 3, pp. 64–65; M. Benayahu, "The Attitude of Rabbi Jacob Wilna and His Son towards the Sabbataic Movement" [in Hebrew], in *Yerushalayim Review for Eretz-Israel Research* 4 (1953), ed. M. Ish-Shalom, M. Benayahu, A. Shohet, pp. 203–14. Benayahu's remark, "We know that he was accounted with the *hakhamim* of the Sephardic people in Jerusalem," is fully documented and we only

The invoices of money were effective by means of the *poliça*, that is to say the bill of exchange coming annually from Amsterdam to Istanbul for sending to the four cities: Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias. However, the instructions from Amsterdam did not include money for renting a house for Magen David, some fifty guilders per year, nor for the purchase of the needed furniture: tables, cushions, and bed mattresses. Ephraim b. Juda Navon and Shem Tov Gabay, the temporary executive body, did not yet know the definitive amount of money they would need, so they could not, at this time, establish the *aspaca* [stipend] of each *hakham* in the yeshiva. On this point, too, they waited for the decisions to come from Amsterdam.

Magen David would not officially be open until the final regulations were written in Latin Script, *ha-tenaïm mefurashim beer hetev bi-khetav ha-lo'azim*, i.e. in Spanish or in Portuguese, which would arrive to Istanbul, followed by another letter to the *pekidim* for the Land of Israel, and yet one more to both our rabbis, confirming or refusing their project and their personal appointment as *hakhamim* of Magen David.

For the time being, Navon and Gabay, on their own decision, opened the yeshiva on *rosh hodesh* Elul of that year, 5527 (August 26, 1767). In order to supply the requested money, they drew funds from the budget of the *kollelut*, the general community of Jerusalem. We must assume either that the two rabbis had the right to use the finances of Jerusalem as they liked, or that the Istanbul *pekidim* had allowed them to temporarily allocate communal funds to the benefit of Magen David.[31]

To Jerusalem they apparently sent another letter—primarily in Hebrew, though partly in Judeo-Spanish—without naming the recipient, address or date. We assume that they were writing to Raphael Semach b. Simon and Yom Tov Algazi. Certainly after July 30, 1767, *after* they had written to Amsterdam, Navon and Gabay reported to their Jerusalem colleagues about the situation. Their letter responded to another one that had arrived from Jerusalem to Istanbul. Curiously, it declared that the opening of Magen David would take place on *rosh hodesh* Tishri instead of Elul, as in the letter to Amsterdam. It seems that they found no alternative other than postponing the opening of

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add here new evidence. On the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem, see M. Benayahu, "The Ashkenazi Community in Jerusalem 1647–1747" [in Hebrew], *Sefunot* 2 (1958), pp. 128–89.

[31] It is my intention to publish this Hebrew letter, which is kept in Amsterdam, GAA PA 334, no. 801.

the new yeshiva. Even so, it is difficult to be certain that their instructions arrived in Jerusalem before the second date. The ship chartered by the Istanbul community for pilgrims and immigrants, which set sail on July 18 with Joshua from Zalutz aboard, was in Jaffa on September 26, 1764, after more than two months at sea![32]

The letter preserved the regulations of David de Pinto but added one more: "quien no puede estar en otra jesiba" [nobody will be allowed to be in another yeshiva], in order to prevent simultaneous membership in more than one yeshiva, a condition impossible to implement in light of the *hakhamim*'s persistent attempts to receive more than one stipend. One article in the new regulations explicitly dictated that, according to the custom in Jerusalem, the *hakhamim* should elect a new *rosh* after the death of the first one. The *dayyan* [rabbinical judge] was also not allowed to accept any additional appointment. Other changes occur in the list of the scholars. Beneath the line of the *rosh*, three lines remain blank before a new sequence of names: Haim Ma'ali ha-Cohen, Mordecai ha-Levy, Shabbetai Shami, Hisquiau Bahlul, Haim b. Adam, Jacob Barzani, Isaiah b. Furado. In the new list we no longer find Isaiah b. Furado and Isaac Shami, but a new name, Jacob Barzani, appears. It seems that, for unknown reasons, the two missing scholars and the two rabbis who were staying in Istanbul would not be able to study in Jerusalem on 1 Tishri 5427. In order to replace them during the first term, Navon and Gabay inserted, in the last rank, Jacob Barzani. Concerning the others, they explained in their letter: "y a los tres que manquan ay tres talmide Hakhamim resumim que van de aqui, de Istanbul para que cumpla sus faltas meteran a Hakhbi Bekhor ha-Levy, y a Hakhbi Jilibi Bahhal, a Hakhbi Abraham ha-Levy" [and in place of the three missing scholars, three registered *talmidei hakhamim* from here, Istanbul].

Amsterdam's Authority: Ultimate Resort?

The regulations established by the rabbis differed from those written in the codicil. The first item added the condition that the yeshiva would be run "according to the custom of the other yeshivot in Jerusalem." It followed the general custom in the Holy City. Learning was to take place on Saturdays too, but the obligation to learn "sem excepsão de

[32] A. Yaari, *Travels to Eretz-Israel from the Middle Ages to the Beginning of the Return to Zion* [in Hebrew] (Ramat Gan 1976), pp. 391–92.

dia festivo e mesmo o santo dia de Kipur" [not excepting holidays, even on Yom Kippur] disappeared in the revised edition. Prayers for the founder and his family would depend on the arrival of the *pinkas shel ha-niftarim ve-ha-hayyim* [the record of living and dead persons]. The obligation to fast on the anniversary of the death of the founder and his wife disappeared in the same manner. Instead of the complicated regulations concerning missing people and punishments including expulsion, the *rosh* had power, ultimately, to dismiss a *hakham* or scholar who missed two days of classes without good reason and without appointing a substitute for those days. That power no longer depended on a query sent to Amsterdam and of the return of a positive answer. When the head of the yeshiva died, the *hakhamim* were to notify Amsterdam's *parnassim* of their candidate for his successor. The *parnassim* would request the agreement of the founder's heirs before sending the final appointment. On the other hand, the obligation of following a process of the same complexity, "in case of some change that should be necessary for the right order and existence of the school, the *rosh* will not have the power to make any innovation without approval from the *parnassim* of the Holy Congregation of Talmud Tora and my brother or his descendents." The prohibition notified to the *rosh* from judging on cases pertaining to the justice of the country admitted two exceptions for the benefit of Navon and Gabay, who had been active at the rabbinical court for many years: they were allowed to judge only when there was no *kevi'ut kelali*, i.e. the regular lessons and the general lecture in the yeshiva.

The budget omitted the annual cost of renting the building for Magen David (some fifty patacas) and the purchase of the furniture, tables, cushions, etc. The Amsterdam *parnassim* were requested to provide a supplement from the funds that they managed.

The testator instructed the Jerusalem *parnassim* and *pekidim* to read aloud these conditions to the *hakhamim* of the yeshiva in order that they take upon themselves the obligation of obeying them. Both rabbis were to give this communication to the *hakhamin* and ask them to take an oath. But since an oath was a serious thing, and breaking an oath could bring strong punishments, they thought it more advisable to replace the oath with a *kinyan*, a deed used for commercial transactions: the rabbis would direct their complete attention to the orderly function of the yeshiva, in strict observance of the regulations.

Are we confronted with a mandatory set of conditions presented by the Jerusalem rabbinate, modifying the testamentary regulations in

order to conform it to the custom of the Holy City? Or is this proof of the complete dependence of Jerusalem on Amsterdam?

As a matter of fact, the rabbis Navon and Gabay agreed that they would follow Amsterdam's instructions, particularly regarding financial matters. At the same time, however, they introduced changes into the original regulations and presented Amsterdam with a *fait accompli*: the yeshiva would begin to function in the month following their letter, without further delay. They took possession of the powers pertaining both to the *parnassim* and to the *pekidim* of Jerusalem, and they received their own appointments from the *pekidim* of Istanbul's *Va'ad*.

Every *hakham* signed his personal compliance to the regulations and sent it to Amsterdam. Nevertheless, they were not allowed to demand anything (i.e. money) before the final answer from Amsterdam arrived. With the rabbis Raphael Semach b. Simon and Yom Tov Algazi, who were put in charge of implementing the Istanbul plan, the community of Jerusalem authorized a *kevi'ut ara'i* [temporary appointment] for the first semester of Magen David. Obviously, the decision emanated from Istanbul: in Jerusalem, the two eminent figures of the rabbinate acted according to their instructions.

Curiously, we don't see Raphael Behar Samuel Meyuhas (1695–1771), the *rav ha-kollel* (what would later be called the Rishon le-Zion) during this period (1756–1771). His signature appeared first at the end of the *haskama* to the book by his son Mordecai Joseph Meyuhas, *Sha'ar ha-Mayyim* (Salonica 1768). The reason is doubtless that the elderly *rav ha-kollel*—he was seventy-two in 1767—was sick for many years, as he himself explained in the foreword of his book, *Pri ha-Adama*, and was unable to put the plan to execution.[33] Therefore, sitting in Istanbul and hoping to return soon to the Holy City, both rabbis, Navon and Gabay, appointed their colleagues in Jerusalem as following: "Their Eminences, our master Rabbi Semach Ibn Simon and our master Rabbi Yom Tov Algazi, with the conjunction of the *pekidim* ready to the Holy service

[33] There is a mistake in the printed form of the *haskama* to *Sha'ar ha-Mayyim*: instead of *haskamot* is printed *hakdamot*; after the signature of Raphael Behar Samuel Meyuhas come those of Abraham Behar Almosnino, Joseph b. Jovya, Haim Yeruham Nissim Wilna—the first *rosh* of Magen David—and Raphael Moses Bulla. On the *rav ha-kollel*, his life, writings, and his sickness, see A. Ben-Yaacob, *Jerusalem within Its Walls: The History of the Meyuhas Family* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1976), pp. 90–146; cf. J. Barnai, "Leadership of the Jewish Community in Jerusalem"; idem, "The Status of the 'General Rabbinate' in Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period" [in Hebrew], *Cathedra* 13 (1979), pp. 47–70.

will make a great effort in all the manners." The kabbalist Raphael Semach Ibn Simon signed many rabbinical decisions and communal agreements—e.g. the *takkanah* upon the appointment of judges in 1760—he acted as *rosh* of the yeshiva Hessed le-Abraham u-Vinyan Shelomoh and, in 1767, as the chief official in Jerusalem.[34]

Israel-Jacob b. Yom Tov Algazi, Yom Tov Algazi's father, was *rav ha-kollel* of Jerusalem (1755–1756). Born in Izmir in 1727, he learned at the yeshiva Beth Ya'akov Pereyra. He became *hakham* of the yeshiva Neve Shalom and member of the mystical brotherhood Ahavat Shalom. His major works were published much later, *Get Mekushar* (1767), *Shemot Yom Tov* and *Hilkhot Yom Tov* (1794), *Kedushat Yom Tov* (1843). From 1777 until his death in 1802, he served as *rav ha-kollel* of Jerusalem.[35]

We know that the *pekidim* of Istanbul added the rabbis Navon and Gabay to the yeshiva's roster, since the Amsterdam's *parnassim* answered on Tishri 13 5528, October 6, 1767, first to the *Muy Illustres señores Diputados de las Cuatro* Kehilot *de Tierra S[an]ta de la Nasion Portuguesa en Constantinopola*, and secondly to the *Muy Eminentes señores Hahamim R. Efraim de Jeuda Navon y* Ribi *Sem Tob Gabay*, Dayanim *de la S[an]ta Ciudad de Jerusalaim y de presente en Constantinopola*.

We know that these letters arrived to Amsterdam rather quickly, only two months after being sent; a letter usually took a year to arrive at its destination. Answering it, on Tuesday October 6, 1767, Abraham de Isaac de Mora and Abraham de Moseh Mendes da Costa, *parnassim* of Amsterdam, put the final touch to this lengthy process. They wrote their last decisions not in Portuguese—the customary language of their correspondence—but in Spanish, the lingua franca in Jerusalem. They invested our rabbis with the task of transmitting the entire package to the *parnassim y pequidim de la Santa Ciudad de Jerusalaim*. They took notice of the involvement of the Istanbul *pekidim* and of the failure of Jacob de Corona, in spite of his remaining in Amsterdam, because of his advanced age. They congratulated the two temporary trustees and kept them in the number of the *hakhamim* in the yeshiva with the

[34] The *takkanah* of 1760 is published in Shaul Elyashar, *Sefer ha-Takkanot we-Haskamot u-Minhagim* (Jerusalem 1883), fols. 47v–48r. For the yeshiva, see Frumkin, *History of the Rabbis*, vol. 3, p. 44. On Raphael Semah Ibn Simon, see Barnai, *Jews in Palestine*, pp. 129, 132, 255 n. 149, 267 n. 10.

[35] M.-D. Gaon, *Jews of the East in Palestine* [in Hebrew], vol. 2 (Jerusalem 1937), p. 42; Yaari, *Emissaries of Eretz Israel*, pp. 535–40; Benayahu, *Rabbi H. Y. D. Azulai*, pp. 353–54; C. Roth, "Algazi, Yom Tob ben Israel-Jacob (1727–1802)," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v.

exceptional faculty of being *dayyanim* in the town. They took note of and accepted the rabbis' omission of the fast on the anniversary of the death of David de Pinto and his wife, "in order to not get the *rosh* and the *talmidei hakhamim* in trouble", and commanded, instead of the fast, that in these days a special meditation be made for the rest of their soul." Moreover, they would make an *ascaba* for Aron de Joseph de Pinto and a *misheberakh* for his wife Sara de Pinto and their sons Joseph de Aron de Pinto, David Hisquiau de Pinto, Moseh de Aron de Pinto, Jacob Binjamin de Pinto, Immanuel, and Aron de Pinto. De Mora and da Costa enclosed one hundred and fifty pesos for the purchase of books and seventy for tables, cushions, and bed mattresses, but they reduced the cost of renting the house to twenty pesos. They ordered the *señores diputados de Tierra Santa* to make the payment of two hundred and twenty pesos, the *rosh* receiving thirty-four pesos, the *hakhamim* eighteen pesos, except Navon and Gabay who received twenty-one pesos, and no more than six pesos for the salary of the *samas.* In spite of his modest income, the samas was invested with a new task: to compile a library catalogue in two copies in order that the *rosh* would have one at his disposal. Instead of the election of a new *rosh* by the scholars of the yeshiva, they introduced a change: "the gentlemen *parnassim* of the Holy congregation of Jerusalem will elect another eminent and worthy rabbi to that function with the approval of Amsterdam and the heirs."

The regulations were written down "in the records of the Señores of the Holy City of Jerusalem," and one copy, with the signatures of the members, was sent to Amsterdam.

At the letter's end, Abraham de Mora and Abraham Mendes da Costa expressed a motivation different from that of the testator, who was interested in his own salvation: "That, with your pious prayers, the Divine Majesty send to us our Redeemer and keep you for many years."[36]

In the end there were four successive sets of bylaws: the Portuguese version by David de Pinto in his codicil (September 21, 1750), the Hebrew (July 30 1767), the Judeo-Spanish, and, a short time later, the

[36] Both letters were copied in the *Copiador de Cartas*, GAA PA 334, no. 94, pp. 186–87 and 187–92. I published the second in my "*Yeshivot* hiérosolymites au XVIII[e] siècle," in *Les juifs au regard de l'histoire. Mélanges en l'honneur de Bernhard Blumenkranz*, ed. G. Dahan (Paris 1985), pp. 324–26, and reprinted in G. Nahon, *Métropoles et périphéries sefarades d'Occident.*, pp. 443–46, with the same mistake in the date: instead of September 6, 1767, read October 6, 1767.

Spanish form (October 6, 1767). We must consider also the three lists of scholars who were to be counted as members of Magen David.

Conclusion

Throughout this lengthy process, the sovereignty of the Portuguese community of Amsterdam seemed complete since it had at its disposal the income inherited from David de Pinto at his death in 1761. Amsterdam had initiated the formation of Magen David, and it made the final point on October 6, 1767. But the Amsterdam *parnassim* still had to appeal to the Istanbul *pekidim* for carrying out the project and, later, for sending the requested funds. Their attempts at direct negotiation, first with Jerusalem and then with Rabbi Jacob Askenazi de Corona during his stay in Amsterdam, did not succeed. Only when Istanbul took over did matters begin to proceed quickly. While in Istanbul during the summer of 1767, Rabbis Navon and Gabay, commissioned by the Istanbul *pekidim*, picked up the project and tried to impose it on Jerusalem. They had to draft the project in accordance with the custom of the Holy City, to increase its income, reduce the compulsory duties of the *rosh* and *hakhamim*, as well as to increase their own rights and powers. Without a doubt, under the authority of Istanbul they confronted Amsterdam with a *fait accompli*, since the first semester of Magen David opened before the final decision was made in Amsterdam. Amsterdam yielded on some points, while nonetheless restoring other items according to the stipulations of De Pinto's will, thus reaffirming its wounded authority.

Should we attribute the *coup de force*, presented by the opening of the academic semester fall—winter 1767–1768 to the credit of our two Jerusalem rabbis helping themselves with the funds of the Holy City, i.e. with the rabbinical power in Jerusalem? It must be emphasized here that their authority derived from the *pekidim* (*los señores de aqui*), that this authority derived from the Istanbul *pekidim*, and that they received the approval of Amsterdam and its funding through the good will of Istanbul. The reports and receipts originating from Magen David also passed through Istanbul.

The journey from potentiality to action, originating in the pious and personal intentions of David de Pinto, reveals the necessary cooperation between The Hague, Amsterdam, Istanbul, and Jerusalem, in order to build an academic and national body. Four languages were used

during this process—Portuguese, Hebrew, Judeo-Spanish, and Spanish—though the authoritative text of Magen David's regulations was written in Spanish, in Latin script. Between West and East, regarding the language, the West prevailed.

As regards the organization of the yeshiva in Jerusalem, particularly concerning its scholars, we have two distinct accounts: one from Amsterdam and one from Jerusalem, the latter being the authoritative account. As a matter of fact, the deal was packed off by Istanbul and Jerusalem, but the decision belonged entirely to Istanbul.

For further study into the birth of Magen David, we have plenty of documents, mainly found in the Municipal Archives of Amsterdam and, for the nineteenth century, in Meir Benayahu's collection. In 1767, the story of the Jerusalem Magen David was only at its beginning. Let us hope that further research of this topic will be pursued in the future.

Documents

1

David de Pinto's codicil
The Hague, September 21, 1750[37]
GAA PA 334, no. 801, fols. 12–18.

Em nome del Dio Bendito,

Eu abaixo firmado, declaro por estas que, considerando o quanto grato he nos olhos do Supremo Criador a meditação do estudo da Sagrada Leÿ, particularmente em Terra Santa, haviendo a meu pezar situado pouco tempo no curso de m[inh]a vida para o estudo sagrado, como he de obrigação a cada individuo, não obstante haver sempre assistido aos professores da Sagrada Leÿ e feito meldar[38] por minha intensão. Dezeijo ao mesmo tempo que, despois de meu falesimento, se prosigua huma meditasão expressa por m[inh]a alma e a de m[inh]a estimada consorte D[onh]a Clara de Pinto, afim que o Supremo Juez recolle

[37] The copy of the notarial deed bears the indication of the year 1751—obviously a mistake, because only in 1750 did the Jewish date 20 Elul correspond with September 21.

[38] A Judeo-Spanish verb, which here means to learn together in a yeshiva.

nossas almas no eterno descanso quando fer servido privarmos desta vida momentanea, e que sirva esta m[inh]a disposisão para espiasão de nossos pecados, e merecer a eterna gloria, unico objecto e desvelo pelo que aspira todo bom judeo.

Para cuyo efeito ordeno em meo codisilio passado neste dia ante o notario Johannes Sÿthoff que, falesendo antes de m[inh]a estimada consorte, entregue anualmente aos SS[enho]res *Parnassim* & *Gabay* do *K[aal] K[ados]* de *T[almud] T[ora]*[39] de Amsterdam florins seis centos para se remeter a Terra Santa. E despois de seis dias, deverão os executores de meo testamento entregar a d[it]os SS[enho]res *Parnassim* competente somma em obrigaçoems a cargo da geralidade, afim que, dos interesses fação anualmente remessa a Terra Santa, na seguinte forma, suplicando a d[it]os SS[enho]res *Parnassim* queirão admitir a administração deste legado anual, contando tres por cento pela administração para a *Sedaca*,[40] ficando estas obrigaçoems eternamente em poder de d[it]os s{enho]res e farão registrar no Livro de Termos do *K[aal] K[ados]* a cuyo fim lhes sera entregado logo despois de meo falesimento o presente papel, em virtud do qual suplico a d[it]os SS[enho]res se sirvão logo escrivir a os SS[enho]res *Parnassim* & *Pequidim*[41] do *K[aal] K[ados]* de Jerusalem com suplica que fação escolla com consensia & temor de D[eu]s de dez estudantes, pesoas de mayor siencia e devota vida, com hua pesoa eminente para servir de *Ros* e hum *samas* no *esguer* que se fundara em Jerusalaim com o nome de *Magen David*, seyão pessoas que abitão em Jerusalaim ou fazelos vir de Saphet, Hebron ou Thebaria segun acharem d[it]os SS[enho]res convenientes para o establesimento deste *esguer*,[42] prescriviendolhes as seguintes *escamot.*[43]

1. Que o *Ros*[44] e os estudantes e o *samas* deverão asistir todo o dia no ditto *esguer* sem exepsão de dia festivo para fazer a seguinte meditação; e mesmo no santo dia de *Kipur* se meldara por pouco que seya. Meldarão *Guemara*, *Bet Joseph*, *Rabbenu Mosseh*, *Rasi*, *Misnayot*, *Zoar* ou *Resit Hogma*, como milhor achar conveniente o s[enh]or *Ros*, reglando

[39] Administrators and treasurer of the Holy Congregation of Talmud Torah, i.e. the Jewish Portuguese Community in Amsterdam.

[40] Hebrew for "charity," referring to the charity-fund of the Congregation.

[41] Heb., "officer, chief."

[42] Heb., "closed place," i.e. classroom for learning, this was the Sephardic designation for a yeshiva in the Holy Land; see E. Ben Jehuda, *Thesaurus totius Hebraitatis et veteris et recentioris*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1913), p. 1135.

[43] Heb., "agreements, stipulations."

[44] Heb., "head (of the yeshiva)."

as oras para a meditação de cada couza, & sabados & dias festivos meldarão *Hen Jahacob.*[45]

2. Despois de cada meditação a pela manha & tarde declarão *ascaba*[46] por mi e por m[inh]a consorte despois de seu falesimento, como por meos pays e SS[enho]res Joseph de Jacob de Pinto e Ribca de Pinto da Costa que gozem de gloria, como por meos irmãos Aron de Joseph de Pinto e Sara de Pinto e seos fillhos despois de seos falesimentos e durante suas vidas *Miseberach.*[47]

3. Que no dia que corresponde a meo falesimento e de m[inh]a consorte, he m[inh]a vontade que jejuem os estudantes e o *Ros* todos os annos e não podrão ser escuzados, que por enfermidade ou motivo sufisiente que lhes impedir.

4. Em cazo que faltarem os estudantes de asistir no *esguer*, não sendo por falta de saude dois dias consecutivos, não sendo por falta de saude, devera ter outro sugueito capas como elle, e não o fazendo, ficara despedido, e o s[enho]r *Ros* anteriormente lhe fara amoestar atenda a sua obrigação, e não obedecendo, fara eleição de outro sugueito capas e benemerito para cumprir o numero, de que dara pronto aviso aos SS[enho]res *Parnassim* do *K[aal] K[ados]* de *T[almud] T[ora]* de Amsterdam.

5. Que durante o tempo que estiver meldando no *esguer*, não sera permitido de discurir em couzas indifferentes que não tenhão relação com o cazo que se esta tratando, afim de não comfundir o estudo e distraerse do asumpto, e susedendo lhes impoza o s[enho]r *Ros*, silensio, e não obedesendo, ficara o tal escluido tres meses do *esguer* sem gozar *aspaca.*[48] Os estudantes, conjuntamento com o s[enho]r *Ros*, deverão de viver com boa irmandade, profitando hum do saber do outro, comportandose como requerem sugeitos de tão devota vida, agiendo em tudo com temor de D[eu]s, procurando adiantarse no estudo sagrado afim que profitem os que acudirem a d(it)o *esguer.* E havendo alguma queixa

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[45] People will learn gemara, i.e. Babylonian Talmud; Joseph Caro's codification *Bet Yosef* (ed. *Princeps*, Venice 1550); Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*; Rashi's commentaries on Talmud; the *Mishna*; the *Zohar* or Eliahu b. Moses de Vidas' *Reshit Hokhma* (Venice 1579); and Jacob b. Salomon Ibn Haviv, *Eyn Ya'akov* (Istanbul 1511).

[46] Hebrew prayer for the dead.

[47] The opening words of a blessing for living people: "He who blessed (our forefathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, may bless…)"; see A. Yaari, "The מי שבירך Prayers; History and Texts" [in Hebrew], *Kirjath Sepher* 33 (1957/58), pp. 118–30, 233–250; D. Y. Cohen, "Notes and Supplements to A. Yaari's Paper, 'The מי שבירך Prayers'" [in Hebrew], ibid. 40 (1963/64), pp. 542–59.

[48] Heb., "allocation, stipend."

de seo comportamento de qualquier dos estudantes, e com evidencia constar ao s[enho]r *Ros*, tera faculdade de despedilo e admitir outra pessoa capas e benemerito em consiencia e temor de D[eu]s como tãobem em cazo de falesimento de algum dos estudantes.

6. Que falecendo o s[enho]r *Ros* do *esguer*, apontarão os etudantes hua pessoa eminente para ocupar este lugar, de que darão aviso aos SS[enho]res *Parnassim* do *K[aal] K[ados]* de *T[almud] T[ora]* os quaes, com aprovação de meo irmão Aron de Joseph de Pinto (e por seo falesimento seo filho mas velho, em falta seo irmão mais velho e assim successivamente os niettos de d[it]o meo irmão) e em sua comp[anh]a farão eleição de hum *Ros* de d[it]o *esguer* que acharem benemerito para ocupar ditto cargo, e da sua resolução darão avizo a Jerusalaim a os estudantes do *esguer* como taobem em cazo de algua reformação que for necessario fazer nestas *ascamot* para a boa ordem e existencia do *esguer*, e não tera faculdade o s[enho]r *Ros* de fazer innovação algua sem aprovação dos SS[enho]res *Parnassim* do *K[aal] K[ados]* de *T[almud] T[ora]* e meo irmão ou seus descendentes.

7. Que o *samas* que for admitido em dito esguer devera ser sugeito de estudo e que possa meldar com os demais, e tera obrigação de asistir diariamente todo o tempo que se meldar e entregar algum livro que careserem para a meditação e os livros que ouverem, que tocarem em propriedade a o *Esguer*, tera conta delles e sera responsavel a o que faltar.

8. Que não podrão desidir algum *din* que toca a o jues da tera para evitar todo inconveniento que desso podria resultar.

9. E para subsistencia deste *Esguer* remeterão os SS[enho]res *Parnassim* do *K[aal] K[ados]* de *T[almud] T[ora]* de Amsterdam anualmente P[ataca]s 226 para se repartirem pelo *Ros* a saber: a cada estudante p[ataca]s 10, são p[ataca]s 10; ao s[enho]r *Ros*, p[ataca]s 40, ao *samas*, p[ataca]s 6; e em anno de 13 luas se remeterão p[ataca]s 247 a saber: P[ataca]s 45 ao s[enho]r *Ros*, a cada estudante p[ataca]s 19 1/2, são p[ataca]s 19, 5; a ao *samas* p[ataca]s 7, de que remeterão anualmente os recibos prontame[ent]tes os recibos aos SS[enho]res *parnassim* para que conste a distribuisão deste dinheiro.

10. Os SS[enho]res *Parnassim* y *Pequidim* do *K[aal] K[ados]* de Jerusalaim, havendo feito eleição do *Ros* e dez estudantes e hum *samas*, dos sugeitos mais eminentes com temor de D[eu]s, lhes leerão estas *Escamot*, as quaes se obrigarão de cumprir en suas consencias pontualmente sem discrepansia alguma, mediante a *aspacot* que se lhes pagarão estipuladas no artigo 9, e logo remeterão copia das *ascamot* firmadas por todos aos

SS[enho]res *Parnassim* do *K[aal] K[ados]* de *T[almud] T[ora]* e que se obrigão a cumprir todo o ensima e terão copia no *esguer* destas *ascamot*, e com isto satisfarão com m[inh]a vontade e zelo com que faço esta instituisão, e darão sessego a m[inh]a alma. E cazo que os SS[enho]res *Parnassim* do *K[aal] K[ados]* de Jerusalaim acharem necessario algums livros de meditação do estudo sagrado em d[it]o *esguer*, comprara o s[enho]r *Ros* os livros que careser athe a somma de p[ataca]s 150, de que mandara hua lista que ficara eternamente no *esguer*, cuyo montar remeterão os SS[enho]res *Parnassim de* Amsterdam a Jerusalaim, os quaes dezeyo & he m[inh]a vontade paguen meos herdeiros (não obstante não haver feito mensão en m[inh]a disposisão) como taobem o que exceder anualmente dos f. 600 destinados p[a]ra esta boa obra, para o pagamento das *aspacot* e administração para a *sedaca*, seya por minoração dos interesses das obrigaçoems ou quelquier outro accidente, e nos annos de 12 luas reservarão SS[enho]res *Parnassim* a que saber dos f 600 para suprir o que falta nos annos de 13 luas.

Todo o qual seya em louvor de D[eu]s e em adiantamente do estudo da Sagrada Ley que he meio unico objecto e que me seya aseito diante do Supremo Criador. E por ser asim m[inh]a intensão o firmo de m[inh]a mão em Haya 21 settembre 1751 que corresponde a 20 *elul* 5510 (estava firmado)

David de Josseph de Pinto

Esta conforme con seu original que, a pedimento de D[onh]a Clara de Pinto, viuda do d[it]o Bemaventurado de David de Joseph de Pinto, fica incorporado no meis protocolos entre los actos deste mes. Haya 22 de abril de 1761 a[nno]s.

J. Sÿthoff notaris publico 1761.

2

Registration of David de Pinto's will at London (August 22, 1750)
May 14, 1761–June 22, 1761
Kew, Public Record Office, PROB 11 4866

In the margin: David de Joseph de Pinto otherwise David de Pinto

On this 22 day of August 1750. Before me, John Sythaff notary publik of the Court of Holland, admitted dwelling at the Hague and in the presence of the witnesses hereinafter named appeared Mr David de Joseph de Pinto dwelling also here unto me notary known, who declared that, having some effects in England and Great Britain has, by these presents, appointed and ordained Mrs Clara de Pinto his wife to be his sole executrix and administratrix of all and whatsoever effects or funds at the time of his death should or might have in the above mentioned kingdom of England and Great Britain, granting unto her full power and authority for her, immediately after the death of the said appearer, all the said effects or funds none excepted to have in administer, sell and transfer, and the product thereof to receive and to give acquittances for the same, requiring that after the death of the said appearer, letters of administration may be granted in the usual manner. Thus done, signed and declared at the Hague in the presence of the hereinder written, signed witnesses on the day month and year first before written.

David de Joseph de Pinto
Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of no Marcus Sythoff, J. Abr. Brimpon, J. Sythoff not. pub. 1750.

I John Dacosta notary public dwelling in London, by legal authority duly admitted and sworn do certify and attest the aftergoing to be a true and faithful translation of the Dutch original hereinto annexed, done according to the best of my skill and knowledge in both langauges, London 14th May 1761

John Dacosta, not. pu. 1761.

This will was proved at London before the Knight aborshipfull Edward Simpson, doctor of Laws, Master Keeper or commissary of the

prorogative Court of Canterbury, lawfully instituted on the twenty second day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty one by the oath Clara de Pinto widow the heirt of the deceased and sole executrix named in the said will as to his goods, chattels and credits lying and being in the kingdom of England and Great Britain to whom administration was granted for the purposes aforesaid but no further or otherwise, she having been first sworn by commission only to administer.

3

June 26 1767, Amsterdam,

The Amsterdam *parnassim* Aron de Joseph de Pinto & Abraham de Moseh Mendes da Costa, to the Jerusalem *pekidim* and *hakhamim*
GAA PA 334, no. 94, pp. 179–80

Jerusalaim, Muy illustres ss[eño]res *Pequidim* y eminentes ss[eño]res *Hahamim* del *K[aal]K[ados]* de Jerusalaim,

El s[eño]r Joseph de Aron de Pinto que actualm[en]te es Presidente deste *K[aal]K[ados]*, siendo heredero y executor del testamento de su tio, el s[eño]r David de Joseph de Pinto (q[ue] D[eu]s tiene), cuya viuda ultimamente fue D[eu]s servido recoger p[or] mejor vida, pide y ruega a Vmds no dilatar mas en responder finalmente de que forma se podra dar cumplimiente a la devota intension deste bien aventurado s[eño]r que goza gloria, tocante el establesimiento del *esguer* segun acargamos al s[eño]r *H[a]H[am]* de Corona y escrivimos a Vmds ampliamente en varios tiempos, pues dicho s[eño]r siente… tantos años sin que fuesse pussible ponerlo por execusion; y por quanto aora, por falecimento de la s[eño]ra viuda, estan los s[eño]res del *Mahamad* mas encargados con esta manda y administrasion, suplicamos tambien quanto antes su respuesta de Vmds de este cazo.

4

6 October, 1767 Amsterdam,
The Amsterdam *parnassim* Abraham de Isaac de Meza & Abraham de Moseh Mendes da Costa to the *pekidim* of Istanbul.
GAA PA 334, no. 94 pp. 186–87

Muy Illustres ss[eño]res Diputados de las cuatro *Kehilot* de Tierra S[ant]a de la Nasión portugueza en Constantinopola.
Amst[erdam] 13 de Tisry 5528,

Ss[eño]res,

Recevimos las siempre estimadas de Vmds de 30 de Julio con avizo que, en virtud de n[uest]ras ordenes, hizieron luego remessa de los F[lorin]os 738 a las 4 *kehilot* de Tierra santa, que con el subsidio anual de f. 250 corientes p[ar]a el *K[ahal] K[ados]* Jerusalaim, hazen f. 2090. De cuya suma libraron un cambial a 8 %…a que recoximos prontamente y estimamos mucho que les vendra a manos con mucha brevedad d[ic]ha moneda p[ar]a que les sirva de ayuda y D[io]s les asista y conceda el alivio que caresen y a Vmds fuersas p[ar]a atender a las urgensias de la Santa Tierra y D[io]s aumente a todos p[ar]a que puedan contribuir segun la buena voluntad y permita la Magestad Divina que Vmds ayan sido escrittos en Livros de Vidas y sentensias buenas en este año nuevo segun de…les dezeamos

Vemos con mucho gusto lo que Vmds pusieron por obra con los ss[eño]es *seluchim* de Jerusalaim, R. Semtob Gabay y R. Efraim de Jeudah Nabon, tocante el establesim[ien]to de la *jesiba Maguen David* por cuenta del s[eño]r David de Joseph de Pinto, que Dios tiene, pues que el s[eño]r *H[a]H[am]* de Corona assi se halla en essa, siendo insierto el tiempo que buelva a su caza, no es possible ponga en regla la devota intension deste diffunto como prometió y ubiera hecho mucho mejor prevenirnos de la impussibilidad, de modo que si puede ser del numero de d[ic]ha *Jesiba*, no siendo justo dilatarlo mas, lo que se sirvian Vmds remostrar a dicho s[eño]r H[a]H[am] de Corona, y haviendo examinado los articulos que dichos ss[eño]res *seluchim* proponen, los aprovamos en comp[ania] del s[eño]r Joseph de Aron de Pinto como executor de dicho testamento, lo que avizanos en la incluza carta que se serviran Vmds entregar y recomendar la pronta execusion, y como caxetas p[ataca]s 150 p[ar)a comprar livros y p[ataca]s 70 p[ar)a colchones,

cuchines, mezas et cetera. Se sirviran Vmds remitir d[ic]has p[ataca]s 220 al s[eño]r *Ros a-Rab a-mubaq Ribi* Haim Jerucham Wilna o a la disposision de los dos ss[eño]res *dayanim* que se hallan en essa como mejor conviniar p[ara] la pronta y buena execusion deste hecho. Cuya suma podran Vmds librar sobre nos, que sus firmas encontraron todo honor. Siendo lo que se ofrese quedamos rogando a D[io]s que de a Vmds muchos años.

Muy affectos servidores de Vmds,
Los *Parnassim* del *K[ahal] K[ados]* de *T[almud] T[ora]*, firmaron Abraham de Is[hac] de Meza, Abraham de Mos[eh] Mendes da Costa

FROM AMSTERDAM TO BOMBAY, BAGHDAD, AND CASABLANCA: THE INFLUENCE OF THE AMSTERDAM HAGGADAH ON HAGGADAH ILLUSTRATION AMONG THE JEWS IN INDIA AND THE LANDS OF ISLAM

Shalom Sabar

From Illuminated Manuscripts to Printed Illustrated Haggadot

The Passover Haggadah is the most widely illustrated book in Jewish history. When the first illustrated Haggadot appeared in Europe in the late thirteenth century, the idea to dedicate efforts and money to produce a costly illuminated parchment volume for the Seder night was hardly accidental. At the time, the illuminated manuscript flourished in European society, emerging as the main visual vehicle for expressing theological and other themes through the medium of painting. Wealthy Jewish patrons who wished to follow the cultural trends of their time faced a serious problem. On the one hand, the medieval Jewish tradition placed a high value on the written word and the book—producing a relatively large number of manuscripts. On the other hand, the artistic enhancement of sacred texts or the visual, in general, never received the special place awarded it in Christian society.[1] While Bibles represented the most widely-disseminated illustrated book among the general society,[2] Bible manuscripts received little, or at least far less, artistic

* See illustrations on pp. 498–517.

[1] For general introductions to medieval Hebrew book illumination and the influence of the "Second Commandment" on this art form, see: B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem 1974), pp. 13–39; J. Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting* (New York 1978), pp. 8–31. For selected opinions of medieval rabbinic authorities on the general issue of the visual in Judaism, see also K. P. Bland, *The Artless Jew: Medieval and Modern Affirmations and Denials of the Visual* (Princeton, New Jersey 2000).

[2] The primary reason for this popularity naturally stems from the fact that "The Bible, particularly the New Testament, was the principal religious text of the Christian Middle Ages in Europe and the source of many different compilations of passages for various liturgical purposes"; see R. G. Galkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1986), p. 16. Galkins arranged his book according to the type, use, and contents of manuscripts selected for illumination, and the different compilations of biblical texts occupy six of the book's ten chapters.

attention among the Jews.[3] Even the Jews of medieval Spain, who largely looked favorably on the practice of decorating sacred books,[4] generally avoided the illumination of their Bibles with figurative representations depicting biblical stories.[5]

Read at home in the intimate family circle, the Haggadah was found to be the most appropriate book to fill this gap. The illustrations of the Haggadot fulfilled the Passover commandment to tell (*ve-higgadeta*) the story and miracles of the Exodus from Egypt to all family members, children in particular.[6] Some medieval Spanish Haggadot begin their cycle of biblical miniatures with the story of the Creation—just like contemporary Christian Bibles;[7] actually the largest concentration of biblical episodes in a Hebrew book at the time is to be found in them.

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[3] I speak here of Bibles decorated with figurative or narrative biblical episodes (as Bibles with non-figurative decorations flourished early on, see below). The largest number of such Bibles emanate from thirteenth-fourteenth-century Ashkenaz (France and Germany), though the human figures in most of them are shown with distorted features; see Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 31 and pls. 23–25, 29, 31, 32, 37; Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting*, p. 22 and pls. 18–21. For a large selection of biblical images in medieval Hebrew codices (Bibles and other types of texts), see G. Sed-Rajna, *The Hebraic Bible in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts* (Tel Aviv 1987).

[4] Most noteworthy are the words of the Catalan Jewish scholar Profiat Duran (c. 1360–c. 1414): "The matter is also appropriate and required, I mean to beautify the Books of God, and purposefully to attend to their beauty, adornment, and loveliness. For just as God desired to beautify the place of His Temple with gold, silver, precious stones, and material delights, so too it is appropriate [to beautify] His sacred books…" (Duran, *Sefer Ma'aseh Efod* [Jerusalem 1970], p. 19; English translation according to Bland, 86). And cf. note 6, below.

[5] Two noted exceptions, with modest marginal biblical episodes, are the so-called Cervera Bible (Cervera 1300—Lisbon, Nat. Lib. Ms. 72), and the Kennicott Bible (La Coruña 1476; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 1), which are closely related to each other. See Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, pls. 6 and 17; Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting*, pl. 10. The large majority of Hebrew Bibles from Spain are decorated with the cultic implements of the Tabernacle (or Temple), and many other non-figurative decorations; see K. Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art between Islam and Christianity: The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (Leiden 2004).

[6] In this context, it is appropriate to quote again the recommendation of Profiat Duran, who, dealing with the best ways to study and memorize the stories of the Scripture in the classroom, wrote: "The contemplation and study of pleasing forms, beautiful images, and drawings broadens and stimulates the mind and strengthens its faculties" (Duran, *Sefer Ma'aseh Efod*, 19; English translation according to Gutmann, 9).

[7] See e.g. the famous fourteenth-century Sarajevo Haggadah (Sarajevo, National Museum). For a facsimile edition, see *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, introduction by E. Werber (Beograd 1985). For a comparison of the Sarajevo Creation cycle and Christian Bibles, see: H. R. Broderick, "Observations on the Creation Cycle of the Sarajevo Haggadah," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 47 (1984), pp. 320–31; K. Kogman-Appel and Sh. Laderman, "The *Sarajevo Haggadah*: The Concept of Creation *ex nihilo* and the Hermeneutical School behind It," *Studies in Iconography* 25 (2004), pp. 89–127.

Along with an ample selection of biblical episodes, including many that are not directly related to the Haggadah text, Haggadot were illustrated with miniatures depicting the Passover rituals, textual and fanciful illustrations, and eschatological miniatures expressing the yearning for better days.[8] In fact, Haggadah illustrations not only beautified and enhanced the popular book but also served to imbue it with new ideas and even complement "missing" parts of the text. Thus, for example, while the text emphatically avoids exalting or even mentioning the main hero of the Exodus story, namely Moses, the artists dedicated many miniatures to his figure, thereby compensating for the rabbis' attempt to belittle the leadership and acts of the human savior in the Haggadah. Additionally, while the texts in Haggadot from different places are basically the same, with only minor variations (however interesting), much more freedom was granted to the illustrations, which contain invaluable evidence for the daily life and practices of the various Jewish communities.[9] Moreover, some of the biblical illustrations reflect political events and the conditions of life under Christianity in various parts of Europe.[10] Illuminated Haggadah manuscripts thus emerged as the central artistic book in Jewish life and tradition.

With the invention of printing, the illustrated Haggadah became even more widespread and popular than it had been previously. Instead of a luxurious, single copy on parchment, which only a wealthy family could have commissioned, printing allowed the production of relatively inexpensive large editions. All the early printed Haggadot were illustrated with woodcuts—the favorite technique of early book illustration in Europe.[11] Several Haggadot produced in this technique became more

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[8] For a wide selection of the topics depicted in the Haggadot by subject matter, see M. Metzger, *La Haggada enluminée* (Leiden 1973).

[9] This topic has not been addressed properly in the literature. Some Sephardi Haggadot, for example, contain the only known images of synagogue-interiors in medieval Spain (the interiors of surviving synagogues in Spain were altered when they were turned into churches). For a preliminary study of the ritual practices in the Bird's Head Haggadah (Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/57), see B. Narkiss, "The Ritual Illustrations," in *The Bird's Head Haggada* (Jerusalem 1967), introductory volume, pp. 104–10.

[10] Cf. Sh. Sabar, "The Fathers Slaughter Their Sons: Depictions of the Binding of Isaac in Antiquity and in the Art of Medieval Ashkenaz" in *Yitzḥak Ayekah?—Isaac, Where Are You?*, ed. D. Lazar (in press).

[11] For surveys of the illustrations in printed Haggadot, see C. Roth, "The Illustrated Haggadah," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 7 (1965), pp. 37–56 (fuller version in Hebrew: *Areshet* 3 [1961], pp. 7–30); U. Schubert, *Jüdische Buchkunst*, vol. 2 (Graz 1992), pp. 39–81. For a large selection of illustrated printed Haggadot from the beginning of

popular than others, and thus played a decisive role in the development of the illustrated Haggadah. Among the most original and influential woodcut Haggadot are the Prague Haggadah of 1525 and two Italian editions: Mantua, 1560, and Venice, 1609.[12] The latter, which reflects best the spirit of the Italian High Renaissance and early Baroque,[13] appeared simultaneously in three editions. In each, the central Hebrew text is flanked by a translation into one of the languages spoken in the Venetian ghetto: Judeo-Italian, Judeo-German (Yiddish), and Judeo-Spanish (Ladino).[14] The Venice Haggadah thus could have been the ultimate edition—employing the languages spoken by most European Jews at the time, and accompanied by a series of attractive and innovative woodcuts. Moreover, the second edition of the Haggadah—issued in 1629 after the first was entirely sold out—contained the popular Haggadah commentary of Isaac Abrabanel, abridged especially for this edition by the noted Venetian rabbi, Leone Modena.[15] However, the supremacy of the multi-lingual Passover book printed by the leading and model community on the Lagoons lasted merely eighty-six years. While it continued to exert some influence, especially in Italy and among the Mediterranean Sephardim,[16] a new and even more attractive Haggadah took its place.

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printing until 1972, see Y. H. Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History: A Panorama in Facsimile of Five Centuries of the Printed Haggadah* (Philadelphia 1976).

[12] The three Haggadot appeared in facsimile editions accompanied by introductions: C. Wengrov, *Haggadah and Woodcut: An Introduction to the Passover Haggadah Completed by Gershom Cohen in Prague… 1526* (New York 1967); *Haggada di Mantova del 1560*, intro. R. Bonfil [in Hebrew and Italian] (Jerusalem 1970); *The Passover Haggadah, Venice 1609*, intro. B. Narkiss [in Hebrew and English] (Jerusalem 1974).

[13] See Sh. Sabar, "Messianic Aspirations and Renaissance Urban Ideals: The Image of Jerusalem in the Venice Haggadah, 1609," *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997/98), pp. 294–312.

[14] In addition to the aforementioned facsimile, see the sample pages reproduced in Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History*, pls. 44–55 (including some from the second edition, printed in Venice, 1629; both editions are reproduced from a Judeo-Italian issue of the Haggadah).

[15] Modena called his abridgement *Tzeli Eish*, which is a word-play on Abrabanel's original title, *Zevah Pesah*. Cf. Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History*, pl. 49; Sh. Sabar, "The Right Path for an Artist: The Approach of Leone da Modena to Visual Art," in *Hebraica hereditas: Studi in onore di Cesare Colafemmina*, ed. G. Lacerenza (Naples 2005), pp. 255–90, esp. 274 and fig. 15.

[16] Cf. Sabar, "Messianic Aspirations," pp. 310–12.

The Amsterdam Haggadah and Its Influence in Europe

In 1695, the flourishing Jewish community of Amsterdam sponsored the publication of a new, lavish Haggadah (fig. 1). In many ways, it carries on the model of the Venice Haggadah, trying to imitate and supersede it at the same time. Thus, though the Haggadah was printed at an Ashkenazi printing house (that of Asher Anshel ben Eliezer Chazan and Issachar Ber, ben Abraham Eliezer),[17] it addresses the two main Jewish populations of Amsterdam: Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Unlike the Venice Haggadah, the Amsterdam Haggadah contains instructions for the Seder in both Ladino and Yiddish in the same volume, along with two versions of the Grace after the Meals—the Ashkenazi *nusach* as well as the Sephardi.[18] Moreover, the page with the Seder signs (קדש ורחץ, כרפס...יחץ) contains a third Jewish language—Judeo-Italian (called here לשון לעז). As with its Venetian predecessor, the Amsterdam Haggadah also included the popular commentary of Isaac Abrabanel. It should be also noted that when, in 1712, the popular Haggadah was printed again (with minor textual differences from the 1695 edition), the printer was this time a Sephardi Jew: Solomon ben Joseph Proops (fig. 2).[19]

The wide appeal of the Amsterdam Haggadah did not stem solely from the wise decision of its printers to address wide Jewish audiences, but can be attributed mostly to its artistic innovations. The most striking visual feature of the new Haggadah was the fact that its illustrations were not printed from the familiar, crude woodcuts, but for the first time

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[17] On this printing press, which was founded by Moses Kosman ben Elijah Gomperz in Amsterdam, 1688, see L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Netherlands 1585–1815. Historical Evaluation and Descriptive Bibliography*, vol. 1 (Leiden 1984), pp. 382–88. As the second title page announces, the publication of the Haggadah was financed by Moses ben Joseph Wessel. For the bibliographic description, see ibid., no. 521 pp. 397–98; I. Yudlov, *The Haggadah Thesaurus: Bibliography of Passover Haggadot from the Beginning of Printing until 1960* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1997), no. 93 p. 11.

[18] The inner title page of the 1695 edition actually declares: סדר הגדה של פסח כמנהג אשכנז וספרד.

[19] For the bibliographic details, see Yudlov, *Haggadah Thesaurus*, no. 120 p. 14 (an earlier version, by Proops, was printed in 1711; ibid., no. 114 p. 13). Aware of the popularity of the Venice Haggadah in the Sephardi world, and wishing to take advantage of its qualities, Proops included in the 1712 edition not only the Abrabanel commentary but also some Venetian artistic features that are missing in the Amsterdam edition of 1695; most notable is the page with the Seder signs and that with the Ten Plagues, copied directly from the Venice Haggadah. For modern facsimiles of the two editions, see: *The Amsterdam Haggadah of 1695* (New York 1974); *The Passover Haggadah: Amsterdam 1712* (Tel Aviv 1986).

in Jewish history, from copperplate engravings. The technique was not new in the book crafts at the time, and in fact enjoyed high popularity in the visual arts of contemporary Holland.[20] Though several editions of illustrated Haggadot were printed in the course of the seventeenth century, none of the previous printers or artists attempted to take advantage of this technique for a Passover Haggadah. The makers of the Amsterdam Haggadah thus proudly announced the innovative quality in large letters on the title page: חרות על לוחת נחושת—"engraved upon copper tablets" (fig. 1).[21] In comparison to woodcuts, copperplate engraving allowed the artist more freedom, delicate lines, attention to details, and in general was seen as being more expressive and elegant. In the Amsterdam Haggadah, the difference between the woodcut and copper engraving was likened to "the superiority of light over darkness," שהצורו[ת] מפותחים בנחשת כיתרון האור מן החושך בתכלית היופי.[22] In the spirit of Profiat Duran, the makers of the Haggadah saw in this technique a true fulfillment of the Talmudic concept of *hiddur mitzvah* ("beautification of the commandment").[23]

The engraver who introduced the innovative technique into the world of the Hebrew book was in fact a proselyte who came to Amsterdam from Germany and, upon converting, assumed the name Abraham bar Jacob (הבחור אברם בר יעקב ממשפחת אברהם אבינו).[24] As shown by

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[20] The Italian art critic and biographer Vasari attributed the discovery of copperplate engraving to the Florentine goldsmith Tommaso Finguerra (c. 1450–1480). However, some masters preceded him, not only in Germany and the Netherlands but also in Italy, itself. See A. M. Hind, *A History of Engraving and Etching from the Fifteenth Century to 1914* (New York 1963), pp. 36, 39. For Holland in the seventeenth century, see ibid., esp. pp. 168 ff.

[21] Cf. Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History*, pl. 59.

[22] The full quote, taken from the inner title page, reads: באשר מלפנים היו הצורות חקוקים בעץ שהנוי לא בשופי. יראו רבים ראיה חושית כעת שהצורו[ת] מפותחים בנחושת כיתרון האור מן החושך בתכלית היופי . וישמחו שמח[ת] עולם עלי מעשה חרש וחושב, מלאכת מחשבת פעולת מעשה אומן.

[23] As expressed on the title page of the 1712 edition: לשמח עין כל רואהו ולקיים זה אלי ואנווהו, "to make happy everyone who sees [these engravings] and to fulfill [the commandment] 'This is my God and I will glorify Him' [Exodus 15:2]." The quoted words from the Song of the Sea were interpreted by Talmudic rabbis as the basis for *hiddur mitzvah*, or the recommendation to perform the commandments using costly and attractive ritual objects, Torah scrolls, etc. (BT *Sabbath* 133b).

[24] In the inner title page of the first edition he is further eulogized לכן רוח דעת ויראת ה' היתה באנוש מאד נעלה, כמ"ר אברהם בר יעקב אבינו לשוב ולחקוק ולצור ולחרות בחרט אנוש בנחשת קלול […] האומנים קורין אותו בראש נדבך פאר התפארת. אומן מומחה קורין לו בחכמת חרישת מעשה ציור ולפתח פיתוחי חותם כל תכנית ותבנית … ותמונת כל אשר בשמים ובארץ. It is therefore curious that his name does not appear on the title page of the second edition, though he is described there as אומן

the doyen of Jewish art Rachel Wischnitzer more than seventy years ago, despite all the praise, the proselyte folk artist did not really create the images for his Haggadah, but "slavishly" copied them from other sources—mostly from a printed Protestant Bible with copperplate engravings by the Swiss master Matthaeus Merian (Basle, 1625–1630).[25] Here and there bar Jacob "Judaized" the images, but in some cases left, intentionally or not, Christian overtones. Thus for example, one picture shows David praying to the רוח הקודש [Holy Spirit],[26] and in the picture of Messianic Jerusalem (based on Merian's "Temple of Solomon"), one tower still retains the cross at its top (fig. 3).[27]

The immediate success and popularity of the 1695 and 1712 editions is best attested by the Haggadah's many imitations. Even before the publication of the second edition, two imitations were printed in Germany—one in Frankfurt a/Main, 1710, and another, of finer quality, in Sulzbach, 1711.[28] The new title page of the Sulzbach edition carried the words that would be repeated countless times in the course of the eighteenth century: באותיות אמשטרדם, "In the letters [i.e. typeface] of Amsterdam" (fig. 4).[29] Obviously, these words are not only technical, but point at the supremacy of Amsterdam's Hebrew book printing in general and, in our case, the Amsterdam Haggadah in particular, as a genuine model for unrivalled quality in this flourishing field of illustrated Haggadah production.

The curious fact is that the Amsterdam Haggadah influenced not only the production of printed Haggadot, but also the revival of the

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היותר מהיר במלאכת חרש וחושב לפתח פתוחי חותם במלואותם ובתבניתם , "the most facile craftsman in the art of etching engraved plates…". Cf. Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History*, pl. 66. For the contribution of Abraham bar Jacob to the Hebrew book, see A. Ya'ari, "Gerim bi-melekhet ha-kodesh," in *Mehkerei Sefer* (Studies in Hebrew Booklore; Jerusalem 1958), pp. 250–51.

[25] R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein, "Von der Holbeinbibel zur Amsterdamer Haggadah," *MGWJ* 75 (1931), pp. 269–86; see pp. 465–67 for a discussion of Wischnitzer's essay by M. Grunwald, M. Mainz, E. Kober, E. Toplitz, and I. Sonne; Wischnitzer's response, ibid., p. 467, and "Zur Amsterdamer Haggadah," ibid., 76 (1932), pp. 239–41. Wischnitzer's essay, the responses, and her addendum are reprinted in R. Wischnitzer, *From Dura to Rembrandt: Studies in the History of Art* (Jerusalem 1990), pp. 29–54.

[26] Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History*, pl. 61 (and, there, the picture from Merian Bible, "The Pharisee and the Publican," which served as the source for bar Jacob's picture).

[27] Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History*, pl. 62.

[28] Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History*, pl. 64.

[29] Cf. E. G. L. Schrijver, "'*Be-otiot Amsterdam*.' Eighteenth-Century Hebrew Manuscript Production in Central Europe: The Case of Jacob ben Judah Leib Shamas," *Quaerendo* 20 (1990), pp. 24–62.

illustrated Hebrew parchment manuscript in eighteenth-century central Europe. Thus, centuries after the art of the handmade illuminated book declined in the general society, some influential Court Jews (*Hofjuden*) and other patrons of the new class of Jewish bourgeoisie in German lands began to commission luxurious, individual Hebrew manuscripts. The scribe-artists responsible for producing the new manuscripts in towns such as Vienna, Prague, Hamburg, and Berlin came mostly from Bohemia and Moravia.[30] Judging from the number of extant copies, the illustrated Haggadah has been the most popular book they produced.[31] However, instead of creating innovative designs for their Haggadot, the scribe-artists of the new school found their source of inspiration mostly in the two editions of the Amsterdam Haggadah.[32] Some of the more talented folk artists, such as Joseph Leipnik and Aaron Wolf Helringen, elaborated on and expanded the Amsterdam cycle of illustrations, but even in these cases they could not escape—or were not interested in escaping—the predominant and easily recognizable influence of the beloved Haggadah (fig. 5).

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[30] The codices and art of the eighteenth-century Hebrew manuscript have been studied by several scholars. Selected examples: E. Naményi, "La miniature juive au XVII^{e} et au XVIII^{e} siècle," *REJ* 116 (1957), pp. 27–71; I. Shachar, "The 'School of Moravia': A Popular Trend in Jewish Art of the Eighteenth Century" [in Hebrew], *Third World Congress of Jewish Studies. Report* (Jerusalem 1965), pp. 358–59; M. Schmelzer, "Decorated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Eighteenth Century in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America," in *Occident and Orient: A Tribute to the Memory of Alexander Scheiber*, ed. R. Dán (Budapest 1988), pp. 331–51; Schubert, *Jüdische Buchkunst*, pp. 83–141; I. Fishof, *Jüdische Buchmalerei in Hamburg und Altona: Zur Geshichte der Illumination hebräischer Handschriften im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg 1999); V. B. Mann and R. I. Cohen (eds.), *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds: Art, Patronage, and Power 1600–1800* (New York 1996), pp. 115–19, 165–78 (cat. nos. 80–107); E. Schrijver, "The Manuscript," in *Perek Shira: An Eighteenth Century Illuminated Hebrew Book of Praise* (London 1996), pp. 15–38; Sh. Sabar, "*Seder Birkat ha-Mazon*, Vienna, 1719/20—The Earliest Illustrated Manuscript of Aaron Wolf Schreiber Herlingen of Gewitsch" [in Hebrew], in *Zekor Davar le-Avdekha: Asufat Ma'amarim le-Zekher Dov Rappel*, ed. Sh. Glick (Ramat Gan and Jerusalem 2007), pp. 455–72 and pls. 8–17.

[31] For example, of the fifty-seven Hamburg-Altona manuscripts in the survey of Iris Fishof, twenty-eight are Haggadot—nearly one half of the total (Fishof, *Jüdische Buchmalerei*, pp. 299–301). E. Schrijver's extensive survey, based on some five hundred manuscripts, still awaits publication.

[32] As demonstrated in several studies and in introductions to the facsimiles of the eighteenth-century Haggadot that were published in Israel, the United States, and Europe; for example, *The Copenhagen Haggadah—Altona-Hamburg, 1739*, facsimile edition with introduction by Ch. Benjamin (Tel-Aviv 1986); and cf. H. Peled-Carmeli, *Illustrated Haggadot of the Eighteenth Century*, exhibition catalogue (Jerusalem 1983), pp. 21 ff. (English side); Schubert, *Jüdische Buchkunst*, esp. 84 ff.; Fishof, *Jüdische Buchmalerei*, esp. 49 ff. and *passim*.

It should be noted, finally, that the influence of the Amsterdam Haggadah in European Jewish culture went beyond the art of the Haggadah. The aforementioned scribe-artists, for example, used the designs of the Haggadah for other books they created. This is especially evident in the title pages of their manuscripts, which imitated the basic format of the Amsterdam Haggadah.[33] In fact, the dominant figures of Moses and Aaron on the title page, which first appeared in Christian Bibles, have continued to be dominant in Hebrew books into the present day.[34] Some of the images from the Haggadah were widely imitated even in other media as well (for example, Passover pewter plates from Germany).[35] It is safe to conclude, therefore, that the Haggadah created by Abraham bar Jacob in 1695 contributed more than any other single illustrated book to the development of Jewish art in Europe of the eighteenth century and beyond.

The Influence of the Amsterdam Haggadah in the East

A hitherto unexplored topic is the influence of the Amsterdam Haggadah on the illustration of Haggadot among the Jewish communities in the

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[33] For example, the figures of Moses and Aaron on the title page of a *Mohelbuch* from Vienna, 1727/28, by Aaron Wolf Herlingen; see D. Altshuler (ed.), *The Precious Legacy: Judaic Treasures from the Czechoslovak State Collections* (Washington, D.C. 1983), fig. 193 p. 197; and cf. Fishof, *Jüdische Buchmalerei*, pp. 51–67. The same is true for printed books, e.g. the title page of *Menorat ha-Ma'or* (Amsterdam 1722), reproduced in A. M. Haberman, *Title Pages of Hebrew Books* (Safed 1969), no. 50; *Seder ha-Maḥzor* (Sulzbach 1758; ibid., no. 60)—one is modeled on the 1695 edition of the Haggadah and the other on the 1712 title page.

[34] See e.g. the title pages of the Vulgate, printed in Rome, 1590; King James Bible (London 1611); see M. Corbett and R. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1660* (London 1979), pp. 106–11; Sh. Sabar, "The Use of Christian Motifs in Illustrations of Jewish Marriage Contracts in Italy and Its Meaning," *Journal of Jewish Art* 10 (1984), pp. 49–51. Note that, prior to the Amsterdam Haggadah, the figures of Moses and Aaron appeared on the title pages of a few Hebrew books—the earliest known to me is from Hanau, 1610 (designed by a Christian artist [reproduced in Haberman, *Title Pages*, no. 39]; and see also ibid., no. 38, from Altdorf, 1644). Bar Jacob relied also on local Hebrew books (ibid., no. 42—Amsterdam, 1687; and a Bible in Yiddish, Amsterdam, 1676–78; cf. Schubert, *Jüdische Buchkunst*, p. 70 [mistakenly dated]). However, obviously the Hebrew books of the eighteenth century on were inspired by the Amsterdam Haggadah rather than the earlier imprints.

[35] Most noteworthy is the depiction of the four sons on these plates, based on the famous bar Jacob image. Some examples: L. Franzheim (ed.), *Judaica: Kölnisches Stadtmuseum* (Cologne 1980), cat. nos. 109, 157, 159; J. Ungerleider-Mayerson, *Jewish Folk Art from Biblical Days to Modern Times* (New York 1986), p. 188.

lands of Islam and India. In light of the above, the enthusiastic reception of this book in Europe is understandable—assuming the Jewish audience was unfamiliar with the Christian source of the proselyte artist. As we saw, European Jewry had a long tradition of figuratively illustrated Haggadot and the acculturated communities who resided in Holland, Italy, or the German speaking lands welcomed any innovation in the field. The situation in the lands of Islam was entirely different.

Before the advent of Islam, Jews who resided in what later became Islamic lands incorporated figurative biblical images even in their holiest shrines: the synagogues. Well known are synagogues such as Dura Europos in present-day Syria, or Bet Alpha in Eretz Israel, where captivating biblical episodes grace the walls or floor mosaics—including even female nudity (that of Pharaoh's daughter taking Moses out of the water in Dura). Clearly, this art was created under the influence of the surrounding cultures at the time, but the fact is that these daring images in the center of the sanctuary were done at the height of the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods.

Islam brought with it new traditions and a new approach to the visual arts. Figurative representations in religious contexts were no longer tolerated,[36] and the Jewish attitudes became stricter, accordingly. Most noteworthy is the case of the synagogue of Na'aran near Jericho. It was erected and decorated under Byzantine Christian rule with figurative images (Helios the Sun God, the signs of the zodiac, and Daniel in the lions' den), and continued to be used by Jews after the Islamic conquest.[37] However, all the figurative images in the mosaic were purposely destroyed, perhaps under the iconoclastic decree of the Umayyad Caliph Yazid II, which prohibited figurative representations in religious buildings.[38] The Jewish zealots who apparently disfigured

[36] For the approach of early Islam to the visual arts, see T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Islamic Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York 1965), pp. 1–40; O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven 1977), pp. 75–103 (additional literature is cited by Grabar, pp. 222–23).

[37] The mosaic at Na'aran was discovered in September 1918, when the Turks shelled a British outpost. On the synagogue and its floor mosaic, see M. Avi-Yonah, "Na'aran," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern and A. Lewinson-Gilboa (Jerusalem 1993), vol. 3, pp. 1075–1076 (and see additional literature cited there).

[38] For Yazid's iconoclastic edict, see Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, p. 85; Grabar, *Formation of Islamic Art*, p. 89. Grabar actually attributes the decree to Jewish influence (i.e. the Second Commandment). For another opinion, see Z. Ilan, *Ancient Synagogues in Israel*

the mosaic did not touch the holy Hebrew writing inscribed on the floor next to the forbidden images.[39]

And what about manuscript illumination? Actually, the earliest known school of Hebrew book illumination, which has been preserved largely thanks to the Cairo Genizah, flourished under Islam, in Eretz Israel and Egypt from the late ninth to the twelfth centuries.[40] Most of these fragmentary manuscripts are Bibles, but some decorative children's textbooks, *ketubbot*, and liturgical and scientific books survived as well. The influence of Islamic manuscript illumination is dominant in these Hebrew manuscripts, and especially the Bibles follow the artistic norms that developed in Arabic Koran codices.[41] Dominant are elaborate carpet pages, as well as micrographic, geometrical, floral and architectural designs, and, as in the Korans, none contain figurative representations. It should be also noted that no adorned Haggadah fragments are known from any of these manuscripts.

In subsequent centuries, Hebrew manuscript illumination in Islamic lands continued to develop along these lines. Though not much survived before the modern era, the scanty evidence confirms this hypothesis. Thus, for example, several Bibles from fifteenth-century Sana'a, Yemen, are decorated with micrographic and other designs familiar from the Cairo Genizah.[42] In some communities, the illustration of animals but not humans was tolerated. Some *ketubbot* from India and Iran are illustrated at times with faunal motifs such as lions (Iran), or tigers, peacocks, and fish (India). Two rare *ketubbot* from Sana'a, recording marriages in the same powerful families, depict crude and somewhat

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[in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv 1991), p. 17, where the author supports the hypothesis that the smashing of synagogue images in this period is directly related to Yazid's decree.

[39] Cf. R. Hachlili, "Synagogues in the Land of Israel: The Art and Architecture of Late Antique Synagogues," in *Sacred Realm: The Emergence of the Synagogue in the Ancient World*, ed. S. Fine (New York 1996), p. 115; Avi-Yonah, "Na'aran," p. 1076, Ilan, *Ancient Synagogues*, p. 250.

[40] See on them Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 18–21 and pls. 1–3; Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting*, pp. 15–16; D. Günzburg and V. Stassoff, *Illuminations from Hebrew Bibles of Leningrad* [St. Petersburg 1886], new edition and introduction by B. Narkiss (Jerusalem 1990).

[41] Cf. R. Milstein, "Hebrew Book Illumination in the Fatimid Era," in *L'Egypte fatimide—son art et son histoire. Actes du colloque organisé à Paris, Mai 1998*, ed. M. Barrucand (Paris 1999), pp. 429–40; J. Gutmann, "*Masorah Figurata*: The Origins and Development of a Jewish Art Form," in J. Gutmann, *Sacred Images: Studies in Jewish Art from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Northampton 1989), essay no. 15.

[42] On these Bibles, see R. Ettinghausen, "Yemenite Bible Manuscripts of the Fifteenth Century," in *No Graven Images: Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. J. Gutmann (New York 1971), pp. 429–65.

bizarre human figures. Distorted human figures appear in rare cases in Sephardi Morocco as well (fig. 6).[43] The only country in Islamic territories where Jewish manuscripts feature human representations is Iran, where, from the seventeenth century on, manuscripts with paraphrases of biblical stories in Judeo-Persian (none are in Hebrew proper) were created under the influence of parallel genres in Persian art, and the artists who illustrated them were most likely Muslims.[44] Though some refer to the events in the book of Exodus and show Moses as an ideal hero, none is a Passover Haggadah.[45]

The few decorated Passover Haggadah manuscripts from Islamic lands are mostly dated to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among the more ornate are those produced in Baghdad by fine scribes.[46] The Baghdadi Haggadot are richly decorated with colorful, ornamental frames, floral designs, monumental square inscriptions in alternating colors, and the mystical Psalm 67 in the shape of the menorah (fig. 7). Scenes related to the Passover story or any figurative representations are staunchly avoided. Even more conservative are the early editions of Haggadot that were printed in Islamic lands, and were generally not adorned with any illustrations.[47]

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[43] For examples from Iran, India, and Morocco, see Sh. Sabar, *Mazal Tov: Illuminated Jewish Marriage Contracts from the Israel Museum Collection* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1994), pls. 27, 34, 36, 38, 55, 56, 58, 59; for the two Yemenite *ketubbot*, see idem, "A Jewish Wedding in Eighteenth Century Sana'a: The Story of the *Ketubbot* of the Al-Eraqi and Al-Sheikh Families—Between Tradition and Innovation" [in Hebrew], *Rimonim* 6–7 (1999), pp. 21–33.

[44] For these manuscripts, see V. B. Moreen, *Miniature Paintings in Judaeo-Persian Manuscripts* (Cincinnati 1985); A. Taylor, *Book Arts of Isfahan* (Malibu, Calif. 1995), pp. 31–46.

[45] For images of Moses in Islam, cf. R. Milstein, "The Iconography of Moses in Islamic Art," *Jewish Art* 12–13 (1987), pp. 199–212.

[46] The Baghdadi Haggadah manuscripts are dispersed in several collections, public (e.g. Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, and Museum of Babylonian Jewry, Or Yehuda) and private (most notably the collection assembled by the noted collector David Sassoon; an important selection is in the Gross Family Collection, Ramat Aviv). For a comprehensive bibliographical list of extant Baghdadi–Hebrew manuscripts, including Haggadot, see M. Benayahu, *Hebrew Books Composed in Baghdad and Books Copied There* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1993). Benayahu, however, does not discuss the illustrations in these manuscripts, and they have yet to be studied. In the interim, see I. Pinḥas, "Babylonian Illustrated and Printed Passover Haggadot" [in Hebrew] *Nehardea* (Journal of the Babylonian Jewry Heritage Center, Or-Yehuda) 19 (1997), pp. 24–25.

[47] For the Hebrew presses in selected towns in the lands of Islam and brief bibliographical descriptions of the Haggadot printed in them (arranged by towns), see A. Ya'ari, *Hebrew Printing in the East* [in Hebrew], vols. 1–2 (Jerusalem 1936–1940), s.v. index; for a fuller list arranged chronologically, see Yudlov, *Haggadah Thesaurus*.

It is at this point that the Amsterdam Haggadah becomes so significant and important. Together with the Venice Haggadah and some other illustrated Hebrew European books, the Amsterdam Haggadah introduced to the Jews of Islam new visual models with which they were not familiar. Naturally, the phenomenon here described is but one aspect, however representative, of the growing relationships between European Jewry and the Jews of Islam in the modern era. Of special importance in the context of this article is the significant increase in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the distribution of Hebrew books printed in Europe. As Hebrew printing came late to the Islamic lands in the East (with the notable exception of Morocco), standard books (*siddurim* and *maḥzorim*, Bibles, etc.) were generally imported from Europe. Moreover, books composed by rabbis in Islamic lands were printed in Europe throughout the centuries.[48] In many cases, communities ordered the entire edition of a liturgical book printed specifically for them. As the Sephardi *nusach* fitted more the ritual in these lands, Sephardi printers in Amsterdam and Venice readily printed the required books. By the nineteenth century, the Hebrew presses of Livorno, in particular that of Belforte, took the lead role in this venture.[49] Thus, despite the fact that printing houses opened in several capitals of the East, most of the books were still imported from Europe.

Long after the heyday of the printed manuscript imitations of the Amsterdam Haggadah in Europe, did it gradually reach selected communities in the East. The earliest example known to this writer is the Haggadah printed in 1846 for the Bene Israel community in Bombay (now known as Mumbai), India.[50] Printed in lithographic technique (text and illustrations), the Haggadah is provided with a Marathi translation. At the time, the Bene Israel were actively and fervently returning to

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[48] For example, prior to (but even after) the foundation of the first Hebrew presses in nineteenth-century Aleppo, the books of the local rabbis were printed in Venice, Vienna, Berlin, Amsterdam, Salonica, Istanbul, and Izmir; see Y. Harel, *The Books of Aleppo: The Rabbinic Literature of the Scholars of Aleppo* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1997), pp. 20–25.

[49] On the Belforte printing press, as well as its activities in the East, see Y. Rofe, "The History of the Hebrew Printing-House in Livorno" [in Hebrew], *Tagim* 2 (1971–1972), pp. 123–34; 3–4 (1972–1973), pp. 132–40; A. Kiron, *La casa editrice Belforte e l'arte della stampa in Ladino* (Collana di Studi Ebraici, II; Livorno 2005).

[50] See *The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India*, facsimile edition, intro. by W. J. Fischel (New York 1968). For Hebrew printing in Bombay and the list of the books printed there, see Ya'ari, *Printing in the East*, vol. 1, pp. 52–82 (regarding the said Haggadah: p. 72 no. 92).

the Jewish tradition, having lived isolated from other Jews for centuries, knowing no Hebrew, common Jewish traditions, or Oral Law.[51] The Cochini and Baghdadi Jews, who were assisting them to return to Judaism in the early part of the nineteenth century, introduced them to the Haggadah. This is, in fact, the first Haggadah printed for the Bene Israel Jews in India (and one of the first, in India, in general),[52] as is proudly stated on the title page.[53] It is thus not surprising that the Bene Israel, who were not raised with the typical attitude of the communities in the East towards the visual, would use as a model for their Haggadah an example that came from a well-established and important community, that of Amsterdam.

The influence of the Amsterdam Haggadah is most strongly visible in the title page of the Bombay imprint (fig. 8). A local, unknown artist produced a simplified version of bar Jacob's title page of 1712. The figures of Moses and Aaron, and the top scene with Moses at the Burning Bush, are somewhat crudely delineated, and the effects of the copperplate are gone.[54] Moreover, the folk artist, not certain that his (non-European) audience would identify the figures, labeled them in Hebrew—as is often the case with Jewish folk art. Aside from the title page, only one other set of illustrations, that of the Seder signs, appears in the Bombay Haggadah (fig. 9).[55] Here, too, the direct source was obviously the 1712 edition—though, as mentioned above, this page was originally taken from the Venice Haggadah.

The Bombay Haggadah was apparently successful among the Bene Israel, and twenty-eight years later, in 1874, a newly designed Marathi

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[51] For the history of the community, see S. B. Eisenberg, *India's Bene Israel: A Comprehensive Inquiry and Source Book* (Bombay 1988). Writing in the 1930s, the Bene Israel scholar Kehimkar reports of illiterate members of his community who could not follow "the reading of the history of the Exodus […] [and] those that are still in ignorance observe the week [of Passover] by abstaining only from using any kind of leaven" (H. S. Kehimkar, *The History of the Bene Israel of India* [Jerusalem 1937], p. 168).

[52] Two Haggadot from India, printed for the Baghdadi Jews, preceded that of Bene Israel: one from Calcutta, 1841 (Yudlov, *Haggadah Thesaurus*, no. 841, p. 68), the other, dated a year earlier, provides no publication place. Ya'ari (*Bibliography of the Passover Haggadah* [Jerusalem 1960], no. 605) placed it in Amsterdam, but Yudlov (no. 815, p. 66) suggests "India[?]."

[53] "This is a new [Haggadah book], which has never been before […] and is now printed for the first time" [זה חדש הוא אשר לא היה […] לעולמים ועתה נדפס בפעם ראשון]. For a slightly different translation (comprising the full translation of the title page), see Eisenberg, 350; and see there, pp. 350–51, for a translation of the Marathi preface to the Haggadah.

[54] Cf. Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History*, pl. 97.

[55] Ibid., pl. 98.

edition appeared in Poona (presently called Pune). The makers of the Poona edition, whose names are listed on the title page,[56] wished this time to create something more original and that would better reflect their traditions. Accordingly, the illustrations for the Seder signs were considerably enlarged, and instead of six a page, there are now only two (fig. 10). More importantly, the appearance of the figures is no longer European but women dressed in saris now perform the familiar scenes of the Passover preparations and flowers decorate their hair, while the men wear typical cotton tunics and tapering caps with a hanging tassel. In the scene of baking the matzah, the men and women are shown working while sitting or squatting on the floor in a typical Hindu position. Thus, the Amsterdam Haggadah not only inspired a new set of illustrations but also played an important role in changing the traditional Haggadah, and in fact the Hebrew book in general, among the Jews of India and beyond.

While one may claim that Bene Israel did not have old traditions of writing and decorating the Book of Passover, and thus could more easily accept the visual norms set by the illustrated Haggadah that came from the venerated Jewish community of Amsterdam, this is certainly not the case of the Jews of Iraq, in general, and Baghdad, in particular. As mentioned above, the Haggadah, either in the form of a personal manuscript or as the ubiquitous, printed small book, has been part of the daily life of Iraqi Jews in modern times. The importance of this book and Passover in general is reflected in the detailed halakhic work and *responsa* of Baghdadi rabbis, notably those of Rabbi Joseph Ḥayyim (1832–1909), concerning the strict observance of the holiday. Known after his most famous book, *Ben Ish Ḥai*, Rabbi Ḥayyim's rulings are included in many of the Baghdadi Haggadot (as proudly announced on the title pages of the Baghdadi editions; see fig. 11). In addition, the Baghdadi rabbis took great care that the text of the Haggadah be clear and understandable to anyone seated around the table. Accordingly, the Haggadah was recited in and customarily printed with the special Judeo-Arabic dialect of Baghdadi Jews (namely, Arabic in Hebrew letters)—whether it was printed for them in Baghdad itself, in Livorno,

[56] For a full English translation of the title page, see Eisenberg, pp. 351–52. For Hebrew printing in Poona and list of the books printed there see Ya'ari, *Printing in the East*, 1, pp. 83–89 (the Haggadah: pp. 86–87 no. 4).

or in the major centers of the "Baghdadi Diaspora" (chiefly Calcutta, Bombay, and Jerusalem).[57]

The early printed editions did not contain any illustrations. However, the picture changes gradually as the Livorno imprints became more and more dominant. The Livornese printers apparently did not pay much attention to the sensitivity of the Jews of Islamic lands to figurative images, and thus occasionally included in the Judeo-Arabic editions, printed according to the Baghdadi custom ("*ke-minhag k[ahal] k[adosh] Baghdad*"), the illustrations they were accustomed to on Italian soil. A typical example is the Baghdadi *nusach* Haggadah printed by Rabbi Elijah Benamozeg in Livorno, 1887 (fig. 12).[58] Some years earlier, in 1867, an attractive Haggadah was printed in Livorno, which included many illustrations that were based on the aforementioned Haggadah of Venice, 1609.[59] The format and illustrations were subsequently adapted freely by other Livornese printers, and our example of 1887 is just one of them. Accordingly, one finds there the illustrated, figurative initial letters familiar from the Venice edition. However, some of the illustrations were borrowed as well: for example, the four woodcuts of the women preparing for Passover, which in the original Venice edition appeared on the title page, are here given a full page (fig. 13). Notably, the dress of the women has been slightly modified, but the fact remains

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[57] Printed Haggadot for the Baghdadi community are known from 1840 on. Apparently the first was issued in India (exact location is not indicated) in lithographic press in 1840 (see Yudlov, *Haggadah Thesaurus*, no. 815 p. 66). Other early editions appeared in Calcutta and Bombay—the leading centers of the Baghdadi community outside Iraq in the nineteenth century—in the years 1841, 1844, 1846, 1847, 1856, etc. (ibid., nos. 841, 874, 902, 1018–1020, pp. 68, 70–71, 72, 73, 80, respectively). The earliest Baghdadi Haggadah from Livorno was issued by Israel Costa in 1865 (ibid., no. 1260 p. 96). The earliest known Haggadah printed in Baghdad itself appeared only in 1868 (ibid., 1306 p. 100). These early Haggadot are all provided with Judeo-Arabic translation. The standard format has been that the Hebrew text is interspersed with Judeo-Arabic passages (each translating the preceding passage). This format continued to be the norm in many later Baghdadi Haggadot. For a comprehensive history of the Baghdadi community outside Iraq, excluding the land of Israel, see A. Ben-Ya'akov, *Babylonian Jewry in Diaspora* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1985). On Hebrew printing in Baghdad, which was established only in the mid nineteenth century, see Ya'ari, *Hebrew Printing in the East*, 2, pp. 100–159; for a succinct English account of the Baghdadi printing houses, see R. Posner and I. Ta-Shema, *The Hebrew Book: An Historical Survey* (Jerusalem 1975), pp. 123–24.

[58] Yudlov, *Haggadah Thesaurus*, no. 1721 p. 129. On the printing press of Rabbi Benamozeg, cf. D. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (London 1963), pp. 407–8.

[59] A page of the Livorno Haggadah is reproduced in Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History*, pl. 106.

that a figurative feminine image now adorned the Haggadah produced for the Baghdadi community.

There is no information whether the rabbis of Baghdad objected to the new images. However, as the illustrated Livorno editions became more and more common, one may assume that commissions for them continued, and people became used to the figurative images in their Haggadot. As a result, local printers started to insert such images in their Haggadot. It is here that the Amsterdam Haggadah came to the fore again. For example, in the Haggadah printed locally by Rabbi Ezra Reuben Dangoor in 1931,[60] appears the familiar image of Moses and Aaron performing their first miracle before Pharaoh and his magicians. Significantly, the image was not re-done locally (as was the case with the Livorno example) but taken directly from a printed edition—hence its shabby appearance (fig. 14). Nonetheless, it now introduced western European architecture and figurative imagery into the Baghdadi community.

The usage of figurative scenes borrowed from the Amsterdam Haggadah became an accepted norm until nearly the end of the community in Iraq and the mass immigration to Israel in the late 1940s–early 1950s. Moreover, occasionally it was carried to the new land. A prominent example is Rabbi Saleḥ Mansoor, an immigrant from Iraq who established a printing press in Jerusalem in the 1940s, printing *siddurim* and other Jewish books for the Jews of Islamic lands in general and the Baghdadi community in particular. In 1947, Mansoor printed in Jerusalem a typical Baghdadi Haggadah, provided again with a Judeo-Arabic translation (fig. 15).[61] The images, such as that of the four sons reproduced here (fig. 16), are clearly those of the Amsterdam Haggadah.

In the communities of North Africa, Morocco in particular, the process was slightly different. From a cultural point of view, the Jews of Morocco were largely divided into two communities: the exiled from the Iberian Peninsula, who were locally known as the *megorashim* (or *grana* in Tunisia), and the local Jews, called *toshavim*. The Sephardim were more inclined to the West, and some of the elite Moroccan-Sephardi merchants traveled frequently to Europe.[62] In addition, they

[60] On Rabbi Dangoor and his printing press, see Ya'ari, *Printing in the East*, vol. 2, pp. 104–5, 131–48; for the Haggadah, see Yudlov, *Haggadah Thesaurus*, no. 3381 p. 247.

[61] Yudlov, *Haggadah Thesaurus*, no. 4044 p. 295.

[62] See, for example, D. Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira: Urban Society and Imperialism in Southwestern Morocco, 1844–1886* (Cambridge 1988).

developed good connections with selected European Jewish communities, particularly with those in London, Livorno, and Amsterdam.[63] In the field of the visual arts, this phenomenon is reflected, for example, in the aforementioned *ketubbot* of Mogador, which in some rare cases include figurative representations (fig. 6).[64] Moreover, some of the faunal motifs (notably birds ornamenting rings, medallions, and bridal crowns), which the exiled apparently brought with them, continued to ornament Jewish-Sephardi objects centuries later, though they are totally foreign to Moroccan Muslim art.[65]

In the field of manuscript illumination, it must be the Sephardi tradition that allowed the occasional and rather rare depiction of faunal and figurative motifs. Paper and parchment amulets, for example, feature occasional human figures, conventional images of protective angels, as well as "evil-doing animals" (such as the serpent or scorpion) and "good" or "holy animals" (lion, dear, eagle, and tiger; cf. the saying of Rabbi Judah ben Teima, in Mishnah *Avot* 5:20).[66] The decorations in the few known Moroccan illustrated manuscript Haggadot are generally limited to decorative architectural designs. However, here again there was room for inserting occasionally more daring images. In a Haggadah manuscript from eighteenth-century Meknes appears the imaginary

[63] Ibid., pp. 18–19, 22–23, 45, 47, etc.

[64] See the *ketubbot* from *Mazal Tov*, cited in note 43, above, and cf. Sh. Sabar, "Sephardi Elements in North African Hebrew Manuscript Decoration," *Jewish Art* 18 (1992), pp. 168–91.

[65] Cf. Y. K. Stillman, "Hashpa'ot Sefardiyyot al ha-Tarbut ha-Ḥomrit shel Yehudei Maroqo" [Sephardi influences on the material culture of the Jews of Morocco], in *The Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage*, ed. I. Ben-Ami (Jerusalem 1992), pp. 359–66; see also the images reproduced in A. Muller-Lancet, *La vie juive au Maroc* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1973), pp. 223, 241, 242.

[66] See, for example, the amulet from early nineteenth-century Sefrou, reproduced in color (ibid., p. 123). As for angels, in a few, rare cases they appear designed as western-type, winged angels (see the Mogador *ketubbot* cited above, and cf. Sh. Sabar, "A Magnificent Ketubbah from Mogador, Morocco, 1898—Illustrated by David Elkayyim" [in Hebrew], *Brit: Revue des Juifs du Maroc* 25 [2006], pp. 18–21). More common are the bizarre-looking, mysterious angels Sanoi, Sansanoi, and Semanglof, which appear in childbirth amulets (an example is reproduced in Muller-Lancet, *La vie juive*, p. 126, no. 242). The image of these angels is derived from the Kabbalistic book *Sefer Raziel ha-Mal'akh* (see Sh. Sabar, "Childbirth and Magic: Jewish Folklore and Material Culture," in *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, ed. D. Biale [New York 2002], esp. pp. 670–75 and fig. 2 p. 67). In the context of this study it is important to note that *Sefer Raziel* with the said images was first published in Amsterdam in 1701 (by the printing house of Moses Mendes Coitinho, who was the new owner of the David Tartas printing house).

human image of *Sifokh*—a legendary figure derived from the passage in the Haggadah *shefokh* ["Pour thy wrath…"].[67]

Locally printed Haggadot appeared late in Morocco. While in Tunisia and Algeria Haggadot were printed already in the nineteenth century,[68] in Morocco the earliest editions appeared only in the twentieth. Thus, the first known printed Haggadah from Tangier dates 1912 (provided with a translation into Ladino), from Mogador—1925, Casablanca—1935, and from Fez as late as the 1940s.[69] These "early" editions were generally unadorned. However, as more and more editions appeared, nearly annually in the 1930s and 1940s, printers inserted more and more images. Only a handful of these images were specially prepared designs that featured symbolic images such as the seven-branched menorah (fig. 17), or an elaborate, geometric design of matzah (*ha laḥma anya*…), which is reminiscent of the special matzah images in medieval Sephardi Haggadot.[70] These designs commonly adorn the front and back covers of the Haggadot, such as those printed by the noted Casablanca printer Joseph Lugassy.[71]

The figurative images that narrate the story of Passover and the Haggadah, and which appear profusely in Moroccan Haggadot of the 1940s, were taken, however, from other sources. In some cases printers used more recent images, such as the biblical images of the little-known

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[67] In the collection of Victor Kalgsbald, Paris. See Muller-Lancet, *La vie juive*, p. 83, no. 133. *Sifokh* is the Moroccan "counterpart" of Elijah and the Messiah in European traditions; his fantasy figure was used to keep children alert and excited until the end of the Seder—in fear that he might show up. For this custom, see R. J. Bensimon, *Le Judaïsme du Maghreb. Traditions et coutumes suivant le cycle de l'année* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1998), p. 170.

[68] The first printed Haggadah of Algeria was issued in Algiers, 1855 (Yudlov, *Haggadah Thesaurus*, no. 992 p. 78), and of Tunisia in Tunis, 1890 (ibid., no. 1823 p. 137). Neither edition is illustrated.

[69] Yudlov, *Haggadah Thesaurus*, nos. 2543, 2994, 3550, and 3795, pp. 189, 220, 259, and 277, respectively. The Fez Haggadah is actually a reprint of a Casablanca Haggadah printed by Lugassy (see below). In a thorough study of Hebrew printing in Fez, no original Haggadah is included in the list of books printed locally; see: J. Tedghi, *Le livre et l'imprimerie hébraïques à Fès* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1994), p. 100.

[70] For example, the matzah image in the "Golden Haggadah" from fourteenth-century Barcelona; see B. Narkiss, *The Golden Haggadah* (London 1997), fig. 4 p. 16.

[71] The menorah design is signed by a certain "I.C." Called "Imp. L'Ideale," the address of Lugassy's printing shop is indicated as 138 Rue des Synagogues, Casablanca. Following his immigration to Israel, Lugassy printed books in Jerusalem (his shop was located near Jerusalem's central market, Maḥne Yehuda). A differently designed menorah adorns also the Haggadah covers of another Casablanca printer, David A. Amar (Imprimerie Atelier).

French graphic artist Joseph-Charles Beuzon,[72] whose copper-engravings were apparently inspired by the popular Bible images of Gustave Doré. However, in most cases the printers went back to the more classical, early European editions of the Haggadot. One can find here images borrowed from the Venice Haggadah of 1609 or the various editions of the Livorno Haggadot. The most popular of the early Haggadot were obviously the two editions of the Amsterdam Haggadah. The Haggadot of Casablanca and Fez thus feature the favorite biblical episodes of Abraham bar Jacob as well as ritual and textual scenes, such as the familiar four sons (fig. 18). Moreover, some images were even selected to decorate the front or back covers of Moroccan Haggadot. Thus, for example, the familiar bar Jacob image of eschatological Jerusalem made its way from Merian's Protestant Bible, through Amsterdam, to the cover of a Haggadah printed by Librairie Hadida of Casablanca, in 1940 (fig. 19).[73]

In the final analysis, the period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed fast changes in the traditional ways of life among the Jews of Islam. The influence of the West increased steadily, and gradually infiltrated nearly all walks of life, particularly in the capitals and major towns. In the realm of the visual arts, undoubtedly an additional, crucial factor should be considered: the growing contacts with the Jews of Europe. In their turn, these contacts had varied effects on the Islamic communities, depending on the local traditions and readiness to adopt new ideas.

The process of absorbing Sephardi European aesthetic norms was the earliest and fastest among the Bene Israel of India, as they integrated well with the assimilation of the community to normative Judaism in this period. On the other extreme are communities such as those in Yemen or Kurdistan, who were by far less exposed to westernizing processes in general, and Western visual Jewish traditions in particular. The communities of Iraq and Morocco (and others not discussed here, such as Iran, Egypt and Syria) are somewhere in the middle.[74] In

[72] He was a member of the Société des Artistes Français; see E. Benezit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*… (Paris 1966), vol. 1, p. 637.

[73] Yudlov, *Haggadah Thesaurus*, no. 3764 p. 275. Note that in the Hebrew, the Arabic name of the town is given: Dar el-Beida. This Haggadah, with the same cover image, was reprinted in Fez, 1960; see Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History*, pl. 192.

[74] In Iran, for example, figurative Mizrach tablets from Breslau and other locations in Europe served as the basis for the new iconography of Jewish carpets made

Morocco, the Sephardi background and contacts with the West, already in the nineteenth century, undoubtedly prepared the ground for the reception of innovative visual principles. In Baghdad the strong desire of the Jewish upper classes to adopt Western norms likewise assisted in the process. In both countries, the printers adopted, or rather reused, ready-made and "proved" figurative images, avoiding the patronage of new ones. This was the most readily available, logical, and accepted compromise. However, as the images in the Haggadot became more and more common and were viewed year after year by many, they eventually had impact on the local Jewish crafts as well. The beginning of the appearance of rabbinical portraits, partially known from Iraq but much more dominant in Morocco, is evidently just one of the more significant by-products of this phenomenon (fig. 20).[75]

Thus, centuries after its initial creation by a proselyte, the Amsterdam Haggadah and its illustrations continued to influence Jewish visual culture. Along with some other European illustrated printed Haggadot, the Amsterdam Haggadah contributed significantly to the transformation of long-standing attitudes towards the visual in Jewish life in several Jewish communities in the lands of Islam during the last generations before their disintegration and mass exodus.

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in Kashan from the 1920s, on. Examples are reproduced in A. Felton, *Jewish Carpets: A History and Guide* (Woodbridge, Suffolk 1997), pp. 63–67. From Syria, brass plates inlayed with copper, silver, or gold (Damascene work) feature, likewise, biblical scenes that are copied from Western prototypes; see, for example, I. Zipper, "'The Omayyid Bazaar' Workshop—Jewish Coppersmiths in Damascus 1925–1938" [in Hebrew], *Pe'amim* 66 (1996), pp. 138–48. An example from Egypt is a manuscript Haggadah from Alexandria (1924), whose miniatures are largely based on those in the Venice 1609 Haggadah (New York, Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary; a sample page is reproduced in Sh. Sabar et al., *The Life Cycle* [in Hebrew] (Jewish Communities in the East in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries; Jerusalem 2006), p. 285. Note that the illustrations of the Amsterdam Haggadah are used in printed Egyptian Haggadot as well, for example in the Cairo Haggadot of the 1940s (Yudlov, *Haggadah Thesaurus*, nos. 3798–3801 p. 277).

[75] Versed in the European tradition, Belforte of Livorno inserted the portrait of the Baghdadi rabbi Joseph Ḥayyim as a standard author's portrait on several books. On the rabbinical portrait in the West, see R. Cohen, *Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1998), pp. 114–53. For the beginnings of this phenomenon in Italy, see Sabar, "The Right Path for an Artist," pp. 270–71. The phenomenon of the rabbinical portrait in Iraq, Morocco, and elsewhere in Islamic lands "immigrated" to Israel and has actually grown much beyond its modest beginnings prior to the mass immigration in the early 1950s. A selection of examples produced in Israel is reproduced in R. Gonen (ed.), *To the Tombs of the Righteous: Pilgrimage in Contemporary Israel* (Jerusalem 1999). The development of this curious subject awaits a detailed study, planned by this writer.

A MASKIL READS ZUNZ: SAMUEL MULDER AND THE EARLIEST DUTCH RECEPTION OF THE *WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS*

Irene E. Zwiep

Introduction

In 1986, the Fourth International Symposium on the History of the Jews in the Netherlands was devoted to the exploration of (early) modern Dutch Jewry in its many historical "interactions and interrelations." In its attempt to rewrite the history of Dutch Jewry as part of a wider international texture, the symposium emphatically relinquished the isolationist paradigm that had been dictated, in the early decades of the twentieth century, by the Nestor of Dutch-Jewish historiography, Sigmund Seeligmann (1873–1940). By introducing this broader perspective, the conference heralded a deliberate departure from Seeligmann's widely followed belief in the unique national history of the *species hollandia judaica*.

It was somewhat surprising, therefore, that in his own contribution, the conference's organizer, Jozeph Michman, chose to continue Seeligmann's *Sonderweg*-paradigm. In his paper on the "Jewish essence" of the Jew as a Dutchman he did not explore the concrete international dimensions of Dutch Jewish existence, but instead concentrated on outlining the abstract local mentalities that had defined the "Jewishness" of the *Nederlandsche Israëlieten*. The result was a first inventory not of what we would now call Jewish identity, but of the social and demographic *expressions* of that supposed Jewish identity in the Netherlands.

Michman defined this identity almost exclusively in terms of Jewish affinity, i.e. of "attachment to and solidarity with Judaism," as he phrased it.[1] In his paper he outlined the degrees of *social* solidarity among the Jews in the kingdom, their identification with Jewish *religious* custom, and their eventual response to Zionism, both as a national

[1] J. Michman, "The Jewish Essence of Dutch Jewry," in *Dutch Jewish History* 2, ed. J. Michman (Assen/Maastricht 1989), pp. 1–22.

and as a supra-national movement. An elementary demographic analysis listing the Dutch Israelites' (as the Jews designated themselves) principal choices regarding the Jewish life-cycle objectively illustrated those—indeed, swiftly waning—affinities. Unfortunately, however, in focusing on intermarriage, baptism, and assimilation as the ultimate touchstones of the "Jewish essence" of Dutch Jewry, Michman could not help but concentrate on precisely that end of the scale where Jewish essence was at its most elusive. Had he chosen a different angle, he might have come closer to identifying the "positive constituents" of modern (secular) Jewish identity in the Netherlands.

In this article I hope to shed some additional light on at least one of those constituents by supplementing Michman's demographic analysis with a few observations from the field of intellectual history. Next to Michman's social solidarity, affinity with religion and support of Zionism, I wish to introduce "Jewish historicism" as an obvious, yet hitherto largely ignored, coordinate of modern Jewish self-perception in the Netherlands. In the following paragraphs I shall try and outline how, already in the early nineteenth century, Dutch-Jewish intellectuals responded to the German *Wissenschaft des Judentums*'s call to formulate a new, "western"—rather than "oriental"—identity, with the help of critical historical research, and henceforth educate the Jewish masses in, to borrow Carl Schorschke's expression, "thinking with history."

Looking at Jewish identity today, we cannot but conclude that the *Wissenschaft*'s reformulation of Jewish *ethnos* and religion in terms of history and culture has had a lasting influence on the way Jews perceive of themselves and their tradition. However, despite this ubiquitous success historiographers have always denied the existence of a significant *Wissenschaft* tradition in the Netherlands. According to some, Dutch orthodoxy had been far too introverted to respond to its challenges;[2] according to others, the need for this emancipatory movement simply had not been

[2] Cf. esp. Michman, "The Jewish Essence," p. 3 ("as regards scholarship goes [*sic*], the High-German Jews would hardly provide material for a far shorter lecture—and insofar as it did exist it was represented entirely by imported talent…") and 7 ("…it was a petrified Orthodoxy that, in its resistance to anything 'new'—regardless of whether it concerned scientific research or the order of the synagogue service—always behaved in a fiercely intolerant manner").

urgent enough in the tolerant Kingdom of the Netherlands, where the Jews had been granted equal rights and citizenship as early as 1796.[3]

The basic assumption underlying the following sketch sharply questions this unanimous skepticism. For indeed, one cannot escape the impression that previous historians discarded the notion of a Dutch *Wissenschaft* not so much because of the nature and quantity of the nineteenth-century "joodsche wetenschap," as because of its quality. Admittedly that *wetenschap* almost without exception lacked the scope and depth, the adventure and critical sense that characterized its German counterpart. Yet the mere fact that it differed, in orientation and degree, from its German model should not deceive us into thinking that *Wissenschaft* and historicist discourse never gained ground in the Netherlands. By explicitly comparing the Dutch and the German traditions and by pinpointing some of the differences between the two, we may not only rehabilitate the modern Dutch-Jewish intellectual enterprise, but perhaps even succeed in grasping part of its national particularities.

One of the most eloquent illustrations of the parallels and discrepancies between the two traditions is found in what was possibly the first encounter of a Dutch-Jewish intellectual with the German *Wissenschaft des Judentums*: Samuel Mulder's 1826 Dutch adaptation of Leopold Zunz's biography of Rashi.[4] Zunz's study had appeared in Berlin in 1822 and, being one of the earliest Jewish examples of critical biographical reconstruction, had been a complete novelty, both methodologically and conceptually. Yet the revolutionary nature of Zunz's study is not the only reason why Mulder's recapitulation presents such an interesting case. In Mulder's reading of Zunz we become witness to an encounter between two major intellectual epochs: the age of the nascent Dutch Haskalah versus its natural successor, the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. The confrontation between these two—not always compatible—movements gives rise to a series of elementary questions. How did the maskil Mulder read Zunz's critical historiography, and how did he adopt its contents and methods? And, no less urgently, why had he

[3] R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, "Moeizame aanpassing (1814–1870)," in *Geschiedenis van de joden in Nederland*, ed. J. C. H. Blom et al. (Amsterdam 1995), pp. 235 ff.

[4] S. I. Mulder, *Iets over de verdiensten van R. Salomo ben Izak, bij verkorting genaamd Ras'si als verklaarder der Heilige Schrift en Talmudische werken, en verbreider van Hebreeuwsche taal- en letterkunde* (Amsterdam 1826), based on L. Zunz, "Salomon ben Isaac, genannt Raschi," *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* 1.2 (Berlin 1822), pp. 277–384.

turned to that German novelty in the first place, and what audience had he wished to convince with the results?

The answers to these simple yet fundamental "how" and "why" questions will reveal at least one strategy that remained with the *joodsche wetenshap* for decades. An important clue to that strategy lies in our understanding of the word "reading," for even the most cursory examination of *Iets over de verdiensten van . . . Ras'si* will show that Mulder did not so much read as *pillage* Zunz's work. Only occasionally maintaining an original sentence in translation, he offered his readers a highly selective and opportunistic summary of Zunz's critical findings. And it was precisely this deliberate (maskilic) eclecticism that would mark the tone and content of the ensuing Dutch *Wissenschaft* for a long time.

A Close Encounter of the Third Kind

In the intellectual landscape of the 1820s, Leopold Zunz and Samuel Mulder indeed would have been *bien étonnés de se trouver ensemble*. For although the two men differed (besides a few hundred, crucial miles in longitude) only two years in age, they nevertheless belonged to two radically different scholarly eras. For a better understanding of their respective intellectual strategies, I shall begin my comparison by briefly contrasting a few relevant details from their early biographies.

Samuel Israël Mulder was born (as Samuel Schrijver) in Amsterdam, on the 20th of June 1792.[5] He received a traditional education but, under the influence of David Friedrichsfeld (c. 1755–1810), a Berlin *émigré* who may have been the one to introduce Mulder to the seminal periodical *ha-Me'asef*, he eventually chose Haskalah as his intellectual destiny. Mulder thus became part of the second wave of maskilim who, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, succeeded in temporarily reviving the late eighteenth-century Berlin Enlightenment in traditional centers like Prague and Amsterdam. Faithfully continuing the ideals of

[5] Biographical material can be found in H. N. Shapira, *Toledot ha-sifrut ha-'ivrit ha-hadashah* [History of the modern Hebrew literature], vol. 1 (1940), pp. 555–64; E. B. Asscher, *Levensschets van Samuel Israël Mulder* (Amsterdam 1863); H. Boas, "De leraar Hebreeuws van Eduard Asser: Samuel I. Mulder," *Amstelodamum* 52 (1965), pp. 126–35; F. J. Hoogwoud, "Samuel I. Mulder in Hannover en zijn contact met Leeser Rosenthal (1861)," *StRos* 14 (1980), pp. 129–44; and J. Michman, *The History of Dutch Jewry during the Emancipation Period 1787–1815. Gothic Turrets on a Corinthian Building* (Amsterdam 1995), pp. 158–83 (*passim*), esp. 178 n. 69.

Wessely, Itzig, and Friedländer, Mulder devoted his efforts to serving the cause of Jewish emancipation through education and (Dutch as well as Hebrew) literacy. In 1818 he became an official court translator ("beëdigd vertaler," as he proudly mentions on the title-page of his Rashi monograph). In 1826, the year in which he published the monograph, he was appointed principal of the Amsterdam rabbinic seminary, which under his direction eventually adopted a maskilic curriculum (in 1836).[6] From 1835 until his death in 1862, Mulder served as *inspecteur* of the Jewish religious schools in the kingdom.

At some point in his career, presumably in 1843, the ambitious Mulder appears to have earned himself a doctoral degree—on the title-page of his Dutch translation of Ibn Gabirol's *Keter Malkhut* (1850),[7] his name is followed by the learned epithet "doctor of philosophy." We do not, however, possess any details regarding the time and place of his promotion to doctor-hood, nor do we know the title or subject of his dissertation. In a characteristic piece of scholarly gossip, Mulder's younger contemporary (and greatest critic) Meijer Roest[8] insinuated that Mulder's acquiring the title may not have been an altogether *kosher* affair. In one of his contributions to Philippson's *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (1852–1853),[9] Roest lashed out against his colleague, Mulder, "who, having travelled to Giessen university, was honoured there with a doctoral certificate" [welcher von der Gieszener Universität nach einer Reise desselben mit dem Diplom des Dr.phil. beehrt worden ist…]. In her 1965 sketch of Mulder's life and work, Henriëtte Boas interpreted this as a straightforward doctorate *honoris causa* and as a sign

[6] For that curriculum, cf. esp. H. G. A. Janssen, "Staatrechtelijke en culturele aspecten van het Israëlitisch onderwijs in Nederland tot 1869," *StRos* 11 (1977), pp. 57–60.

[7] Samuel I. Mulder, *Keter malkhut le-Rabbi Shlomo ibn Gabirol. Kroon der verheerlijking door den geleerden Salomo ibn Gabirol*, in: *Orde voor den Verzoendag, naar den ritus der Nederlandsch-Portugeeschen Israëlieten, opnieuw in het Nederduitsch vertaald* (Amsterdam 5610/1850).

[8] The bibliographer and journalist Meijer Marcus Roest (1821–1889) had studied at the Amsterdam seminary under Mulder's presidency; a few instances of his scathing denunciations of Mulder's epigonic methods are listed in J. Meijer, *Meijer Marcus Roest (1821–1889)*, vol. 1: *De biografie van een bibliograaf* (Heemstede 1980), pp. 16–18; in my article, "No Friend of Humbug: Meijer Roest Mz., First Custodian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana (1881–1889)" in I. Zwiep et al. (eds.), *Omnia in Eo. Studies on Jewish Books and Libraries in Honour of Adri Offenberg Celebrating the 125th Anniversary of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam* [*StRos* 38/39 (2006)], pp. 37–48, I argue that this critique depended as much upon Roest's own professional ethos, which was rather unique at the time, as upon the search for a new, independent scholarly paradigm.

[9] Quoted from Meijer, *Meijer Marcus Roest*, vol. 1, p. 16.

of well-deserved international, non-Jewish recognition.[10] However, the overall orientation of Mulder's oeuvre, in which introductory surveys,[11] linguistic manuals,[12] and Dutch translations of the Hebrew liturgy compete for prime position,[13] seems to corroborate Roest's suspicion, or at least justifies a healthy dose of skepticism towards any academic proclivities on Mulder's part. His fundamental and long-lasting belief in emancipation through *linguistic accommodation*[14] rather than *historical investigation* exposes Mulder not as a *Wissenschaftler*, but as an essential "Dutch second-generation Berlin *maskil*."

Although Yom Tov Lipmann (Leopold) Zunz was born a mere two years after Mulder (Detmold, 10 August 1794), he would always remain one historical generation ahead. After spending a few grueling years in *cheider*, young Zunz was sent to the Jüdische Freyschule in Wolfenbüttel, where he enjoyed a maskilic education, and to the Wolfenbüttel Gymnasium, where he was introduced to a wide range of secular subjects and developed a penchant for mathematics.[15] In 1815 he enrolled at

[10] Boas, "De leraar Hebreeuws van Eduard Asser," p. 128.

[11] Notably *Geschiedenis der Israëliten, van de schepping der wereld tot na de verwoesting des tweeden tempels* (Amsterdam 1846). *Kort overzigt van de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde, naar aanleiding van het grootere werk over dit onderwerp van den hoogleeraar Matthijs Siegenbeek* (Haarlem 1847), and the 17-volume *Bijbel voor de Israëlietische jeugd* (1850–1855).

[12] Cf. esp. his *Qitzur 'ammude ha-lashon… Auszug der Elemente der Hebräischen Sprache* (Amsterdam 1820), a 32-page epitome of Joel Bril's *'Ammude ha-lashon. Die Elemente der Hebräischen Sprache nach logischen Prinzipien entwickelt, ein Handbuch fur Lehrer…* (Berlin 1794), and the *Hebreeuws-Nederduitsch handwoordenboek* (Amsterdam 1831), which Mulder compiled together with his fellow maskil, Moses Lemans (1785–1832).

[13] Besides translating large parts of the Hebrew Bible (1827–1838), Mulder composed Dutch translations of the Passover Haggadah (1837), *Keter Malkhut* (1850), and the *Sefer ha-Hayyim* prayer book (1851); for a brief analysis of the latter, cf. my "Piety, Poetry, and History. The Study of Cemeteries and the Infrastructure of the Early Dutch Wissenschaft des Judentums," in *Memoria. Wege jüdischen Erinnerens*, ed. B. E. Klein and Ch. E. Müller (Berlin 2005), pp. 287–99. For Mulder's biblical translations, cf. J. S. da Silva Rosa, "Honderd jaar Nederlandsch-Joodsche bijbelvertaling," *De Vrijdagavond* 3/13 (1926), pp. 204–6 and, more recently, T. Musaph, "De joodse bijbelvertalingen," in *Om een verstaanbare bijbel. Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen na de statenbijbel*, ed. A. W. Jaakke and E. W. Tuinstra (Haarlem 1990), pp. 183–99. Mulder's own *Iets over de vertalingen der Heilige Schrift, en bijzonder van den Pentateuchus, door Israëliten, van den vroegsten tijd tot op dezen dag* (Amsterdam 1859) is essentially a Dutch recapitulation of Solomon Dubno's *'Alim li-Terufah* (Berlin 1783).

[14] In the words of a contemporary admirer, Mulder's translations succeeded "in bringing together religion and fatherland, the Netherlands and Judea"; quoted in Boas, "De leraar Hebreeuws van Eduard Asser," p. 133.

[15] A recent summary of Zunz's education can be found in C. Trautmann-Waller, "'Man of Words and Action': On the Cultural Biography of Leopold Zunz," *EAJS Newsletter* 15 (2004), pp. 4–12.

the new Humbold University in Berlin, where *Altertumswissenschaft* was the ruling paradigm. Here he received the broad academic training that would enable him to develop a "Jewish philology" and become the acknowledged founder (already during his lifetime) of an entirely new branch of Jewish learning. The following comparison indeed sums it up quite nicely: while in 1815 Samuel Mulder co-founded the maskilic *Tongeleth*-society,[16] which was all about strait-laced Dutch-Jewish *musar* spiced up by biblical Hebrew proficiency, only four years later Leopold Zunz stood at the cradle of the Berlin *Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, whose aims and methods were to set the scholarly agenda—*mutatis mutandis*—until this very day.[17]

Already Zunz's earliest publications were marked by the new approach of Judaism that not only revolutionized Jewish scholarship but forever altered Jewish self-perception. In his 1822 biography of Rashi, this new approach manifested itself in a profound re-interpretation of the Jewish commentary genre. In traditional Jewish thinking, Rashi had always been perceived as a timeless text rather than as a "time-bound" man. For generations of students, that ageless text had been the prism through which the Bible and Talmud were to be understood, a procedure that had inevitably reduced "Rashi the man" to near-anonymous abstraction. For the first time in the history of Jewish interpretation, Zunz set out to retrieve the actual, historical commentator from behind the timeless commentary. He did so with the help of a close reading of Rashi's own writings, supplemented by data gleaned from (Jewish and Christian) historical and bibliographical sources. The result was an ambitious, multi-layered article. On the surface, readers could catch a glimpse of a medieval Jew firmly rooted in history, a man with a family tree and a business to run, behind whom they would soon detect the scholar, surrounded by teachers, students, colleagues, and his extensive library. Simultaneously, however, the reconstruction was meant as a methodological manifesto: besides trying to define Rashi's *Geist* and times, Zunz also carefully documented the historical transmission

[16] On the *Tongeleth* confraternity, cf. I. Maarsen's descriptive *Tongeleth* studies in *De Vrijdagavond* 1.1 (1924), pp. 390–93; 1.2 (1924), pp. 135–37, 146–48, 199–201 (separately published in 1925), and P. Tuinhout-Keuning's more comparative "The Writings of the To'eleth Society of Amsterdam and the Haskalah in Germany" [in Hebrew], in *Studies on the History of Dutch Jewry* 5 (1988), pp. 217–71.

[17] No less significant, of course, is the fact that, while Mulder's 1843 doctorate remains shrouded in mystery, Zunz had successfully defended his doctoral thesis on Shem Tov ibn Falaquera (in Halle) as early as 1821.

of his author's oeuvre, thus guaranteeing maximum precision and verifiability. Once he had reached the end of this survey, he could not resist the temptation of formulating a comprehensive research agenda, which dictated various lines of future text-critical, linguistic, literary, and historical research.

In order to better grasp the nature of Mulder's appreciation of Zunz's exercise, I shall now briefly highlight three dominant "*Wissenschaft* trends" in the original article. In the next section we shall then examine what remained of each of these three characteristics in Mulder's adaptation, and to what purpose that characteristic was either retained or discarded.[18]

The first thing that strikes us in Zunz's study is the limitless belief in the possibilities of critical inquiry. This positivism expressed itself in the systematic priority given to historical fact and detail and in the relentless collecting and comparing of historical testimonies. The underlying attitude is only too clear: historiography was a serious *profession*, with patient scrutiny and balanced judgment its principal tools. Henceforth the only reliable Jewish scholarship would be critical scholarship.

The second characteristic feature, which was of course directly related to this uncompromisingly professional ethos, concerned the scholar's impartiality. To guarantee objectivity was the new scholar's greatest concern. The importance of being objective was reflected by his methodology (witness the factualism and the relentless quest for solid, verifiable data), as well as by his tone and rhetoric. The early *Wissenschaftler* would not hesitate to publicly expose the mythology that had been generated by tradition; in fact it was his very task to demythologize traditional discourse. As we shall see, Zunz, too, indulged in the occasional debunking of legends that had been conjured up by the sages and rabbis in the course of the centuries.

The third impression we get from Zunz's work is that, in the early nineteenth century, writing Jewish history essentially amounted to performing a translation act. The Jewish scholar "was forced" to describe the history of his people in Western terms, using the apparatus and the—still somewhat foreign—categories of "European" scholarship. The costs of this translation act were high: stressing the universal compatibility of his culture, the scholar inevitably would gloss over,

[18] These—and other—"trends" are analyzed in the illuminating inventory of *Wissenschaft* values in I. Schorsch, *From Text to Context. The Turn to History in Modern Judaism* (Hanover 1994), pp. 151–76.

and often even obscure, the specifically Jewish *Geist* of that culture.[19] In this respect, the following formulation in Zunz's description is exemplary: here Rashi no longer appears as an encyclopedic commentary made up of *peshat* and *divrei aggadah*, but instead is introduced as "der Stifter der deutsch-französischen rabbinischen *Litteratur*" (emphasis mine), a "scientific" qualification that certainly will have appealed to Zunz's academically trained contemporaries—and to Mulder, as we shall now see.

Facing the Invention of History

Of the three "*Wissenschaft* values" outlined above (i.e. the pursuit of critical inquiry, the battle against myth, and the representation of Jewish tradition in universal terms), it was only the last that was adopted by Mulder without reservations or alterations. Faithfully continuing Zunz's translation technique, Mulder also approached Rashi first and foremost as "the founder of German-French rabbinic literature" [de stichter van de Duitsch-Fransche rabbijnse letterkunde].[20] And, like Zunz, he no longer presented his hero as part of an abstract textual continuum that balanced on the brink between orality and *Schriftlichkeit*, but as a modern scholar working in his study, reading and quoting from the books in his library—a library, by the way, which it was the historian's task to reconstruct.[21] It is not surprising that Mulder, who aimed to serve the cause of Jewish emancipation by convincing his fellow-countrymen of the essential compatibility of Dutch and Israelite culture, was particularly charmed by this part of Zunz's work.

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[19] Compare Scholem's famous critique, that *Wissenschaft* in fact entailed a negation of "the most vital aspects of the Jewish people as a collective entity," thus almost culminating into "a form of censorship of the Jewish past," quoted from G. Scholem, "The Science of Judaism—Then and Now," in idem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality* (New York 1971), p. 305.

[20] Mulder, *Iets over de verdiensten*, p. 5.

[21] "Gaarne had ik met mijne lezers in 's mans boekverzameling rondgewaard… Het is genoeg te weten, dat RAS'SI onder tachtig werken die hij bezat, dertien Commentatoren, drie Lexicographen, vijf verzamelingen van regtsbesluiten, achttien Talmud- en Wet-opheldernde, en acht taalkundige schriften bezeten heeft" (p. 7). NB: for a first exploration of the modern "library awareness," cf. A. Bar-Levav's article in the present volume, and esp. his study, "Between Library Awareness and the Jewish Republic of Letters" [in Hebrew], in *Libraries and Book Collections*, ed. Y. Kaplan and M. Sluhovsky (Jerusalem 2006), pp. 201–24.

Seeing how social and cultural emancipation ranked first on his agenda, it should not surprise us that Mulder remained virtually untouched by the more abstract methodological aspects of his *Vorlage*, such as the stress on independent research and critical examination. Thus he wholly ignored Zunz's systematic comparison of sources and testimonies, nor did he reflect upon the soundness of Zunz's own findings and interpretations. In Mulder's adaptation, there is hardly a trace of Zunz's 36-page reconstruction of the textual transmission of Rashi's work, nor of his detailed inventory of Jewish literature between 1030 and 1110, which simultaneously defined Rashi's intellectual background *and* the historical canon of which he had been a part.[22] The pioneering research agenda that concluded the biography was glossed over in utter silence.

All in all, we find that, where Zunz's article had counted one hundred and seven pages, Mulder's adaptation consisted of a mere thirty-six, of which one third (pp. 22–35) were devoted to Dutch translations of the *lo'azim* in Torah, a novelty introduced by Mulder in order to help his audience make the most of Rashi's commentary—in the traditional-maskilic, rather than the newly-developed critical way.[23] We should, therefore, to some extent modify Jaap Meijer's judgment of Mulder's monograph as "a slavish adaptation of Zunz's classic article" [een slaafse bewerking van Zunz' klassiek artikel].[24] Indeed, in the things he maintained Mulder appears purely receptive: blindly accepting Zunz's narrative and never becoming part of the nascent *creative* historiographical discourse himself. Yet in being fiercely selective as to what to maintain and how to exploit its rhetorical quality, he very much seems to have followed an agenda of his own. This will become particularly clear if

[22] Mulder limited himself to summarizing that "van zijne tijdgenooten, (waaronder zoo vele mannen zijn, die op eene regtmatige hulde aanspraak kunnen maken,) ook van hen zeg ik niets anders, dan dat gedurende RAS'SIS leven in Frankrijk en Italiën meer dan zestig groote Israëliten, en in Spanje en Noord-Afrika meer dan dertig gebloeid hebben" (p. 7).

[23] That Mulder was particularly proud of this achievement appears from the following statement: "het strekt mij tot zelfvoldoening te kunnen zeggen, dat ik, althans wat den Pentateuchus betreft, zelfs daar, waar de groote *Mendelsohn* rondborstig bekent, geene oplossing te kunnen vinden, het werk ten einde gebragt heb. In dit opzigt vooral zal mijne uitgave de eenigst naauwkeurige en volledige zijn die ooit het licht gezien heeft" (p. 12).

[24] J. Meijer, *Erfenis der emancipatie. Het Nederlandse jodendom in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw* (Haarlem 1963), p. 73.

we take a closer look at Mulder's *Umwertung* of the third aim of Zunz's study mentioned above: the critical debunking of traditional myth.

It is in Mulder's complex appreciation of Zunz's attempt to demythologize tradition that we discover the clue to his ultimate motivation for translating Zunz. At first glance, it seems that Mulder simply continued the *Wissenschaft*'s rhetoric of historical objectivity versus traditional fiction. However, upon closer inspection we find that he did so from a wholly different conviction, and in response to an entirely different enemy. The object of Zunz's scorn had been the ahistorical Jewish tradition, the timeless, unquestioned universe that had not been able to reflect upon itself with the help of critical investigation. The maskil Mulder, on the other hand, had little reason to dismiss the Jewish heritage in such a resolutely modernist manner. And in order to save that heritage, he set out to undermine precisely that which had been vital for Zunz: the historical dimension, with its notions of progress and evolution, which threatened to render obsolete the once timeless Rashi.

That it was the "invention of history," not traditional ignorance, that was Mulder's real enemy, is revealed only in the course of the booklet. Halfway through the book (p. 16) we witness Mulder lecturing those who doubted Rashi's relevance vis-à-vis modernity, including the "so-called enlightened men" [de zoogenaamde verlichten], who thought Rashi's work too concise, irrelevant, and, especially, "too orthodox." A few pages earlier, he had already reprimanded those who, obviously overwhelmed by the shock of history, had begun to view Rashi as a primitive relic that should be barred from the new, enlightened, Jewish library. After eight centuries of progress, Mulder argued, one might indeed be tempted to underestimate the value of a medieval commentator. Yet a diamond will always be a diamond, however old-fashioned and oriental its setting.[25]

Significantly, its being "old-fashioned" had been the feature that had disqualified Rashi's work, in the eyes of Leopold Zunz. For Zunz, the past was a foreign country. The Age of Enlightenment having brought unprecedented opportunities, a new era had dawned for the Jews in Europe, an era of which the Middle Ages (almost a tangible epoch now)

[25] *Iets over de verdiensten*, pp. 10–11: "Maar…waarom moeten *wij*, die bijna acht eeuwen verder in de beschaving gevorderd zijn, waarom zullen *wij* zijne verklaringen boven die van anderen bezigen, die in meer verlichte tijden leven?…De diamant blijft zijne waarde behouden, al is hij naar de ouderwetschen orientaalschen en niet naar den hedengaadschen franschen smaak ingevat."

could never be a part. When trying to drive this particular point home, Zunz had allowed his critique of tradition to grow fiercely provocative. He had not hesitated to portray Rashi as a superstitious medieval who had known neither language nor science, had interpreted the Bible from lucky intuition, and who—an unfortunate flaw in the eyes of enlightened man—would have been as fiercely intolerant as any medieval Christian: "Ich aber sage von meinem Helden, dass er vom Talmud beherrscht, keinesweges tolerant gewesen,–dass er vom Persischen, Arabischen, Latein und Griechischen Nichts verstanden,– dass seine deutschen, astronomischen, geographischen und medizinischen Kenntnisse einen unbedeutenden Inhalt gehabt,–dass er in der Kabbala ein Fremdling, nicht frei von Aberglauben, und selbst in der hebräischen Sprache, mehr durch Tact und Uebung, als durch zum Bewusstseyn gekommene Grammatik, zu Einsichten gelangt war."[26]

By contrast, for Mulder the past and its legacy continued to be vitally relevant. Therefore he had no choice but to try and rehabilitate his medieval hero in the face of enlightened modernity. Compare his—almost polemical—recapitulation of Zunz's judgment, quoted above: "Het is dus het talmudisch-Israëlitisch leven, waaruit men RAS'SI beschouwen moet…Moge hij al of niet persisch, arabisch, grieksch, latijn en duitsch verstaan, de sterre- en geneeskunde, en andere wetenschappen al of niet beöefend… wij hebben niets van dit alles noodig, om den roem te vestigen, dien hij zich als Leeraar en Commentator verworven heeft…"[27] It is clear that, for both Zunz and Mulder, *history* was the judge that dictated their respective verdicts; in both verdicts, however, it appears in radically different capacities. While the former had used the historical dimension in order to distance himself from tradition, the latter had overtly doubted history's consequences, while simultaneously adducing it to help soften our judgment of tradition (we have seen how the passing of time, which, over the ages, had confirmed Rashi's merit, was also called upon to serve as an excuse for his relative "un-modernity"). On Mulder's list of strategic priorities, apology apparently ranked higher than critical impartiality.[28] It was, however,

[26] Zunz, "Salomon ben Isaac," p. 285.

[27] *Iets over de verdiensten*, p. 6. NB: Mulder tacitly overruled this balanced consideration, stating that "[b]ij voorkomende woorden… heldert RAS'SI dezelve ook door de arabische, persische, griekse, latijnsche, of duitsche, in enkele gevallen ook door de phoenicische taal op" (ibid., p. 12).

[28] History, Mulder argued (ibid., pp. 2–4), offered us numerous examples of *literati* [*letterkundigen*] who, centuries after their death, attracted both ardent admirers and

an informed apology, nurtured by historical analysis. Thus one might say that, in Mulder's version, the "shock of history" was countered, in its turn, with a homoeopathic dose of historical considerations.

To say that for Mulder the past continued to remain of vital relevance, however, is to tell only half the story. For Mulder appears to have had a very concrete reason to turn to Zunz's study and exploit it the way he did. In 1826, the year in which he wrote *Iets over de verdiensten*, he also published his Dutch Pentateuch translation (*De vijf boeken van Mozes*), which was modeled on Mendelssohn's *Bi'ur* and, like its example, included a running commentary. Rather than mustering, as Mendelssohn had done, a team of contemporaries who were to provide a new set of glosses, Mulder chose to resort to the extant Rashi-text, taking great care to stress its suitability for this enlightened enterprise. Ironically, he decided to use a highly innovative *Wissenschaft*-study to vindicate this relatively conservative project. In order to harmonize the two, he had to subject his German source to a highly opportunistic reading, turning inside-out its argumentation and caustic rhetoric whenever necessary.

Epilogue: The Dutch Maskilic Legacy

In 1826, when Dutch Jewish intellectuals were still steeped in the ideals of the Berlin Haskalah, the Amsterdam maskil, Samuel Mulder, also appears to have been attracted by the—much more extreme—translation strategies of the rising *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Though quick to exploit the emancipatory opportunities offered by this revolutionary scholarly trend, he was loath to accept its more extreme consequences. Nor did he ever enter the critical historicist discourse that evolved around it. Mulder's principal framework remained the bilingual maskilic paradigm he had encountered in his youth, with its emphasis on traditional Hebrew texts, language, and instruction. Each time he showed a

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inveterate opponents. While excessive admiration usually stemmed from historical ignorance, unjust opposition was fostered by jealous envy. Fortunately, history would teach us that to become subject to such envy had been the fate of all great men. Therefore, the best historian was not so much the best researcher, as the best judge, i.e. he who knew to give a mild and balanced judgment. Strictly speaking, by putting prudence and discretion over objectivity, Mulder disagreed with Zunz, although one may doubt whether he was aware of the fundamental chasm that gaped between their respective conceptions of history and its benefits.

mild interest in historiography, the result would remain firmly embedded in maskilic genres and concerns. Witness, for example, the educational surveys he wrote in the 1840s,[29] and especially his 1851 treatise on the Jewish cemetery at Muiderberg,[30] which was as much indebted to Zunz's methodological *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (Berlin 1845) as it was to Samuel David Luzzatto's literary *Avnei Zikkaron* (Prague 1841). Originally included in the bilingual prayer-book *Sefer ha-Hayyim*, Mulder's description of the cemetery's history and archaeology combined innovative archival research with pious edification of the old-fashioned, *hodie mihi, cras tibi* kind. Whereas Zunz had not hesitated to sever the ties between past and present, Mulder allowed the historical dimension to enter the sphere of contemporary ritual and merge with Jewish liturgy in good, maskilic harmony.

Mulder's 1826 reading of Zunz may thus have been a somewhat premature example of the Dutch encounter with the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. It does, however, exhibit various traits that may be considered typical for the contents and methods of the ensuing scholarly tradition. First of all, we notice that Mulder's little monograph, though expressing a maskilic agenda of its own, was predominantly *receptive*, not creative. It shares this relative "receptivity" with virtually all major historical works published by Dutch-Jewish authors in the nineteenth century, from Mozes Mijers's *Algemeene geschiedenis des Israëlitischen volks*, which, compared to Mulder's booklet, was an authentic rendering of Isaac Marcus Jost's *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israëlitischen Volkes* (1832),[31] down to David Mozes Sluys and Jacob Hoofiën's three-volume *Handboek voor de geschiedenis der Joden* (Amsterdam, 1870–1873), which betrays a

[29] S. Mulder, *Geschiedenis der Israëliten, van de schepping der wereld tot na de verwoesting des tweeden tempels* (Amsterdam 1846) and *Kort overzigt van de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde, naar aanleiding van het grootere werk over dit onderwerp van den hoogleeraar Matthijs Siegenbeek* (Haarlem 1847).

[30] "Iets over de begraafplaatsen der Nederlandsch-Israëlitische gemeente te Amsterdam, en bijzonder over die te Muiderberg," included in Mulder's *Sefer ha-Hayyim* (Amsterdam 1851), pp. 137–43. That same year, *Iets over de begraafplaatsen* was published, together with a selection of epitaphs entitled *Avnei Zikkaron*, as a separate brochure (Amsterdam 1851); for a brief analysis, cf. my "Piety, Poetry, and History," pp. 292 ff.

[31] *Algemeene geschiedenis des Israëlitishen volks, uit het Hoogduits vertaald door M. Mijers onder toezigt en medewerking van, met eene voorrede, aanteekeningen en chronologische tafelen voorzien door Iz.J. Lion* (Leeuwarden 1842). Although Lion's introduction bespeaks a clear affinity with Jost (thus Lion whole-heartedly subscribed to Jost's creed that historiography, an important tool in achieving Jewish emancipation, should be an entirely *secular* enterprise), he had no intention whatsoever of founding a Dutch tradition of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.

heavy dependence upon Heinrich Graetz's monumental *Geschichte der Juden* of 1860.

That in those early years the Dutch scholars did not just passively wait for the results of the German *Wissenschaft* to travel westward becomes clear when we examine the *Alphabetarische Liste der Förderer*, i.e. the list of subscribers to the *Institut zur Förderung der israelitischen Literatur,* which was founded in 1855 by Ludwig Philippson in cooperation with Jost and Jellinek.[32] From the start, we find an impressive number of Dutch Jewish scholars among the supporters of this learned publication society. Samuel Mulder, Mozes Mijers, and Meijer Roest, to name but a few examples, had joined as early as 1856; in 1857 both the young, Rotterdam "reformist," Leman Borstel (b. 1827), and the ageing Amsterdam maskil, Gabriel Polak (b. 1803), had added their names to the list, and in 1858 the Portuguese-Jewish researcher David Henriques de Castro followed suit. Besides these more pronounced exponents of Dutch Jewish scholarship we also find progressive rabbis (e.g. Isaacsohn and Chumaceiro), young schoolmasters, and bourgeois professionals such as doctors and lawyers among the earliest members of Philippson's literary society.[33]

A second feature of Mulder's booklet that would continue to echo through nineteenth-century Dutch-Jewish scholarship was its almost exclusive preoccupation with the traditional Hebrew canon. While scholars in Germany and France began to explore various, newly discovered areas of Jewish culture, notably medieval Sepharad and its rich philosophical and scientific library, their Dutch colleagues continued to concentrate on those sections of the Jewish canon that had enjoyed a continuous reception. When Leman Borstel decided to write on medieval Jewish philosophy, he chose Yedayah ha-Penini's all-time classic *Bechinat Olam* as his subject.[34] When, in the 1840s, the versatile Levi

[32] I wish to thank Harry van der Linden for supplying me with this reference.

[33] The Dutch membership of the *Alphabetarische Liste* indeed grew rapidly: after seventeen subscriptions in the first year, we find mention of fifty-nine Dutch members in the second issue of the *Liste*. From the 1860s onwards, new scholarly societies arose in various Jewish communities in the Netherlands (e.g. Deventer, The Hague, Rotterdam, Schiedam, and Utrecht), whereupon joining a foreign literary society may have become less of an intellectual necessity. In 1866/67, the *Alphabetarische Liste* still counted sixty-two Dutch members; by contrast, in 1885 only six Dutch Jews, among whom the rabbis Wijnkoop (Amsterdam), Dusnek (Leeuwarden), and Ritter (Rotterdam), joined the new "Hebräische Literatur-Verein *Mekize-Nirdamim*."

[34] *Bespiegelingen over de wereld, van den wijsgeer en dichter Jedaja ha-Penini ben Rab. Avraham Bedersi, in 't Nederduitsch vertaald, met aanteekeningen en eene inleiding voorzien door L. Borstel* (The

Ali Cohen (Groningen, 1817–1889) attempted to sketch the history of Jewish biology and psychology, his main sources were the biblical Book of Job, the Babylonian Talmud, and the Rambam's *Shemonah Perakim*.[35] Also in Groningen, the young medical student Abraham Hartog Israëls (1822–1883) was awarded a doctoral degree for his historical treatise on Talmudic gynecology.[36] Simultaneously, in Leiden, the energetic Salomo Keijzer (1823–1868), future professor of Javanese law, began his career by translating Benjamin of Tudela's widely-read itinerary (1846), and by writing a doctoral thesis on Talmudic tutelage (*De voogdij volgens het Talmoedische recht: Tutela secundum Jus Thalmudicum* [Leiden 1847]).[37] And when, in the 1860s, Joseph Hirsch Dünner (1833–1911) introduced Zechariah Fränkel's "historical positivism" into the Amsterdam rabbinic seminary, henceforth training his students in this curious amalgam of *Wissenschaft* and *pilpul*, the Dutch traditionalist tendency was once again confirmed and institutionalized.[38]

A final characteristic, which was closely related to the second feature, concerns the dissemination of the results of the newly developed research. In those early decades, this dissemination took place almost entirely through the traditional Jewish infrastructure. Before the 1860s, we encounter the hesitant beginnings of a Dutch (maskilic) *Wissenschaft*

Hague 1855). For a few elementary biographical notes on Borstel, see D. Hausdorff, *Jizkor. Platenatlas van drie en een halve eeuw geschiedenis van de joodse gemeente in Rotterdam van 1610 tot 1960* (Baarn 1978), pp. 134–35.

[35] *De dichter Job beschouwd als uitmuntend dierkundige* (Groningen 1843); *Over de booze geesten naar aanleiding van de Rabbijnen* (Groningen 1845); *Shemonah Peraqim* (Groningen 1845); for his other activities, cf. Meijer, *Erfenis der emancipatie*, pp. 75–76 and *Nieuw Nederlands biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 4, p. 443.

[36] *Diss. hist. medica exhib. collectanea gynaeologica ex Talmudi Babylonio* (Groningen 1845); cf. also his later *De keizersnede bij levenden, volgens den Bab. Talmud* (1882). While writing the dissertation, Israëls had received help from the Leiden Orientalist T. G. J. Juynboll, cf. Meijer, *Meijer Marcus Roest*, vol. 2, p. 58. For Israëls's necrology, cf. esp. E. Daniels, *Nederlandsch tijdschrift voor geneeskunde*, 11 and 18 October 1884.

[37] For Keijzer's fitful career in academia, see C. Fasseur, *De indologen: ambtenaren voor de Oost 1825–1950* (Amsterdam 1993), *passim*.

[38] Notable exceptions to the Dutch traditionalist taste were Meijer Roest, whose longing for scholarly authenticity expressed itself in "autoptic" bibliographical studies (cf. my article mentioned above, n. 8), and David Henriques de Castro, whose life-long project, *Keur van Grafsteenen op de Nederl.-Portu.-Israël. begraafplaats te Ouderkerk aan den Amstel met beschrijving en biografische aantekeningen* (Leiden 1883) relied on an unprecedented combination of scholarly techniques; cf. J.-M. Cohen, "David Henriques de Castro Mzn: A Collector in Nineteenth-century Amsterdam," *StRos* 33 (1999), pp. 28–46.

in religious manuals like Mulder's *Sefer ha-Hayyim*,[39] in the various historical surveys and linguistic textbooks that were written for the religious schools, and especially in *luchot*, i.e. almanacs or "jaarboekjes," where information on the *kehillah* and its festivals were supplemented by an increasing section of miscellaneous notes [mengelwerk] of a literary and historical nature. With tradition and scholarship thus having entered a formal alliance, we may conclude that, during the first half of the nineteenth century at least, Dutch Jewry did not yet experience the sharp divide between "religious" and "secular" that would come to characterize the modern Jewish condition. It was only in the 1860s that we witness the rise of a separate, secular, scholarly public sphere in the Netherlands, when Meijer Roest initiated such periodicals as the—relatively short-lived—*Joods Letterkundige Bijdragen* (1867–1889) and, especially, the *Israëlitische Letterbode*, a quarterly that was created a few years later in deliberate imitation of the Breslauer *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*. The journal served as a platform for international, as well as local, seminar-based scholarship for almost fifteen years. If we take the year of its foundation as the year of the "true beginning" of a "professional" Dutch *Wissenschaft des Judentums*—the *Letterbode* began to appear in 1875 and continued to be published until 1888—we are almost tempted to conclude that the famous adage, according to which "the Dutch always lag behind some fifty years," was once again confirmed by history.

[39] Compare also G. I. Polak's description of the Muiderberg cemetery, included in his *Sefer Hayyim la-Nefesh. Godsdienstig handboek voor Israëlieten ten gebruike bij ziekte, overlijden, en op de begraafplaatsen* (Amsterdam 1867), and separately published as *Bat Qol Gallim* that same year; cf. also Zwiep, "Piety, Poetry, and History," pp. 294 ff.

DUTCH NATIONAL IDENTITY AND JEWISH INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY: AN IMPOSSIBLE COMBINATION? DUTCH JEWRY AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DAMASCUS AFFAIR (1840)

Bart Wallet

"Yes, we are proud to be citizens of this country, that from old was the refuge of persecuted people, and which as a tender mother endows with equal benefits, unites with equal love all its sons, without making a distinction between their faith." Thus the lawyer S. P. Lipman praised the Netherlands in an address at a public meeting of the Dutch Israelite Seminary in 1841. "Therefore we do feel sincere pride to be part of the Netherlands, therefore we reckon ourselves to be its sons, therefore we defended it with our blood, therefore our efforts, our powers, our inclinations are committed to its welfare."[1] Such utterances of Dutch national feeling are very frequent in speeches and articles by Dutch Jews in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Emancipation Decree of 1796 made Jews equal and full citizens of the Batavian Republic and its successors. Until that moment the Jewish community had been both a religious and national subculture within Dutch society. Both facets fostered commitment to international Jewry. But in the nineteenth century, in the spirit of the decree, Jewish leaders and the government reduced the community to a religious one. The Jews were supposed to have only one nationality: Dutch. This process of the nationalization of the Jewish communities took place also in other European countries. It was in line with the enlightened, absolutist politics of the era, which aimed at shaping a clear, national identity that had to bridge regional and cultural differences.

In this process of nationalization, Dutch Jews became equal to their Christian neighbors. This was not limited to the legal sphere: also in other respects the similarities between them grew: in language,

[1] S. P. Lipman, *Redevoering, gehouden ter gelegenheid van de openbare vergadering van het Nederlandsch-Israëlitisch-Seminarium, op den 18 augustus 1841, in de groote gehoorzaal van het Athenaeum Illustre* (Amsterdam 1842), p. 14. All translations from Dutch into English are mine.

education, and, eventually, in clothing. But the reverse of this process was that the traditional bonds that united Jews internationally came under pressure. The common Ashkenazi language, Yiddish, was in all western European countries replaced by the vernacular. Yiddish was not only considered to be an uncivilized language, but also an expression of the Jewish nationality. The liberal Jewish politician and *nouveau riche* A. S. van Nierop expressed this opinion clearly: "We live in peace and in political freedom. We do not need any longer a special language, to be recognized in the midst of exile and oppression."[2]

In light of this process of incorporating Jews into the national framework, the question arises how it affected traditional, international Jewish solidarity. Did Dutch Jews still feel connected to their co-religionists over the borders, or did their newly acquired national identity isolate them from world Jewry? In this article I will answer this question from the perspective of the small, acculturated Dutch Jewish elite. These were among the most receptive people to the nationalization offensive, and were also the leaders of the community. I will focus particularly on the highest level of the community's organizational structure in the nineteenth century, the Hoofdcommissie tot de zaken der Israëliten (Supreme Commission for Israelite Affairs). After introducing the Hoofdcommissie, its policy in the Damascus Affair will be presented as a test case how national identity and international solidarity were related to each other.

The Hoofdcommissie

From 1814 till 1870 the fate of the Jewish community was in the hands of the Hoofdcommissie.[3] It was established by King William I as the slightly revised successor to the consistorial structure of the Batavian-French period that had united the local Jewish communities for the first time in a nationwide system. The Hoofdcommissie was the intermediary body between the government and the Jewish community, and was

[2] A. S. van Nierop, *De Israëlitische kerk in Nederland, feiten en wenken ten aanzien eener Nederlandsch-Israëlitische kerkhervorming* (Amsterdam 1846), p. 4.

[3] The information given in this paragraph on the Hoofdcommissie is based on my master's thesis in the history department of the University of Amsterdam: B. Wallet, "Transitie, de Hoofdcommissie tot de zaken der Israëliten en de joodse gemeenschap in Nederland in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw (1814–1851)" (Master's thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2002).

part of the Department of Religious Affairs. It advised the minister on measures regarding the Jewish community, prepared decisions, and also controlled the implementation of these decisions. Nearly always the minister took the advice of the Hoofdcommissie, except when governmental finance was asked for. This position gave the Hoofdcommissie immense power within the Jewish community, involving it in the most important cases in the large *kehillot* as well as in the minor quarrels in the smallest, provincial communities.

Both Sephardim and Ashkenazim were members of the Hoofdcommissie. The first members were installed by the king; thereafter, the minister appointed new members on the recommendation of the Hoofdcommissie itself. The most prominent Jews were chosen to represent and govern their community. Because of the relatively small size of the Dutch Jewish elite, many members were related to each other and, during the period that the Hoofdcommissie functioned, family dynasties with considerable influence developed. Of course, the traditional Jewish elite of merchants and bankers was represented, but so was the new elite, which comprised lawyers and physicians. A third of the commission's members were active in local, provincial, or national politics.[4] This small Jewish elite, jammed between the Christian patriciate and the broad Jewish community, had to make the policy for the Jewish community.

The policy of the Hoofdcommissie in the first half of the nineteenth century can be characterized by two words: centralization and nationalization. A hierarchical organization was created to centralize the whole Dutch Jewish community. Communities and institutions were each given a place within this structure. The *kehillot* were grouped in districts, each headed by the largest community in its group, called the *Hoofdsynagoge* [Supreme Synagogue]. At the top of this pyramid stood the Hoofdcommissie itself, issuing decrees with governmental power. Each Hoofdsynagoge was responsible for the implementation of the national policy in its own district.

Jewish education, the rabbinical seminaries, and assistance for the poor were centralized, as well. The Hoofdcommissie created new structures for these institutions, thus reducing the influence of the local communities and strengthening its own grip on them. The Jewish

[4] B. Wallet, "Political Participation of Dutch Jews in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, 1814–1848," *Zutot* 3 (2003), pp. 173–77.

schools, for example, became subjected to national inspectors for both general and Jewish education. The seminaries had to accept that, at the examination of students, a member of the Hoofdcommissie was present whose signature was required to validate the diploma.

Also the divisions of responsibility within the Jewish infrastructure were reorganized. Each Hoofdsynagoge was headed by its own chief rabbi, to whom the rabbis and teachers in the district would report. The chief rabbi was subordinated to the Rabbinical College, an incidentally convened body of some chief rabbis with the task to advise the Hoofdcommissie on religious matters. The doctrinal decisions of the college were valid for all religious functionaries in the Netherlands. The Hoofdcommissie also introduced an examination for *mohalim*, something that, according to some sad stories, was urgently needed.

The successful centralization of the Jewish community was secondary to the goal of nationalization. The Hoofdcommissie saw the fostering of a Dutch national consciousness within the Jewish community as one of its main tasks. The promotion of the national language in both Jewish education and synagogue services was one of the measures taken in order to replace Yiddish with Dutch.[5] This language policy was implemented gradually, and reached its goal in the second half of the century. In addition, participation in national celebrations, royal feasts, and prayer days was also prescribed. Allegiance to the royal family was expressed around rites of passage such as births, weddings, deaths, and the annual celebration of the king's birthday.

The most important national celebration was Waterloo Day, celebrated on the third Sunday of June. The Waterloo battle had a special place in the national memory as the symbolic end of the Batavian-French period and the start of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Jewish veterans of Waterloo enjoyed a respected position within the community, and they were seen as examples of how the patriotism of the Jews was equal to that of their Christian fellow-citizens. Every year the Jewish communities organized a special service to commemorate

[5] On the battle against Yiddish, see B. Wallet, "'End of the Jargon-Scandal'—The Decline and Fall of Yiddish in the Netherlands (1796–1886)," *Jewish History* 20 (2006), pp. 333–48. On the introduction of preaching in the vernacular, see idem, "Religious Oratory and the Improvement of Congregants: Dutch-Jewish Preaching in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *StRos* 34 (2000), pp. 168–93.

the event,[6] but in the 1840s the Ashkenazi community of Amsterdam wanted to integrate the commemoration into the Shabbat service of the day before the official celebration. The Hoofdcommissie, however, rejected the proposal, out of concern that it would harm the national character of the day.[7]

Special attention was given to Jews who served in the national army. Already in the Batavian period Jewish participation in the army aroused fierce debates, and in the first decennia of the nineteenth century many Jews continued to view military service and Judaism as incompatible. Some communities, for example, did not allow Jewish soldiers to wear their uniforms in synagogue, leading the Hoofdcommissie to issue a statement that they "should give all distinction to a defender of King and Fatherland."[8]

The Damascus Affair

In 1840, the Hoofdcommissie was forced to rethink the policy of nationalization and its consequences for international Jewish solidarity. On the fifth of February of that year, the Catholic monk Father Thomas disappeared with his servant in Damascus. Because he was last seen in the Jewish quarter, the Jewish community was soon accused of murder. The Jews had killed Father Thomas and Ibrahim Amara to use their blood for *matzot*, concluded the French consul, Count De Ratti-Menton. His opinion was of great consequence, because France acted as the patron of the Catholic communities in the Ottoman Empire. Several Jewish Damascenes were arrested and, after extensive torture, confessed to the ritual murder.

Also elsewhere in the Middle East persecutions and hate campaigns against the Jews were initiated. The case grew into the "Damascus Affair," and became part of the diplomatic struggle between the

[6] National Archive The Hague (NA), Department of Religious Affairs (Eerediensten), Hoofdcommissie tot de zaken der Israëliten (Hcie), correspondence 1817 N° 374 (minister to Hcie 9 June 1817).

[7] NA, Eerediensten, Hcie, inv. no. 364, minutes extraordinary general meeting 6, 7, and 8 December 1842.

[8] NA, Eeredienssten, Hcie, inv. no. 359, minutes general meeting 25 and 26 December 1819.

European powers about the future of the Ottoman Empire.[9] In this paper I will, however, concentrate on the impact of the Damascus Affair on Dutch Jewry.

The Dutch Jew Zvi Hirsch Lehren was the first in western Europe to get the news. Through his extensive network in the Middle East, which he had via the organization of the *Pekidim ve-Amarcalim*,[10] he soon knew what had happened in Damascus. He immediately took action, making the events known and preparing a Jewish diplomatic initiative in order to safeguard the Damascus Jews. Thanks to his information, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* was the first newspaper in Europe that wrote about the affair; other European newspapers followed. Lehren wrote also letters to the French Baron James de Rothschild and to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Verstolk van Soelen. He asked both of them to intervene on behalf of the threatened Jewish communities.[11]

Lehren was rather successful. His letter to Rothschild produced a broad international campaign to help the eastern Jews. The Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Religious Affairs responded in a quite positive way, also, and prepared a royal decision stating that the Dutch diplomats in the Middle East "had to give all help to the Israelites, who are Dutch citizens, and are in danger of being persecuted in reaction to what happened in Damascus. But only after ascertaining, as far as possible, that these Jews are not unworthy of this protection."[12]

Although the government stated clearly that it rejected the accusation of "ritual murder," its help was restricted to Dutch Jews, and that only conditionally. This may have been the reason for the unrest that Tobie Asser spoke about in the general meeting of the Hoofdcommissie on 19 May 1840. He told the other members that Lehren was not satisfied with the answer of the Dutch government and asked what the

[9] J. Frankel, *The Damascus Affair, "Ritual Murder," Politics, and the Jews in 1840* (Cambridge 1997).

[10] A. Morgenstern, *The Pekidim and Amarcalim of Amsterdam and the Jewish Community in Palestine 1810–1840* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1981).

[11] Frankel, *Damascus Affair,* p. 84; P. J. W. Steenwijk, "De Damascus-affaire (1840) en haar weerklank in Nederland," *StRos* 20 (1986), pp. 58–84, esp. 70–71.

[12] NA, Eerediensten, Hcie, inv. no. 133 no. 610 (Minister of Foreign Affairs to the King 23 April 1840; Minister of Religious Affairs to the King 30 April 1840; Secretary of State Van Doorn to both Ministers 3 May 1840; Minister of Foreign Affairs to Pekidim ve-Amarcalim 5 May 1840).

Hoofdcommissie could do in this respect.[13] The committee decided that the president, Lord Isaac Henriques de Castro, would write an article in the prestigious *Journal de la Haye*, a quality newspaper that gave much attention to the affair. In the article, the "barbarian anti-Semitic Turks" were compared with the "tolerant Dutch government," which had promised to help the persecuted, "in particular the Israelites in the East that are its subjects." De Castro clearly had a more positive interpretation of the royal decision. He suggested at least that also non-Dutch Jews would receive the help of the Dutch government.[14]

Urged by the Parisian Baron de Rothschild, initiatives were taken in France and Great Britain to help the Jewish community in Damascus. The sister organizations of the Hoofdcommissie, the French *Consistoire Central* and the Board of Deputies of the British Jews, led this joint initiative.[15] They decided to organize a semi-diplomatic mission to the region, led by the prominent Jewish politicians Alphonse Crémieux and Moses Montefiore. Since these politicians wanted to speak on behalf of all European Jewry, also the Hoofdcommissie—as representative of Dutch Jewry—was asked to support their mission.[16]

The Board of Deputies, however, was answered only with a personal letter from the secretary of the Hoofdcommissie, Samuel Elias Stein. He wrote that the Hoofdcommissie, as an official governmental organ, was not allowed to correspond with foreign organizations. Attached to his letter was a copy of the article by Henriques de Castro, showing that the Hoofdcommissie had done what it could, within its limits.[17] What Stein wrote was not true. Only the Dutch Reformed and the Evangelical Lutheran Church were forbidden to correspond with foreign churches and organizations. The Hoofdcommissie was clearly able to deal in an official way with the request of the Board. It seems

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[13] NA, Eerediensten, Hcie, inv. no. 363, minutes of general meeting 18 and 19 May 1840.

[14] NA, Eeredienstenen, Hcie, inv. no. 113 no. 610 (Henriques de Castro to the editor of the *Journal de la Haye*, June 1840). In his article, Steenwijk concentrated on the reactions in the Dutch press and concluded that the *Journal de la Haye* gave the most attention to the Damascus Affair; Steenwijk, "Damascus-affaire," *passim*.

[15] For an introduction to these organizations and their tasks, see Ph. Cohen Albert, *The Modernization of French Jewry, Consistory and Community in Nineteenth Century France* (Hanover, N.H. 1977); A. Newman, *The Board of Deputies of British Jews 1760–1985, A Brief Survey* (London 1987).

[16] NA, Eeredienstenen, Hcie, inv. no. 113 no. 622 (Deputies of the British Jews to Hcie 16 June 1840).

[17] NA, Eeredienstenen, Hcie, inv. no. 13 no. 622 (Stein to Samuel 22 June 1840).

that the Hoofdcommissie wanted to show the Dutch government that it viewed matters in a Dutch-national way and therefore did not wish to be involved in international Jewish initiatives. Meanwhile, the Hoofdcommissie asked the department for a prohibition on foreign correspondence.[18]

The British Jews responded with disappointment:

> Our CoReligionists in Holland must be aware, that the parties now under sentence of death, are native inhabitants of Damascus, & therefore subject to the authorities there. Admitting that the Government of Holland had laudably given instructions for the protection of its own subjects performing the Jewish religion in the East, still you must perceive that this does not dispense with the necessity of making strenuous efforts for the success of our unfortunate Brethren in the East who are not European subjects, & therefore not under European protection.…

The Board could not imagine that the Dutch Jews would abstain from the mission, and were sure "that they will with pride and pleasure, promptly emulate the example set to them by the Jews of England, France and Germany." This letter was accompanied by recommendation letters for the mission from the London chief rabbi, S. Hirschel, the Sephardi rabbi, D. Meldola, and the London *bet din*.[19]

But the Hoofdcommissie had already blocked active participation by its first response. In response to the British letter, however, it decided to order the Rabbinical College to write a recommendation letter like that of the London chief rabbi. In this way the Dutch religious leaders would support Montefiore and Crémieux, while the Hoofdcommissie itself could still abstain.[20] But the action came too late, since both diplomats had already left for the Middle East,[21] where they met with some success. A few months later Montefiore and Crémieux returned to Europe, presenting their results as a victory. Formally, the accusation of ritual murder was not revoked, but the imprisoned Damascus Jews

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[18] NA, Eerediensten, Hcie, inv. no. 116 no. 1143 (Minister of Religious Affairs to the King 16 July 1840; Minister of Justice to the King 25 July 1840; Minister of Foreign Affairs to the King 31 July 1840; Secretary of State to the three ministers 5 August 1840).

[19] NA, Eerediensten, Hcie, inv. no. 114 no. 699 (Deputies of the British Jews to Hcie 7 July 1840; Letters Hirschel, Meldola, and *bet din* 30 June 1840).

[20] NA, Eerediensten, Hcie, inv. no. 114 no. 699 (The Hague members to Amsterdam members and to the Rabbinical College 16 July 1840).

[21] The letter was written on 23 July 1840 and signed by six acting chief rabbis and Dr. Samuel Israel Mulder; NA, Eerediensten, Hcie, inv. no. 421; I thank Dr. Aryeh Morgenstern for his kind assistance regarding this source.

were released. This time, the French Jews contacted the Dutch Jews in order to inform them about the outcome and to ask to publish it "dans votre temple."[22]

Now the Hoofdcommissie responded positively. It ordered that a *misheberakh* ["May the One who blessed…"] be said in all Dutch synagogues on Shabbat 26 December 1840 for Crémieux and Montefiore, because they were "the champions of our ancestral faith." The *misheberakh* was written by the chief rabbi of The Hague, the doyen of the Dutch rabbinate. The names of the two Jewish diplomats were also to be written in the honor registers of each community.[23] The Hoofdcommissie wrote a letter to Crémieux and Montefiore, to thank them for "la belle défense de notre sainte religion," describing the homage organized for them in the Netherlands.[24]

The Hoofdcommissie had an ambivalent position in the Damascus Affair. Initially, it refused to officially participate in the semi-diplomatic mission organized by its sister organizations in France and England, but after their successful intervention it organized several festivities and did not hesitate to correspond with persons outside the Netherlands. The Hoofdcommissie initially made a different decision than had the sister organizations, which risked being accused of lacking loyalty to their own countries.[25] The Jewish organizations were intervening in foreign affairs, and could thus harm the strategy of their own nation. The French Jews, for example, explicitly opposed the French national policy with their involvement in the Damascus events. This aroused anti-Semitism not only in the traditional Roman-Catholic press, but also in governmental circles. But the French *Consistoire* took the Damascus Affair so seriously that, for the first time in its existence, it chose to oppose the government. Solidarity had won over fear.[26]

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[22] NA, Eerediensten, Hcie, inv. no. 115 no. 1008 (Crémieux to Jewish Europe 1 September 1840; Commissaire délégué du Consistoire Israëlite de Lyon to C. Asser, membre du Consistoire Amsterdam 2 October 1840; Amsterdam members to The Hague members 8 October 1840).

[23] NA, Eerediensten, Hcie, inv. no. 116 no. 1141 (decision Hcie 3 December 1840); 1232 (Amsterdam members to The Hague members 11 December 1840; Hcie to Heyman de Ricqles from Lyon 16 December 1840; Hcie to all Jewish communities and rabbis 16 December 1840).

[24] NA, Eerediensten, Hcie, inv. no. 116 no. 1232 (Hcie to Crémieux in Paris and Montefiore in London 16 December 1840).

[25] Frankel, *Damascus Affair*, p. 433.

[26] M. Graetz, *Les juifs en France au XIX^e siècle, de la Révolution française à l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* (Paris 1989), pp. 135–36.

New International Jewish Solidarity

The significance of the Damascus Affair for Jewish history, as Jonathan Frankel has shown in his path-breaking study, lies in the new form of international Jewish solidarity that it initiated. The traditional solidarity, based on the idea of being one Jewish nation and using traditional networks, had eroded in western Europe since the Emancipation. Contacts between Jewish communities diminished as each integrated into its own nation. Everywhere in western Europe, Jews were proud of their newly acquired nationality. The Damascus Affair shocked the acculturated Jewish public, and set off a search for opportunities to intervene.

The way in which the response was organized was novel. Central Jewish organizations, acting on behalf of the whole Jewish community, planned the strategy and decided on a semi-diplomatic mission. Crémieux and Montefiore, well-know acculturated Jewish politicians, were summoned to use their expertise to bring the intervention to a successful end. The traditional religious elite of rabbis played only a marginal role in this new type of Jewish solidarity, which involved writing letters of recommendation. The action itself was in the hands of acculturated Jewish politicians, who used modern means of communication, such as newspapers, to plead their cause. French replaced Yiddish and Hebrew as the lingua franca of the Jewish communities. Of course in this new type of solidarity, traditional methods such as *shtadlanut* [lobbying] were transformed and incorporated.[27]

For the Hoofdcommissie, the Damascus Affair created a dilemma between national identity and international solidarity. At first, the national Dutch identity won the battle and the Hoofdcommissie decided to restrict itself to the protection of Dutch Jews and not to interfere in Dutch foreign policy. But following the successful mission, the Hoofdcommissie changed its position. Now there were no longer risks and Dutch diplomatic interests were not harmed. Although the initiative for the intervention originated in Amsterdam with Zvi Hirsch Lehren, only at the end did Dutch Jewry join the rest of the western European Jewish communities.

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[27] D. Diner, "'Meines Bruders Wächter,' Zur Diplomatie jüdischer Fragen," in idem, *Gedächtniszeiten, über jüdische und andere Geschichten* (Munich 2003), pp. 113–24; *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* s.v. "shtadlan."

In subsequent years, however, it became clear that the Damascus Affair signaled a turning point in the Netherlands as well as in the other western European countries. Following similar events, coalitions were formed to help persecuted Jews. For example, in the international Jewish alliance against the kidnapping of a Jewish boy in the papal state, the so-called Mortara affair in 1858, the Hoofdcommissie participated from the start. Invited by Sir Moses Montefiore, the Hoofdcommissie joined the British and French sister organizations in the battle for the freeing of the six-year-old Edgardo Mortara. This was vehemently supported by the Dutch Jewish press and by the rabbis.[28] Also the institutionalization of the new international Jewish solidarity in the foundation of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) in 1860 could count on broad sympathy among Dutch Jews.[29] In this organization, Crémieux again played an important role. In the Dutch section of the AIU several members of the Hoofdcommissie were active, some even sat on its board. Local branches of the AIU were active across the Netherlands, collecting money for their oppressed co-religionists.[30]

But also other institutions were founded in order to help the Jews in the Middle East and eastern Europe. Many of these organizations were named after the "Jewish hero" Sir Moses Montefiore, commemorating his success in the Damascus events. The Rotterdam-based "Montefiore Vereeniging" set its goal as helping Jewish refugees, primarily from eastern Europe. Lodging was given to refugees on their way to America as they waited for the boat in the Rotterdam seaport.[31] Montefiore associations, independent from the one in Rotterdam and with slightly different goals, were founded also in provincial cities such as Gorinchem and Borculo, as well as in Amsterdam. The Amsterdam

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[28] D. I. Kertzner, *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* (New York 1995); W. M. de Lang, "Weerklank van de Mortara-affaire in Nederland, 1858–1859" (Master's thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1984); idem, "Weerklank van de Mortara-affaire in Nederland," *StRos* 19 (1985), pp. 159–73; "Een vermaarden rabbi," *Hoogst merkwaardige brief toegezonden aan Zijne Heiligheid Paus Piux IX, wegens de kinderroof, bij Mortara te Bologna* (Amsterdam 1858).

[29] *De Alliance Israélite Universelle (Algemeen Israëlietisch Verbond)* (Amsterdam 1922).

[30] *Algemeen Israëlietisch Verbond (Alliance Israélite Universelle)—gewestelijke afdeeling Nederland, jaarverslag 1887–1888* (Amsterdam 1888). See e.g. on the AIU in Brabant, J. Bader, *"Uit Veghel en andere verten," de geschiedenis van de joodse gemeenten in Veghel, Uden, Sint-Oedenrode en Schijndel (1818–1933), de "Alliance Israélite Universelle" in Noord-Brabant (1876–1922)* (Breda 1997).

[31] E. M. J. van Schip, "Montefiore Vereeniging tot ondersteuning van behoeftige passanten: een onderzoek naar het functioneren in de periode van 1883 tot 1914," *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* 4 (1996), pp. 10, 389–453.

organization, however, was inter-religious and aimed at helping poor people in the city itself.[32]

Conclusion

In 1840 the Hoofdcommissie faced a difficult decision. Committed to promoting the national (Dutch) identity of the Jewish community, which involved the weakening of bonds with Jews in other countries, the Hoofdcommissie had to decide whether such a policy could nonetheless be combined with international Jewish solidarity. Initially it chose to secure the Hoofdcommissie's national character by stressing its governmental position. Later on, in the aftermath of the events in Damascus, it joined the rest of western European Jewry in a new type of international Jewish solidarity. The Damascus Affair proved to have been a turning point for all of western European Jewry, including the Dutch Jewish community. Both incidentally and institutionally, the new solidarity could count on a large measure of sympathy.

The most surprising thing about this new solidarity is that its success was primarily among the acculturated and nationalized Jewish elites. That a strictly Orthodox Jew such as Lehren did what he could for the Middle Eastern Jews can be understood as an expression of traditional Jewish solidarity. Lehren tried to preserve traditional Judaism and was part of the struggle against nationalizing and modernizing the Jewish community. But the members of the central organizations—in France, Great Britain, and finally, also in the Netherlands—were acculturated Jews. The Damascus Affair stunned them and caused them to react in a modern and innovative fashion. Nationalization, in the end, did not block international Jewish solidarity. Common religion was, in the eyes of the western Jews, enough basis for solidarity. The nineteenth-century Dutch Jew wanted to help his co-religionists in order to give them the same opportunities and the same security that he himself, in his fatherland, enjoyed.

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[32] NIW 10:25 (1875), p. 2; NIW 21:16 (1885), p. 2; NIW 22:42 (1887), p. 1; *Weldadigheids-Vereeniging "Montefiore" gevestigd te Amsterdam […] tiende jaarverslag* (Amsterdam 1896). In the Netherlands, Montefiore was presented as a Jewish hero and became an icon of charity and humanity. I plan to write an article about Moses Montefiore in Dutch Jewish memory culture.

JEWISH ARTISTS FACING HOLLAND

Rivka Weiss-Blok

Rembrandt was the source of inspiration for modern Jewish artists in the generations following the Emancipation. He occupied a special place in the cultural world of the nineteenth century, especially in his native Holland where he was crowned the cultural national hero. German, French, and Dutch scholars began to study Rembrandt, unearthing new archival materials that shed light on the artist's life and work. Though certainly not Jewish, Rembrandt's art was nonetheless seen by many as "Jewish Art." The idea of the Jewish Rembrandt, quite common in the nineteenth century, was inferred from Rembrandt's long years of living in the Jodenbreestraat, among the Jews of Amsterdam, whom he used as models for his many depictions of "rabbis" and biblical figures. Even his depictions of the head of Christ were made, it seems, using a Jewish, Ashkenazi model. It was believed that he had Jewish friends whose portraits he painted, such as the physician Ephraim Bueno, as well as the printer Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel. The German scholar Edouard Kolloff, a pioneer in Rembrandt research and the first to emphasize these Jewish connections, spoke about Rembrandt's "Judaic traits."[1] Moreover, many of the master's works were believed to be depictions of Jewish subjects and were given Jewish names, though the famous "Jewish Bride" is neither Jewish, nor a bride, and is now generally believed to be a portrayal of Rebecca and Isaac. In this light we can understand how Rembrandt became a model for Jewish artists, encouraging them and demonstrating the possibilities of Jewish art.

The Polish-Jewish artist Mauricy Gottlieb (1856–1879) may serve as a good example of this phenomenon. Gottlieb's "Jessica and Shylock" (now lost) is reminiscent of the above-mentioned "Jewish Bride," while his 1876 "Self-Portrait as Ahasverus" was clearly influenced by the exotic oriental figures in Rembrandt's paintings, Rembrandt's early self-portraits, and the expressive play of light on the face of his models. The

* See illustrations on pp. 518–520.

[1] Edouard Kolloff (1811–1879) published his *Rembrandt's Leben und Werk* in 1853.

painting resembles Rembrandt's work also in its psychological, reflective attitude, as well as in its quest for self-identity and meaning.[2]

Other Dutch artists of the Golden Age who painted Jewish subjects likewise became models for Jewish artists. Emanuel de Witte thrice painted the Portuguese Synagogue, probably for a Jewish patron.[3] Jacob van Ruisdael painted two versions of the Portuguese burial place at Ouderkerk, imbuing it with a mysterious atmosphere. There were also numerous prints that dealt with Jewish life in the seventeenth century or that speculated on the architecture of the Temple of Solomon.

Hence it is no wonder that Holland held a special fascination for modern Jewish artists, who were enthralled by Rembrandt and other Dutch masters and drawn, also, to the Dutch landscape, its dunes, high skies, the North Sea coast, simple peasants, and fishermen. Dutch Jewish history and the scenes of the vibrant Jewish quarter in Amsterdam held additional interest for these artists.

In the modern period, one artist in Holland, Jozef Israels (1824–1911) from Groningen, can be seen to have embodied the ideal of the new Jewish artist. Israels was the head of "The Hague School" and was considered to be one of Holland's greatest artists. Compared to Rembrandt during his life, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday Israels was crowned "Rembrandt of the nineteenth century."[4] Not shy to accept the title, he strove to prove his worthiness. For the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Rembrandt's birth, in the Rembrandt year 1906, Israels wrote an essay, "Rembrandt. An Appreciation of the Pictures in Amsterdam," in which he relates more about himself and his early encounter with Rembrandt's work than about Rembrandt.[5]

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[2] L. Silver, "Mauricy Gottlieb as an Early Jewish Artist," in *Jewish Identities in Modern Art History*, ed. C. M. Sousloff (Berkeley 1999), p. 90. Gottlieb was inspired to paint a Jewish subject such as Ahasverus from reading Heinrich Graetz (1817–1891), *History of the Jews*. He encountered Rembrandt's portraits in the *Alte pinakothek*. See N. Goralnik, *In the Prime of His Youth. Mauricy Gottlieb 1856–1879* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv 1991), p. 19; E. Mendelsohn, *Painting a People. Mauricy Gottlieb and Jewish Art* (Hanover, N.H. 2002).

[3] Y. Kaplan, "For Whom Did Emanuel de Witte Paint His Three Pictures of the Sephardic Synagogue in Amsterdam?" *StRos* 32 (1998), pp. 133–54.

[4] See R. de Leeuw, "Rembrandt en Israels," in *Jozef Israels 1824–1911*, ed. D. Dekkers (Amsterdam, Groningen, Zwolle 1999). This catalogue of the exhibition at the Joods Historisch Museum Amsterdam and the Groninger Museum Groningen is the most extensive and informative publication about the artist to date.

[5] First published in the *Gids*, it was later translated into English and, eventually, Hebrew. I have consulted the English edition: Jozef Israels, "Rembrandt. An Appreciation of the Pictures in Amsterdam," in *The Three Great Portrait Painters of the Seventeenth*

As a young art student in Amsterdam, Israels recounts, he would visit the Trippenhuis, which then housed the works of the great Dutch artists, and was profoundly affected by Rembrandt's graphic work. On his return home through the streets of the old Jewish quarter, he felt that he was encountering the figures from the prints.

Israels made a point of being involved with all aspects of the Rembrandt cult of his time. We know that he collected prints by Rembrandt, since he donated six etchings by Rembrandt from his private collection for the opening of the *Het Rembrandt Huis* in 1906. He was a leading figure in the debate concerning the manner in which "Nightwatch," Rembrandt's ultimate masterpiece, should be exhibited, and even donated prize-money that he had received to the Rijksmuseum for creating a special room in which the painting should be hung.[6]

Changes in the Jewish world did not go unnoticed by the artist, and his great fame brought the Zionists to his doorstep. They found in him a great asset. Here was a perfect example of what could be aimed for and achieved, a man who had gained world fame and was held in high esteem in the artistic European world, a proud Dutchman who had nonetheless maintained his Jewish identity. Frits Stahl wrote an essay about Israels that was published by Martin Buber in the latter's series *Jüdisches Künstler.* Theodor Herzl visited Israels in his studio in The Hague, writing about the visit in his diary. Israels welcomed him, wrote Herzl, while working on his great biblical canvas "David Playing before Saul," which Israels considered to be one of his best works, and which surely impressed Herzl.[7] Israels felt drawn to Zionism, but though he paid the shekel regularly, he has been quoted as denying having ever become a true Zionist.

Significant for us is the fact that, in the last two decades of his long and fruitful life, Israels painted more Jewish and biblical subjects and became involved in Jewish affairs. He was an honorary member of the committee that prepared the Eighth Zionist Congress, held in The Hague in 1907, while in his illustration of the menu card for the

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Century. Rembrandt, Hals, Velasquez, ed. T. Leman Hare (London, New York n. d.). For the Hebrew translation of the text see M. Narkiss, in *Essays and Journeys* (Jerusalem 1953).

[6] See G. Gerda Schmidt, *The Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress 1901* (New York 2003), p. 81.

[7] F. Stahl, *Jozef Israels* (Berlin 1903). See my article, "David Playing before Saul, Aspects of Jozef Israels' Working Process," in *Dutch Jewish History* 3, ed. J. Michman (Jerusalem 1993), pp. 249 ff.

congress's festive dinner, Israels drew Moses seated on Mount Nebo and gazing at the Promised Land, which he would not enter; Israels knew enough Hebrew to write the relevant biblical phrase at the bottom of the print. The subject refers perhaps to the great loss felt everywhere in the Jewish world following Herzl's sudden, premature death in 1904, before seeing the realization of his dream.

Two Jewish-German artists, Max Liebermann (1847–1935) and Hermann Struck (1876–1944), will be discussed here. Both spent long periods in Holland, attracted by its people, landscapes, and artistic tradition. They came from Berlin to Holland at different times and became good friends with Israels and his son Isaac (1865–1934), a very talented artist in his own right. Isaac Israels was more assimilated and less Jewish in his daily life than his father, though, as we will see, he still maintained relations with the Jewish community. Liebermann, Struck, Isaac Israels, and Jozef Israels formed a group of modern Jewish artists. They met and corresponded with one another regularly, were members of the same artistic societies, exhibited together, and also occasionally worked together. The young artists looked up to the older Jozef Israels as their mentor. This, as we shall see, was especially true for Struck. Some scholars believe that Liebermann's artistic development was influenced by his having met Jozef Israels, and that Liebermann, in his turn, influenced Isaac.[8] Eventually, the elder Israels joined the younger friends in developing new subjects that they had introduced.

Liebermann and Struck shared Jozef Israels' veneration of Rembrandt. Liebermann owned a remarkable collection of art, mainly of Impressionist artists. He acquired his first Rembrandt drawing early in his career, when he was in Paris. Like Israels, he also owned etchings by the master. Liebermann's "Christ among the Doctors in the Temple" (1879), which caused him much anguish due to its negative reception, was actually based on a Rembrandt etching of 1652. Liebermann began making drawings and sketches for the painting in 1876, and worked on the actual painting from December 1878 to April 1879. The scandal caused by the painting's exhibition had pronounced anti-Jewish tones. Liebermann was accused of using a Jewish boy as model for the young Jesus. Nobody seemed to have wanted to notice the Rembrandtesque

[8] See E. M. Namenyi, "Jewish Impressionists," in *Jewish Art*, ed. Cecil Roth (Ramat Gan 1961), p. 600. On Liebermann's influence on Isaac, see S. Drukker, *Isaac Israels* (Groningen 1986), p. 16.

nature of the work. Liebermann was so shocked by the reception of the work that he swore never to treat a similar subject again. He commented that he was nearly crucified by the Christians while his fellow Jews stopped buying his work for a period of ten years.[9]

Liebermann had been introduced to Dutch Jewry by Gustav Allebe, a non-Jewish artist with many Jewish connections. Allebe guided Liebermann through the streets of the Jewish quarter in Amsterdam, and pointed out to him the Old Portuguese Synagogue where Spinoza and Uriel da Costa were banned. Liebermann actually made studies in the *Esnoga*, the great Portuguese Synagogue, for his "Christ in the Temple," aware, no doubt, that the building had been constructed after the model of the Temple. In the final painting, however, he relied on studies made at the synagogue in the Venice ghetto.

Apart from Rembrandt, Liebermann was also influenced by the seventeenth-century great master Frans Hals, who may be considered a pre-Impressionistic artist. Liebermann noted that, "looking at a painting by Rembrandt one is afraid to ever touch a brush again, whereas in front of a Hals one gets the urge to paint."[10] He spent long hours in front of Hals' work in the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem, and made copies of Hals' paintings. He mockingly recounted observing two fellow German artists who "did the museum in ten minutes between two trains."

Liebermann, who spoke fluent Dutch, grasped the Dutch feeling for the group, as expressed in the work of Frans Hals. It was not Hals' group portraits of feasting and drinking guards that impressed him, but rather those of the sober wardens of charity institutes. He made a copy of Hals' "Regentesses of the Old Men's Almshouse" of 1664, one of Hals' most poignant works.[11] The group, as a Dutch theme, had occupied him during his first years in Holland, when he painted old men in the garden of the Amsterdam home of the elderly enjoying the fresh air, or

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[9] Liebermann in a letter to A. Lichtwark. See F. Landsberger, *Max Liebermann, Briefe, Neuausgabe von Ernst Volker Braun* (Stuttgart 1994), pp. 41–42. In the letter he claims that the model was an Italian boy, and that he did not use Jewish models since these could be too characteristic and approach a caricature. Other Jewish artists at that period also treated the subject of Christ. It was as if the "Jewish Christ was in the air"; see Z. Amishai-Maisels, "Origins of the Jewish Jesus," in *Complex Identities: Jewish Consciousness and Modern Art*, ed. M. Baigell and M. Heyd (New Jersey 2001), pp. 51 ff.

[10] See J. Silevis, *Max Liebermann en Holland* (The Hague 1980), p. 21.

[11] See A. Janda, "Max Liebermann's Kunstsammlung in seiner Briefe," in *Max Liebermann und die franzosischen Impressionisten*, ed. G. T. Natter (Vienna 1997), pp. 225–29. Liebermann's copy is lost.

girls in their typical red, black, and white uniforms, in the orphanage garden in Amsterdam. The group portrait is a typical Dutch creation, which Liebermann, the outsider, seems to have understood well, and with these works he reached the core of the Dutch character.[12]

The first meeting between Liebermann and Israels occurred only in 1882, ten years after Liebermann's first visit to Holland. They soon became good friends, and in 1884 Liebermann and his bride, Martha, spent their honeymoon with Aleida and Jozef Israels in Holland. Together they traveled to Delden and Laren, where they completed studies of the interiors of peasant homes and of their everyday life. Both artists shared a fascination for the religious customs and feelings of the simple country folk, and in that period their work was imbued with the holiness of the people's existence. In 1885 Israels painted his large canvas "Midday Meal in a Peasant Cottage at Carelshaven near Delden," while, in 1886, Liebermann painted his "Das Tischgebet." In both, the artists expressed the pious feeling of the peasants in their simple surroundings.[13]

Both artists depicted groups of orphan girls in their sewing classes. Liebermann's painting strikes us as still and austere, with the girls seated on identical benches, aside straight tables. The sunlight entering through the high windows does not lessen the gloominess of the interior, and the girls seem to have lost any individual character. The interior is brightened only by a vase with flowers on the teacher's table in the foreground, a typical Dutch detail that may be hiding deeper, symbolic meaning. Israels' painting of the same subject is, typically, warmer and less rigid in its composition and coloring. The scene impresses us as being pleasant and more anecdotal. Young girls or expectant mothers sewing and knitting were recurrent subjects in both artists' work, though orphan girls in Liebermann's paintings are always busy with their needlework, as befitted those young, poor women who were taught to be diligent and fight the vice of idleness. Certainly, the paintings convey a moral meaning. But one wonders whether there

[12] Alois Riegel has formulated this very Dutch phenomenon in his two volumes of *Das holländische Gruppenportrait* (Vienna 1931). It is interesting to note that Riegel was Martin Buber's professor of art history in Vienna.

[13] It is obvious that the two artists painted the same large interior with cows at the far end. In Israels' painting the husband and wife are seated; in Liebermann's painting the husband, his wife, and children are saying grace while standing. A reproduction of Liebermann's work can be seen in G. Pauli (ed.), *Max Liebermann* (Stuttgart und Leipzig 1911), no. 71.

might also have been another factor linking these artists to the subject. Liebermann's family had been textile merchants and manufacturers for generations, and textile manufacturing was certainly a Jewish trade in nineteenth-century Holland. How much, one wonders, did this influence the artists' thematic preferences?

The theme of working young women occurs often also in the work of Isaac Israels. His are the urban working-class girls who spent long, tedious hours working alongside tables in barely lit rooms. Some are seamstresses, others coffee-sorters; somewhat later they are the telephone girls with earpieces attached to their heads, transforming them into machine-like creatures.

Israels and Liebermann treated also another subject where we experience the group in a combined effort: women in the coastal villages who gathered to mend fishing nets, thus enabling the men to go to sea and bring home the means for living. In the two works, both entitled "The Mending of the Nets," both artists portrayed young and old women seated on the dunes, performing this task out in the open. The paintings have much in common, which suggests that the artists set out together to prepare their sketches. In his 1886 watercolor (now in the Alkow collection at the Herzlia Museum of Art, and which is a replica of an oil painting from the same year, that was lost), Israels arranges the women in horizontal lines with the village and its church spire clearly visible on the horizon, while in Liebermann's etching the women are scattered in a zigzag pattern extending from the foreground to the background.

Upon completion of his art studies in Berlin, Hermann Struck went to Holland to deepen his understanding of Rembrandt. He, too, was attracted no doubt to the Dutch landscape and its inhabitants. We can appreciate his impressions in his 1902 print "Dutch Peasant" and his 1907 "Dutch Landscape." Struck had become a true disciple of Jozef Israels, whom he met in 1900. They often worked together and discussed art, and Struck assisted Israels with etching technique, which was his specialty. Soon after his first arriving to Holland, in 1899 or 1900, Struck also met Max Liebermann. Their meeting took place, as Struck later reported, in Zandvoort, where Liebermann had been working.[14] The mention of Zandvoort in this context was, in a way,

[14] Struck's words at the opening of the Liebermann memorial exhibition at the Tel-Aviv Museum of Art in 1935; see Ch. C. Shchütz, "Max Liebermann in Eretz

intentional; it was known that Israels' stay there had been a decisive factor in his artistic development. He had spent some time in Zandvoort in 1855 in order to recuperate from an illness, following the advice of his brother, Dr. Abraham Israels. It was there that he discovered the genre of the fishermen of the North Sea coast, which would make him successful and famous. Israels' going to Zandvoort was described by Jan Veth (1864–1925) as a turning point in his artistic life, as his "Road to Damascus." Veth, an art critic and artist, was a good friend of Jozef and Isaac Israels', and also of Liebermann and Struck's. He may be considered one of the best early authorities and connoisseurs of Jozef Israels.[15] It was Veth who discovered, among Israels' numerous sketchbooks, that of his stay in Zandvoort. The notebook, in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, bears Veth's inscription: "this is the Zandvoort Sketchbook." Hermann Struck must have been aware of its significance, as one of his own sketchbooks is likewise captioned "Zandvoort."

In the summer of 1905 Struck spent two weeks with Jozef Israels in Scheveningen, where Israels was staying for the summer, and interviewed him. The thirteen handwritten pages are a unique personal document in which we hear the two friends involved in an intimate dialogue that sheds light on the issues that interested them.[16] They discussed art, artists, Jewish matters, Jewish beliefs, Zionism, and, naturally, Rembrandt and Liebermann. Israels acts the part of the elderly wise man, at times patronizing and even embarrassing the younger, serious artist. Suddenly he asks Struck how he—an orthodox Jew—remains a bachelor, "Don't they have *shadchens* [in Berlin]?" adding, "You must find a rich woman for yourself, I married well."

Jsrael," in *Was vom Leben übrig bleibt sind Bilder und Geschichten*, ed. H. Simon (Berlin 1997), p. 140.

[15] J. Veth, "De Jeugd van Jozef Israels," in *Portretten en Sillhouetten* (Amsterdam 1908), p. 115: "Niet ten onrecht heeft men het gaan van Israels naar Zandvoort zijn tocht naar Damaskus genoemd." See also M. Eisler, "Zandvoort 1855," *Elsevier Geillustreet Maandschrift*, 21 (1911) 42, pp. 266–85. Israels' first masterpiece in this new genre was "Along Mother's Grave" of 1856, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.

[16] I want to express my gratitude to Miki Bernstein, owner of the Struck archive, who was kind enough to allow me access to Struck's handwritten report of the interview (henceforth referred to as the "1905 interview"), along with other important Struck documents. I hope to publish a separate article on the interview and its implications. Struck's Zandvoort sketchbook is also in that archive. Passages have been translated by the author.

They discuss a recent book on Spinoza by Prof. Freudenthal. Israels, who was not trained in philosophy, refers to what he learned about Spinoza from Freudenthal's the book. Spinoza interested Struck and Liebermann much more. Struck felt that Liebermann was a kind of modern Spinoza—a free-thinking Jew. In a revealing letter that Liebermann wrote to Meir Spanier, he refers to Rembrandt and Spinoza who both "have an endless feeling for their fellow men." Thanks to his own Jewish roots, he writes, he "has in him something of that compassion."[17]

Struck's most famous work, perhaps, is his 1903 portrait of Herzl. Struck's intention was to show Herzl as a prophet of biblical grandeur. The etching was repeatedly reproduced, and bears Struck's Hebrew signature, Chaim Aharon Ben David, with a Star of David (fig. 1). It is remarkable that, in the print, Herzl resembles Struck's own countenance; Struck was indeed proud of his good looks and imposing appearance, as we hear from people who met him. Another of Struck's great masterpieces is his volume on graphic techniques, *Die Kunst des Radierens, Ein Handbuch*, which was first published in Berlin in 1908, and revised and republished several times until the fifth edition of 1923. The book reveals him to have been an excellent and methodical teacher. Generous with his knowledge, Struck assisted many fellow artists, including Liebermann, Chagall, and Corinth, to master the technique of etching. In the second part of his book Struck discusses examples of prints by various artists including Israels, Liebermann, and Rembrandt. The study "Head in Rembrandtesque Manner" shows to what degree Struck absorbed the master's example.

An orthodox Jew and zealous Zionist, Struck studied Talmud daily. He first traveled to Palestine in 1902, and settled there in 1922, building his house in Haifa. His 1905 etching "Jew Praying by the Wailing Wall" is based on his impression from his visit to Jerusalem. In some aspects, it resembles Rembrandt's "Jews in a Synagogue" (1642), which Struck considered the most wonderful of all Rembrandt's etchings. Struck was enchanted by the manner in which Rembrandt brought out the foreground figures against the shadowed wall, and he repeated this in his print, in the lines of the Hassidic Jew leaning on the Wall.[18]

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[17] Letter dated 9 May 1899, in Landsberger, *Max Liebermann*, *Briefe*, p. 21.

[18] H. Struck, *Die Kunst der Radierung. Ein Handbuch* (4th ed.; Berlin c. 1919), p. 150. Struck notes that modern artists are attracted to the prints in which Rembrandt worked quickly, using but a few lines.

In fact, Struck's deep affinity with Rembrandt led him to believe that Rembrandt was of Jewish ancestry. Jozef Israels corrected Struck concerning this, in the 1905 interview. According to Israels, the idea of Rembrandt's Jewishness derived from the use of Hebrew lettering in his paintings. This, Israels said, was easily explained: a Jewish acquaintance could have shown Rembrandt how to make the Hebrew script in the paintings. Israels mentions, correctly, Menasseh ben Israel as such a person.[19]

Small of stature, bent by age, but always high-spirited, Israels was venerated by the younger artists, and they gave artistic expression to these feelings. Isaac Israels made many drawings and paintings of his father, with a loving touch. Struck etched a wonderful portrait of the wise old Jew, in which Israels' large head with its distinctive profile is seen thrust forward from his high shoulders. In the 1905 interview, Struck writes that he made the preparatory drawings for the print during their meetings in the summer of 1905. Liebermann, in the print he made, depicts a silhouette of the old man in his dark clothes, standing on the beach at Scheveningen (figs. 2 and 3). Liebermann's most important tribute to Israels was in an essay that he wrote, first published in 1901, in which Liebermann provides a loving portrait of the older artist, and in many respects compares Israels' artistic energy to that of Rembrandt.[20]

Around the turn of the century we notice a change in Isaac Israels' and Liebermann's focus. They discover the beach as a scene of leisure, rather than of hard labor. The atmosphere is that of a vacation spent in the cool breeze by the sea at Scheveningen. Liebermann's extensive series "Bathing Boys" was developed in Holland. He worked on the theme for many years, achieving the best results around that time. "Tennis Playing by the Sea" was painted by Liebermann after drawings made during his stay with his family in 1900 in Scheveningen,

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[19] Israels was correct in his assumption. See Sh. Sabar, "Hebrew Inscriptions in Rembrandt's Art" [in Hebrew], in *Rembrandt's Holland*, ed. M. Weyl and R. Weiss-Blok (Jerusalem 1993), pp. 169 ff. The Dutch newspapers had also portrayed Israels as having claimed, during a dinner in London, that Rembrandt was a Jew, so that Israels knew exactly how to answer Struck, having already defended himself against these accusations.

[20] Max Liebermann, *Jozef Israels* (Berlin 1901). The book has been republished repeatedly. When Struck, in his book, wrote about Israels, he quoted from Liebermann's. He admitted that there was not much to add after what Liebermann had written about him; see Struck, *Die Kunst der Radierung*, p. 168.

where he went to see his daughter playing tennis. Isaac Israels must have occasionally joined Liebermann at the beach.[21] A watercolor of a beach scene from the collection of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, is an example of the way Isaac Israels catches the brightness of a summer's day in a wonderful manner, very similar to what we find in Liebermann's work.

For Jozef Israels, on the other hand, beach and sea remained the domain of the fishermen and their families. His girls on the dunes who look into the distance for the return of their loved ones became his most known theme, of which there are many versions. He made various depictions also of children playing at the beach with a boat made from a wooden shoe. Struck admired Israels' etching "Children Playing on the Beach," which he thought was one of the most touching works by the artist. He praised the economy of lines, the bright air, and the endless distance of the Dutch sea.[22]

Liebermann and Isaac Israels were drawn to the appearance of elegant riders who reached the beach on horseback or, sometimes, on specially trained donkeys. Both artists were making studies of horses for these paintings, and influenced the older artist. In a letter to Jan Veth, dated 1901, Israels writes: "Isaac and Liebermann developed quite a fascination with horses on the beach this past summer, and I seem to have caught some of their enthusiasm."[23] Only Jozef Israels had no eye for the leisure-riders on their elegant horses; instead, he draws and paints skippers and fishermen, riding through shallow waters towards the shore. It is the same sea that we observe in the beach-scenes, but here the atmosphere is entirely different.

At the same time—the turn of the century—another idea was emerging in the artistic world. This was the much-discussed idea of the *femme fatale*, which found expression in the arts of the *Fin de Siècle*. For Jozef Israels there had always been a halo of holiness around his simple female figures. His mothers had early on become "Cottage Madonnas." With his "Nude by a Spring" (The Hague, Rijksmuseum H. W. Mesdag), dated in the late eighties, the artist treads a new path, though it is still linked to his early works. It is not clear whether the body is that of a

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[21] See Janda, "Max Liebermann's Kunstsammlung," pp. 106, 107, 114, 115.

[22] Struck, *Die Kunst der Radierung*. The print is called "Sailing the Boat," 1879; see H. J. Hubert, *De etsen van Jozef Israels* (Amsterdam 1909).

[23] See D. Dekkers, *Jozef Israels een succesvol schilder van het vissersgenre* (Leiden 1994), p. 334, n. 1.

woman or of a young man, and the painting maintains an allegorical, not quite naturalistic, feeling. The old master's awakened interest in the nude was certainly influenced by the younger generation, especially by his son. Isaac lived then in Amsterdam, and was a member of the modern urban movement, *De Schilders van Tachtig* [the painters of the eighties]. The women in Isaac's work and in that of his friend G. H. Breitner (1857–1923) are girls from the night dancing cafés, often not of the best reputation, or maids who passed in the street. Sometimes a nude was portrayed simply for the beauty of the model, like in Isaac Israels' "Nude with the Sunflowers by Van Gogh in the Background," from somewhat later.[24] Influenced by these trends, the nude as subject continued to intrigue Jozef Israels, but he needed a biblical subject in order to justify his new interest. He worked on two connected themes, "Adam and Eve" and "Eve and the Snake," both created in 1902–1903. Israels' Eve reminds us of Rembrandt's Bathsheba of 1656, with whom she shares a common dilemma. Rembrandt includes David's letter, which is not mentioned in the Bible, held in Bathsheba's hand. The letter, a typical seventeenth-century Dutch addition, signals the sinful deed. Israels, for his part, positioned an apple in the snake's mouth—with a similar meaning—at the center of his composition.

Liebermann had not portrayed any biblical themes since his "Christ in the Temple," but now, when turning to the subject of fatal women, he surprisingly chose the story of Samson and Delilah, and worked it out several times in prints and oil paintings. The first oil version dates from 1902, at the same time that Israels was at work on his Eve. Liebermann shows Delilah, naked and triumphant over the listless Samson, his mane of cut hair held as a trophy in her hand. Viewing the painting, one realizes why this artist was called the "apostle of ugliness." In his choice of subject, Liebermann may have been inspired by Rembrandt's most Baroque and gory "The Blinding of Samson" (1636). In a letter to Franz Servaes, dated 14 October 1900, Liebermann reports, with his dry, Berlin sense of humor, "In the three months of my stay in

[24] For information on the movement and the artists mentioned here, see R. Bionda and C. Blotkamp (eds.), *De Schilders van Tachtig. Nederlandse schilderkunst 1880–1895* (Zwolle 1991). For some time between 1916–1920, Isaac Israels had a number of paintings by Van Gogh in his house. He used "Sunflowers" also for a double portrait of family members in Groningen. The painting referred to here is also in a private collection in the Netherlands, but was lent to the Jewish Historical Museum in 1995. See also A. Wagner, *Isaac Israels* (Venlo 1985), fig. 140 p. 115 and fig. 152 p. 121.

Holland, I am painting horses and naked women, but the women are not seated on the horses."[25]

Struck praised one of Liebermann's etchings for Samson and Delilah in *Die Kunst der Radierung* and he tells us that Liebermann was unhappy with one version, and destroyed it. Struck likens Liebermann's work to that of Rembrandt. He writes: "The old Israels once said to me about Liebermann, 'in the hair of his brushes hides the power of Samson'."[26]

During the thirty years in which Liebermann came to Holland, he often worked in Amsterdam's Jewish quarter, giving form to its bustling streets, the market and people, making many drawings, etchings, and oil paintings. He took the subject up again in 1905, after a hiatus of a few years. Once again we can point to Rembrandt's print, "Jews in a Synagogue," as a direct source of inspiration that, in this case, influenced the artist's choice of subject. Since the seventeenth century, the Jewish market has been a tourist attraction. What Liebermann tried to give form to in his numerous depictions, was the feeling of a buzzing, humming marketplace where faces, bodies, gestures, buildings, and merchandise all become a collective entity. In his work one feels the density of many bodies gathered into a narrow space, and we even seem able to smell the fish, vegetables, pickles, and people. One hears the voices calling out to sell lottery-tickets—part of the extraordinary merchandise in the Jewish market of Amsterdam—or some other useless item.

In a letter to Struck written on 7 September 1907, Liebermann complains about the difficulties of sketching outside, in the Jewish street. First he was hindered by the rain, then by the religion—the High Holidays, during which, of course, all activity in the market came to a stop. In the same letter he tells Struck about their common friend, Isaac. Isaac came to visit him in Amsterdam, he relates, and told of the portrait he was busy painting of a Dutch Zionist friend, whose name Liebermann forgot.[27]

Jozef Israels painted his large-scale "Son of the Ancient People" in 1889. The painting shows a typical Jew, like one of the many that

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[25] Landsberger, *Max Liebermann*, *Briefe*, pp. 24, 25.

[26] Struck, *Die Kunst der Radierung*, pp. 161, 168.

[27] Landsberger, *Max Liebermann*, *Briefe*, p. 33: "Erst der Regen, dann die Religion." Also, in a previous letter to Struck, dated 27 August 1905: "I am trying to work in the Jewish quarter but it is nearly impossible, our Jewish brothers you cannot buy them even with money" (ibid., p. 30).

inhabit Liebermann's scenes. In Israels' painting, however, the man has attained uniqueness. This is the same *Ahasverus* that we met in Gottlieb's self-portrait: a "son of the Chosen People," he looks forwards with no prospects or hope, while bearing his suffering with dignity and patience. It is no wonder that the painting instantly attained iconic status, was reproduced by several artists, and appeared in the Jewish press. Struck, like others, thought this to be the most Jewish work of art of all times. In 1907, Struck made a truly wonderful etching after the painting, a work of art in its own right, which both artists signed.

In the 1905 interview, the artists talk about the painting. Israels tells Struck about the model he used, who had since passed away. Struck reports how proud Israels was of his achievement. Israels tells Struck, "I painted a bust portrait of him first, which was sold for dfl.600 from the atelier." Later, he told Struck, he saw the portrait again in an auction in London, where it sold for dfl.3,000! The bust portrait was probably the painting that hung later in the office of Israel's prime minister, in the Knesset. Israels tells Struck how he had repeatedly changed the painting until it seemed to be correct. "I am not interested in the finished painting," he said, "What I want to express is the human feeling [*das menschlich gefühl*]."[28] In a striking photograph that was taken upon the completion of the etching, Struck proudly poses by Israels' enormous "Son of the Ancient People." Behind him, on a separate stand, we see the unveiled etching that he had made (fig. 4).

We have shown how these German artists came to Holland, and what they found there. Rembrandt, a prophet-like figure, and Israels, living proof of what a Jewish artist could achieve, were important factors. The young Isaac joined the group during the period we have discussed here.

As a postscript, let us look at the final chords in the lives of these artists. It will prove revealing as an expression of Jewish history in the twentieth century, and of the different paths these artists followed. Isaac Israels died alone at home in The Hague in 1934, after having been hit by a car. He was sixty-nine years old and unmarried. He had lived in Paris and London for long periods, and had traveled to Indonesia. His interest in Jewish life was minimal, but he seems to have

[28] On Jozef Israels' biblical and Jewish art, see R. Weiss-Blok, "Jewish and Biblical Themes in the Art of Jozef Israels," in *Jozef Israel—A Heart's Desire*, ed. I. Ronen (Haifa 2004).

had commissions for numerous portraits of prominent Jewish people of his time.[29]

Hermann Struck passed away in 1944 at the age of sixty-eight, in his beautiful home overlooking the bay and the Mediterranean Sea, in Haifa. His devoted pupil, the architect M. Ben Uri, relates how Struck, lying beneath a reproduction of Rembrandt's "David Playing before Saul" that hung on the wall in his home, and having lost the sight in one eye, told him, "Look…how I lie here blind and sad, resembling Saul in the painting, holding the curtain and hiding his eyes and drying his tears—Let David come and play on his violin."[30]

Both Jozef Israels and Max Liebermann reached the ripe age of eighty-seven, but how different were their last years. It was much easier for Israels to be a Jewish artist in his country than it was for Liebermann. Holland, at that time, was a case apart, and Israels felt safer than did the Jewish-German artists in Germany. Liebermann, a German citizen whose ancestors had lived in Germany for generations, was accused of being a non-German artist. It was said about him that, "when the German Nationalist Henry Thode identified Liebermann's influence as having been the Dutch painter Jozef Israels, another Jewish artist, the effect was to locate Liebermann's internationalism in his 'cosmopolitan Jewishness'."[31]

Israels died in his sleep in August 1911. Thousands came to pay their last respects at his funeral. Liebermann's final years were miserable; deprived of his honors and official positions by the Nazis, he realized—too late—that there was no future for Jews in his beloved Germany. Only a small number of people bravely arrived to bid farewell at his funeral.

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[29] The Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam has lately acquired a painting by Isaac Israels from Christie's Amsterdam: a portrait of the dentist Dr. S. Pinkhoff, a collector of bronze sculptures from The Hague, that was painted in 1934. The same model, in the same room but seen from the side, was in a collection in Jerusalem. See G. Talpir, *Eighty-five Jewish Artists in the Collection of Dr. Joseph Laron, Jerusalem (1865–1965)* (January 1966), pl. 2.

[30] M. Ben Uri, "A Student about His Rabbi" [in Hebrew], in *Hermann Struck the Man and the Artist*, ed. Y. Mann (Tel Aviv 1954), p. 62.

[31] M. Olin, "From Bezalel to Max Liebermann," in *Jewish Identities in Modern Art History*, ed. C. M. Sousloff (Berkeley 1999), p. 28.

Reproductions of the works discussed may be found in the following sources:

For Jozef Israels:

Dieuwertje Dekkers et al. (eds.), *Jozef Israels 1824–1911*, Groninger Museum, Groningen; Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam; Waanders Publishers, Zwolle; published to accompany the exhibition at the museums in Amsterdam and Groningen (December 1999–March 2000).

For Isaac Israels:

Anna Wagner, *Isaac Israels* (Venlo 1985).

For Max Liebermann:

Gustav Schiefler, *Max Liebermann Sein Graphisches Werk 1876–1923*, 4th ed. (San Francisco 1991).
Herman Simon (ed.), *Was von Leben übrig bleibt sind Bilder und Geschichten* (Berlin 1997).

For Mauricy Gottlieb:

Ezra Mendelsohn, *Painting a People: Mauricy Gottlieb and Jewish Art* (Hanover, N.H. 2002)

For Hermann Struck:

Hermann Struck—From Berlin to Haifa, Exhibition Catalogue, Mane-Katz Museum (Haifa 1994).

ALFRED KLEE AND HANS GOSLAR: FROM AMSTERDAM TO WESTERBORK TO BERGEN BELSEN

Benjamin Ravid

Background

Alfred Klee (born 1875) was a younger associate of Theodor Herzl and one of the earliest leaders of German Zionism. He possessed unusual oratorical abilities, which he devoted to advocating the implementation of Herzl's program of "conquering the [Jewish] communities" and winning them over to the Zionist cause.[1] He was also one of the founders of the Jüdische Volkspartei in 1919 and its leading representative on the Council of the Berlin Jewish community.[2] He additionally participated actively in numerous other Jewish political and educational organizations and served as vice-president of the Preussischen Landesverbandes jüdischer Gemeinden [Association of Prussian Jewish Communities] and as the representative of the Berlin Jewish community on the Board of the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA).[3]

A lawyer by profession, in partnership with Sammy Gronemann[4] and his own cousin Fritz Simon, Klee specialized in criminal law and especially cases involving Jewish honor and, among other successes, won the libel trial against Count von Reventlow and his support of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Around 7 or 8 November 1938, Klee left Berlin with a small suitcase to defend a Jewish doctor somewhere in Westphalia. While there, on 10 November, the day after Kristallnacht,

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[1] See M. Rosenbluth, "Moses and Aaron," *Congress Weekly* 11:2 (14 January 1944), pp. 8–10.

[2] See M. Brenner, "The Judische Volkspartei: National-Jewish Communal Politics during the Weimar Republic," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 35 (1990), pp. 219–43.

[3] For biographies of Alfred Klee published before the outbreak of World War Two, see *Jüdische Lexikon* (Berlin 1930), vol. 3, p. 733, and *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Berlin 1934), vol. 10, p. 68.

[4] Sammy Gronemann (1875–1952) was a German lawyer, playwright (especially of comedies), novelist, and Zionist leader, who moved to Palestine in 1936; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem 1972), vol. 7, pp. 930–31. All subsequent references to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* are to this edition.

he spoke with his son Hans (born 1906) in Berlin, who gave him the cryptic message that his granddaughter had a birthday and would be very glad if he would come to see her. Alfred Klee understood the message to mean that he should not return to Berlin—indeed, the Gestapo had come to look for him in his office—and went directly to find refuge in Holland where his wife Theresa (born 1877) soon joined him. Hans Klee also left Berlin and went to Basel where he received the Doctor of Jurisprudence and then studied at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva.

Already then residing in Holland was the younger daughter of the Klees, Ruth (born 1901). Her husband, Hans Goslar (born 1889), journalist and author, had been a leader in the religious Zionist movement, Mizrahi, and, like his father-in-law, Alfred Klee, also a representative of the Jüdische Volkspartei on the Council of the Berlin Jewish community. Goslar, a committed Social Democrat, served as Press Chief of the Prussian state government (Pressechef der Preussischen Staatsregierung, as well as Dozent an der Verwaltungsakademie, according to his stationery) and as advisor to the Prussian Minister of Domestic Affairs as a Ministerialrat until his dismissal in 1933. He then obtained a position with Unilever in London, but when he arrived there and indicated that he could not work on the Sabbath, the position was withdrawn. Consequently, he went to Amsterdam where, together with an associate who was a lawyer and his wife Ruth as secretary, he opened a small office to advise Jewish immigrants from Germany how to arrange their economic and legal affairs. Hans and Ruth Goslar also translated the biblical commentaries of the British Chief Rabbi Joseph Herman Hertz to Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy from English to German. Their daughter, Hanna (born 1928), the granddaughter referred to in the phone call, became a classmate and close friend of Anne Frank, who mentioned Hanna a few times in her diary, in some versions under the pseudonym of Lies (Elizabeth) Goosens.[5]

The eldest of Alfred and Theresa Klee's three children, Esther Eugenie (born 1900), married the Judaica scholar and Hebraist Simon

[5] *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Revised Critical Edition* (New York 2003), 14 June 1942, versions a and c, p. 199; 15 June 1942, versions a and c, p. 199; 20 June 1942, versions a and b, p. 205; 15 June 1942, version a, p. 207; 16 June 1942, version a, p. 208; 19 June 1942, version a, p. 209; 20 June 1942, versions a and b, p. 205; 24 June 1942, version a, pp. 212, 219; 30 June 1942, version a, pp. 212, 219, 222, version c, p. 219; 5 July 1942, version b, pp. 224–25, version c, p. 224; 27 November 1943, versions b and c, pp. 442–43; 29 December 1943, versions a and c, pp. 455–56.

Rawidowicz (born 1896) in Berlin in 1926, and they left for London in 1933.

Sources

As the situation in the Netherlands deteriorated after the German occupation in spring 1940, Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz in England and Hans Klee in Switzerland corresponded extensively by letter, postcard, and telegram[6] for the duration of the war as they shared their hopes and anxieties and, above all, constantly contemplated what they could do to rescue their family in occupied Europe from its ever-deteriorating plight. This correspondence offers significant and unusual insight on the level of micro-history as it presents the Shoah neither from the perspective of the Nazis nor from that of their victims, but from that of well-connected individuals in England and Switzerland who exerted their utmost energy to save their immediate family. The complete correspondence is also of special relevance because of the combination of its central concern with the additional, detailed information that it contains (which had to be excluded here) on war-time conditions in England and Switzerland, as everyday life had of necessity to continue, and the personalities involved.

Shoah—Occupied Holland

Initially Alfred and Theresa Klee resided in The Hague, while their daughter Ruth Goslar lived with her husband Hans and daughter Hanna in Amsterdam. Understandably, Alfred Klee sought to go to Palestine, but obtaining the necessary immigration certificate at that point was very difficult. A letter of 8 May 1940 from Dr. I. Cohen of the Central Office for Emigration of the Jewish Agency in the Netherlands to Mr. A. Dobkin of the Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem explained to Dobkin that Klee could apply for a

[6] All telegrams and most postcards were written in English, while letters were written in both English and German. In cases in which I have quoted material that originally was written in German, I have indicated that the English represents my translation. All material is in my possession, except for items in the Alfred Klee and Hans Klee holdings of the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem (CZA).

certificate under CAT A(I) through the British Passport Control Office in The Hague, but it could take a long time to obtain a certificate, since those that were to become available would be distributed in the strictly chronological order of the application. Cohen assured Dobkin that Klee had demonstrated that he possessed the required capital, and added that he had suggested to Klee that he try to obtain a certificate in Palestine. Klee had thought that Menahem Ussishkin[7] would be ready to intervene on his behalf with the British authorities in Palestine and accordingly Cohen requested Dobkin to ask Ussishkin to confirm that he would be willing to do so. Also, Cohen wrote, undoubtedly Klee's friends and former law partner, Sammy Gronemann, and also Arnold Barth,[8] would give all possible assistance. Cohen concluded his letter by asking Dobkin for other suggestions for assisting his old friend, stating that he would be extremely glad if Dobkin could give the matter his full attention and thanking him in advance for an early reply.[9]

Meanwhile, Hans Klee was attempting to obtain permission for Alfred and Theresa Klee and the Goslars to enter Switzerland, but on 30 May he was advised by the Swiss authorities that transit through Switzerland could be authorized only if departure from Switzerland were absolutely assured.[10] Apparently Hans also contacted Louis D. Brandeis[11] in Washington, for in a telegram of 3 June 1940, Brandeis advised him that "matter receiving attention communication Holland most difficult."[12]

Later that summer, the situation appeared to take a turn for the better when, on 4 July 1940, the Jewish Colonization Association in Buenos Aires advised Alfred Klee that he and his wife Theresa were to be granted tourist visas enabling them to stay in Argentina for six months.[13] On the basis of those Argentinean visas, Hans Klee turned to the Red Cross to inquire regarding the emigration of the Klee and

[7] Menahem Ussishkin (1863–1941), outstanding Zionist leader, was head of the Jewish National Fund at the time; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 16, pp. 22–26.

[8] Arnold Barth (1890–1957), Zionist and modern orthodox leader, settled in Palestine in 1933 and eventually served as director general of the Anglo-Palestine Bank (later Bank Leumi le-Yisrael); see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 4, p. 263.

[9] CZA, 142/16/14.

[10] CZA, 142/13.

[11] Louis D. Brandeis (1856–1941), American lawyer and Zionist leader, was the first Jewish justice on the United States Supreme Court; a university in Waltham, Massachusetts was named after him; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 4, pp. 1295–1300.

[12] CZA, 142/13.

[13] CZA, 142/112.

Goslar families from Holland. The letter was forwarded to the International Migration Service in Geneva, which wrote to the Committee for Jewish Refugees in Amsterdam on 16 September to determine whether there was a possibility for the two families to obtain permission to leave Holland and also to organize the journey "under the present conditions." Accordingly, thirteen days later, the Committee for Jewish Refugees in Amsterdam wrote to Hans Goslar, asking him whether he possessed a visa for Argentina and how far his emigration plans and those of the Klees had progressed.[14]

A second daughter, Rachel Gabrielle (Gabi), was born to Ruth and Hans Goslar in Amsterdam on 25 October 1940, that year the holiday of Simhat Torah. Meanwhile Alfred and Theresa Klee had moved from The Hague to Scheveningen and then, when the Jews had to leave Scheveningen, on to Utrecht. Although they were both well, they were concerned because their passports were only valid until November and it was unclear whether they would get any documents after then and, if so, of what kind.

The winter of 1940 and the spring of 1941 appear to have passed uneventfully for the Klees. Hans Klee, who was in almost daily contact with his parents, gave a detailed report on the state of the family in a letter of 21 July 1941 to Eugenie. He related that everyone was quite all right [*ziemlich ordentlich*]. In general, Alfred felt very well. In the morning he usually went to the library where Theresa met him and they went to drink coffee together somewhere, while in the afternoons he usually continued his work at home. Also, they had a rather nice circle of friends in the pension in which resided Dr. Rülf, the son of Rabbiner Rülf,[15] and his wife, as well as the well-known hit composer Willy Rosen[16] and a number of other people with whom they regularly

[14] CZA, 142/112.

[15] Isaac Rülf (1831–1902) was an early German Zionist leader and student of philosophy who had been a rabbi in Bonn, where Alfred Klee had lived briefly from 1899–1902; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 14, pp. 383–84.

[16] Willy Rosen (Julius Rosenblum) was a popular composer and lyricist who left Germany in 1933 for Holland, where he continued his musical career. Eventually he was deported to Westerbork where, together with Max Ehrlich, he was required to produce cabarets. In 1944 he was deported to Auschwitz where he died. See *Etty: The Letters and Diaries of Etty Hillesum, 1941–1943*, ed. K. A. D. Smelik and tr. Arnold J. Pomans (Grand Rapids, Mich. 2002), p. 774, note to p. 622, and pp. 650–51; W. Lindwer, *Kamp van hoop en wanhoop: getuigen van Westerbork, 1939–1945* (Amsterdam 1990), pp. 144, 162, 205–6, 208–9, 211, 214–17, 249; D. Presser, *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews* (New York 1969), pp. 442–45.

came together. Recently, they had celebrated Theresa's birthday very pleasantly with roses and a "coffee table." She thanked everyone very charmingly, saying, "Roses [Rosen] one has everywhere in July, but Willy only here."[17] Overall, the Klees seemed to be left in peace but their great problem was the impossibility of emigrating. Except for a very small number of special cases, no emigration permits were granted and no one knew whether and when the situation would change, so that, despite their Argentinean visas, nothing could be done.

Alfred Klee continued to occupy himself mainly with Jewish matters, and also studied general history, the history of philosophy, and other topics. He regularly wrote to Hans about the books that he read and whenever anything that related to Hans' work was involved, they exchanged opinions and literary references.[18] He organized a small group that held monthly lectures and discussions. The first had been devoted to the origins of the Haftarah, the second—given by Klee himself—dealt with Emperor Julian the Apostate, and the third, with Luzzatto.[19]

Meanwhile, Hans Klee was trying to obtain an extension of the Argentinean visa but, as he told his parents in a letter of 25 December, the entire question of emigration was very uncertain since no transit visas were being granted because Spanish ships were no longer sailing, the Clippers were fully booked until March, and the Portuguese ships were similarly overbooked.[20] However, a remote possibility existed of obtaining permission to enter Switzerland without a visa for further travel, but the requirements for such permission were extremely difficult since, in addition to the guarantee for maintenance, one also had to provide a large deposit. Moreover, emigration permits to leave Holland were being granted only if one possessed an overseas visa, and a Swiss visa was not sufficient. Still, apparently Hans was meeting with some success, for on 18 January 1942 he cabled his sister Eugenie

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[17] My translation from the German original.

[18] Hans Klee had received the Doctor of Jurisprudence from the University of Basel and was studying at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in University of Geneva.

[19] Hans did not specify which member of the illustrious Italian Jewish family was intended. The reference could have been to Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (Ramhal) (1707–1746), a Hebrew poet, writer of ethical works, and kabbalist who lived in Amsterdam from 1735–1743 (see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11, pp. 599–604), or to Samuel David Luzzatto (Shadal) (1800–1865), an Italian Jewish scholar, translator, and philosopher (see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11, pp. 604–7).

[20] CZA, A142/112.

that "parents voyage Argentine through ICA possible needing urgently 200 pounds for voyage stay Switzerland Lisbon if necessary ask Lord Readings[21] help for application." However, no information seems to be available on further developments regarding this possibility.

In a letter of 6 March Hans Klee informed Eugenie that, presumably because of new restrictions on Jewish residence, their parents had left Utrecht for Amsterdam, where they lived on the same street as the Goslars, one house away. He further related that they had a large and very pleasant room with the necessary furniture and made breakfast and lunch themselves, joining the Goslars for dinner. Klee had resumed his studies, listening to lectures at the Amsterdam Rabbinical Seminary by Lewkowits in general philosophy[22] and Spanier on Plato.[23] He had many books around him, and was trying to form a small lecture and discussion group as he had done so successfully in Utrecht.

On 14 June, Hans Klee again summed up for Eugenie the condition of their parents, who wrote him almost daily. In the interim, the situation had noticeably deteriorated: yellow star, property confiscation, evacuation from certain cities, and other restrictions. All this weighed greatly on them psychologically, more on Theresa than on Alfred, who continued his activities, giving lectures, participating a little in the working of the Jewish Council, and traveling often to lead seminars and to reminisce about Herzl and the like for the *hachshara* groups of youth who were preparing for agricultural work in Palestine.[24] They wrote him especially nice letters and always asked him to return. He also continued to attend lectures at the rabbinical seminary and was in

[21] Gerald Rufus Isaacs (1889–1960) was the son of Rufus Daniel Isaacs, the first Lord Reading, English lawyer and chairman of the Council for German Jewry; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 13, p. 160.

[22] Albert Lewkowitz (1883–1954), a professor at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary, found refuge in Holland and lectured at the Ashkenazi Rabbinical Seminary in Amsterdam; he survived Westerbork and Bergen Belsen and settled in Haifa; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11, p. 181.

[23] This presumably refers to Arthur Spanier (1889–1944); see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 15, p. 247, and *Bewährung im Untergang: Ein Gedenkbuch*, ed. E. G. Lowenthal (Stuttgart 1966), pp. 162–64.

[24] See S. Samson, *Between Darkness and Light: Sixty Years after Kristallnacht* (Jerusalem 1998), p. 106: "On Rosh Hashana 1941, we heard the gripping narrative of Dr. Alfred Klee, the former president of the Zionist Federation of Germany, who had fled to Holland. Dr. Klee was one of the most distinguished Zionist personalities and belonged to the circle of Theodor Herzl, Max Nordau and David Wolfsohn. Our meetings with Klee and in Gouda with Jacobus Kann, who also worked together with Herzl, enabled us to get to know the founders of the Zionist movement 'personally'."

contact with many friends. He and Theresa were often with the Goslars and greatly enjoyed their new granddaughter. However, although so far they had personally not suffered, one had to be concerned about the future.

This uncertainty continued, as in a letter of 30 July, Hans informed Eugenie that although everything went tolerably [*leidlich*] in that nothing specific had happened to the Klees and Goslars personally, they were of course affected by the general regulations: they had to be in their residence by 8:00 P.M., could no longer use the Trambahn "etc." This was all depressing but bearable, but since one always had to fear for the future, their mood was not very good [*ist die Stimmung nicht glänzend*]. On 11 August, Klee was granted permission to walk on the streets of Amsterdam between 8:00 P.M. and midnight for the remainder of the month of August, presumably because of his activity on behalf of the Jewish Council.[25]

Six weeks later, on 10 September, Hans related to Eugenie that since those over the age of sixty were exempt from all sorts of unpleasant things [*für unannehmlichkeiten aller Art*], their parents were so far spared, while for the Goslars the new baby that they were expecting served as a protection [*schutzengelchen*]. Also, the participation of Alfred Klee and Hans Goslar in the Jewish Council, which often was strenuous for Alfred because of the long walk, provided a certain protection. Since one could never know what would happen, however, efforts to emigrate were continuing. Often, Hans concluded, it was a question of money and whoever did not have limits in this respect had it relatively easier. Still, as Hans wrote Eugenie on 23 October, he was receiving regular communication, from which he knew that Ruth Goslar, whose baby was due shortly, had not been doing so well in the last few days, but that the doctor had assured the family that there was no reason for concern and he expected a smooth delivery.

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[25] I cannot help recollecting the special permissions granted in early-modern Venice for Jews to remain outside the ghetto after curfew-time because of various specified reasons, but it should always be remembered that unlike the Nazi ghettos, the ghetti of early-modern Italy were established to give the Jews a permanent place within Christian society; see B. Ravid, "From Geographical Realia to Historiographical Symbol: The Odyssey of the Word Ghetto," in *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, ed. D. Ruderman (New York 1992), pp. 373–85, and idem, "Curfew Time in the Ghetti of Venice," in *Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, ed. E. Kittell and T. Madden (Urbana-Chicago 1999), pp. 237–75 (this article was photo-reproduced in B. Ravid, *Studies on the Jews of Venice, 1382–1797* [Aldershot, Hants 2003]).

In that spirit, on 1 November 1942 Hans wrote to Eugenie that he had just received a letter from his father, written on 26 October, which concluded, "I just heard that the doctors are with Ruth. I think that my next report will be a birth…"[26] Hopefully, Hans commented, all had gone well, for Ruth had not been feeling well recently. Apparently after Hans finished typing the letter, he took it out of his typewriter and signed it, but soon had to start typing again: "I was just about to send this letter when I received news from father. Because it gives cause for apprehension, I will repeat it."[27] Their father had written on 27 October that the delivery had been very difficult, a baby boy had been stillborn, and Ruth was so weak and her condition so unstable that he could not say anything reassuring. Presumably not sure when or even whether his letter would arrive, Hans cabled Eugenie on 6 November, informing her that "Rutchen very hard delivery boy stillborn parents very anxious."

Meanwhile, on 29 October, two days after Alfred had written to Hans, Theresa wrote Hans a letter that had not yet reached him when he had written Eugenie on 1 November, informing him of the further shocking news that not only had Ruth Goslar given birth to a stillborn boy but also that she herself had passed away on the next day. This was followed on the subsequent day, 30 October, with a second letter, and then a third on 2 November, giving further details. Rather than paraphrase those three letters, Hans forwarded them to Eugenie and sent her a telegram with the tragic news that "poor Ruthchen died, twenty-seventh October heart weakness."[28]

The loss of Ruth Goslar was felt at every turn, and Alfred Klee wrote Hans about the great difficulties of everyday life, singling out shopping, the inability to use the tram, and the absence of a telephone. Life became even more difficult in mid December 1942 after Theresa fell down the steep stairs from the third floor at the Goslar's and broke four vertebrae. She stayed in the Jewish hospital in very painful traction with a neck-brace. Since it was a great strain for Klee to walk twice a day to the distant hospital, he often arranged to have lunch with friends

[26] My translation from the German original.

[27] My translation from the German original.

[28] Theresa Klee sent the details on the funeral of Ruth Goslar and a copy of Dr. Lewkowitz's graveside memorial tribute to Hans Klee and Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz. See also the obituary by Hans Klee in *Israelitisches Wochenblatt für die Schweiz*, 19 February 1943. Ruth Goslar was buried in the Jewish cemetery of Muiderberg, section E, row 35, lot 61.

nearby. He also tried as much as possible to continue his usual studies and activities, including attending the Beirat of the Jewish Council[29] and its culture commission, participating in the seminar with Lewkowitz, and writing his weekly column for the Jewish newspaper. Eventually, on 27 March 1943, Hans cabled Eugenie that their mother had been released from the hospital. A subsequent letter sent to Eugenie three days later related that although the weeks in traction had been very strenuous, all the doctors agreed that Theresa was unusually lucky, for such accidents often had a very bad effect on the mobility of the legs and the like. However, she went out to walk with Alfred whenever the weather was somewhat sunnier and had already visited some friends, which was remarkable in view of the steps involved, but she still had to be very careful and not bend or lift.

Finally, on 30 March Hans Klee received the good news from Richard Lichtheim of the Geneva office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine that Alfred and Theresa Klee and Hans Goslar and his family were included on a list that had been submitted by the Agency on 19 March to the British Mandatory Government in Palestine for approval.[30] On that day, he also informed Eugenie that Alfred and Theresa could obtain Honduran *staatsgehorigkeit* since Hans Goslar and his family had become citizens of Paraguay.[31] This, he wrote Eugenie, was perhaps some protection, for it was always better than being stateless; of course, the concern remained, and one could only hope that something would work out.

Things indeed seemed to be progressing favorably. On 1 May, Hans cabled Eugenie that the Jewish Agency had advised Lichtheim in Geneva that the British Mandatory Government in Palestine had approved a list of Jews in Nazi territory to be exchanged for Germans in Palestine, and that list, which included the names of the Klees and the Goslars, was being sent to London for further transmission to the Swiss Govern-

[29] In order to improve relations between Dutch and German Jews in Westerbork, the leaders of the Jewish Council established a special Beirat (Advisory Council) for non-Dutch Jews, whose membership included both Alfred Klee and Hans Goslar; see Presser, *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews*, p. 223.

[30] CZA A142/112. Richard Lichtheim (1885–1963), German Zionist leader who settled in Palestine in 1934, spent the war in Geneva on behalf of the Zionist Organization; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11, pp. 210–11.

[31] On 22 March 1943, Alfred and Theresa Klee were granted a joint passport, numbered 499, by the Honduran Consul General in Berne, valid for one year for "todos los países de Europa y América"; CZA, 142/13.

ment. However, a friend of Hans Klee in London advised Eugenie that the prospects were not so good; he had found out at the Jewish Agency that apparently the official exchange list contained only the names of Palestinian Jews, of whom there were already over eight hundred but only around two hundred could be taken into consideration, due to the small number of Germans in Palestine to exchange for them. Moreover, the Klees and Goslars were not on that official exchange list but rather on another list, compiled by the Jewish Agency, of persons who would eventually accompany a children's transport. Since this was most vague, he could only assume that the intention was to provide some sort of protection against deportation.

The matter took on added urgency when, in a telegram of 4 June, Hans informed Eugenie "Father demands quickest efforts Brodetsky[32] exchange Palestine being unique way preserving deportation otherwise inevitable." The telegram concluded with happy news: "engaged Edith May 23." Edith Spira (born 1908) was a Jewish refugee dentist from Prague, who shared Hans' Jewish interests and helped him in many ways, including typing letters to his sister. In the following year, on 3 February 1944, they married.

Confirmation that the Klees and Goslars were indeed on the list of Zionist "veterans" and others who had been approved by the British Mandatory Government in Palestine for immigration certificates was sent by J. Linton from the office of the Jewish Agency in London to Eugenie's husband, Simon Rawidowicz, on 1 July 1943. However, that letter related that, according to Lichtheim, who had sent the information by telegram from Geneva to London, there were two difficulties: first, that list had been sent to the Swiss government in Berne but the Protecting Power (Switzerland) would not act without instructions from the British government; and, secondly, the only effective help was to be included in the exchange scheme which was limited to Palestinians and their families and even then there were not enough Germans to exchange for them.

[32] Selig Brodetsky (1888–1954), mathematician and English Zionist leader, was at the time a professor at the University of Leeds and a colleague of Eugenie's husband; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 4, pp. 1392–1393.

Shoah—Westerbork

The efforts to secure the emigration of the Klees and the Goslars from Holland took on added urgency after both families were deported on 20 June 1943, along with the other Jews of South Amsterdam, to the concentration camp of Westerbork.[33] There, Alfred Klee managed to continue at least one of his previous activities. According to an eyewitness, on the thirtieth anniversary of the death of Theodor Herzl, Klee "related his personal recollections of Theodor Herzl…He was a fantastic narrator and the children listened spellbound. Combined activities with the *hachshara* and contact with Alfred Klee brought the students closer to the Zionist idea.… Prior to this period there was much mention of the Bible and faith in God, with Eretz Yisrael barely mentioned."[34] Conditions in Westerbork did not seem so bad, as long as there was hope of an exchange, Hans Klee wrote Eugenie. However, a new problem arose when it was discovered that of decisive importance was not only the possession of a certificate and the individual's place on the list, but also the actual number of the certificate.

In autumn 1943, Alfred Klee was suffering more frequent heart spasms than previously and more often stayed in bed for half the day. Following an unusually sharp attack on 10 November, he did not respond to medical treatment and died. The *hachshara* group accompanied his bier to the crematorium on 12 November, and his urn was placed in the Jewish cemetery at Muiderberg.[35] Two days later, on 14 November, a memorial service was held in Barrack 84 where he had spent his last days. Someone present took shorthand notes on what was termed "this remarkable event in a German camp"[36] and on that basis,

[33] For an account of the life of the Goslar and Klee families in Amsterdam prior to their deportation to Westerbork, with references to Anne Frank, see the interview with H. Pick-Goslar in W. Lindwer, *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank* (New York 1991), pp. 17–22. Hanna explained that "I have often been asked why Mr. Frank chose that other family, the Van Daans, to join them in hiding and not us, because we were such close friends. But you mustn't forget: in the first place, I had a little two-year-old sister, and with a little girl, you can't go into hiding. In the diary, it tells how they couldn't flush the toilet and could only move a bit freely during the evening. Such measures are naturally impossible with a two-year-old. In the second, my mother was pregnant again, and a woman expecting a baby is also not much good in hiding. For those reasons we never resented it. I never considered it to be a problem" (pp. 19–20).

[34] Samson, *Between Darkness and Light*, p. 167.

[35] Section U, row 2, lot 13.

[36] My translation from the German original.

a typewritten account of the service was produced.[37] The participants, presumably his fellow barrack-dwellers and friends, included well-known members of the Dutch Jewish intelligentsia and leadership: Oberrabbiner Abraham Levinson (Levissohn), Chief Rabbi of the Provinces of Friesland and Drenthe, in which Westerbork was located;[38] Oberrabbiner Simon Dasberg, Chief Rabbi of Gronigen;[39] Dr. Israel Kahn; Dr. Elbogen; Dr. Israel Taubes;[40] Prof. David Cohen;[41] Prof. Albert Lewkowitz;[42] and Cantor Rokach, former cantor of Rotterdam who officiated on the High Holidays in Westerbork,[43] who "gave the very impressive memorial ceremony the solemn musical framework."[44]

The following days again poignantly reveal the slow pace of communication. On 11 November, a day after the passing of Alfred Klee, Theresa wrote to her future daughter-in-law Edith Spira a letter which, however, she sent to Lichtheim, explaining: "my dear Edith, I do not dare write to our dear Hans directly and without any preparation and

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[37] Copies of that account were sent on 23 March 1945 by Dr. Rudolf Levy to Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz and Hans Klee. For the text, see Appendix. Levy had been deported to Bergen Belsen, and as a Turkish *staatsgehoriger* was exchanged to Sweden, sailed on the SS Drottningholm to Liverpool, from where he sent the copies of the account to Eugenie and Hans, and then went via Portugal to Istanbul and Palestine. Since the name of Levy appears at the end of the typed summary, quite probably he either took the original notes or prepared the typed version.

For two lengthy treatments of the life and activities of Alfred Klee, see J. Meisels, "Alfred Klee," in *Metzudah* 3–4 (1945), pp. 426–28, and E. Rawidowicz, "Alfred Klee," in *Bewährung im Untergang*, pp. 94–97. In recognition of Klee's devotion to the cause of Zionism, today a street in Tel Aviv bears his name.

[38] Levinson was deported to Bergen Belsen and then sent on the so-called "Lost Transport," which left Bergen Belsen five days before the liberation of the camp, and died just after the liberation of the train by the Russians near Trobitz on 23 April 1945; see Lindwer, *Kamp van hoop en wanhoop*, pp. 24, 182–85, and Samson, *Between Darkness and Light*, pp. 354–55, 389.

[39] Dasberg was deported to Bergen Belsen, where he died; see Lindwer, *Kamp van hoop en wanhoop*, pp. 107–8, 183, 187.

[40] Taubes was the leader of a group of Jews with Palestine certificates who were exchanged on 29 June 1944; see Presser, *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews*, p. 296.

[41] David Cohen (1883–1967) was a professor of Ancient History at the Universities of Amsterdam and Leiden and one of the two heads of the Jewish Council of Amsterdam; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 5, p. 668, and also P. Schrijvers, "Truth is the Daughter of Time: Prof. David Cohen as Seen by Himself and by Others," in *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others*, ed. C. Brasz and Y. Kaplan (Leiden 2001), pp. 355–70; idem, "Rome, Athens, Jerusalem: Aspects of the Life and Work of Professor Dr. David Cohen (1882–1967)," in *Dutch Jewry. Its History and Secular Culture (1500–2000)*, ed. J. Israel and R. Salverda (Leiden 2002), pp. 239–51.

[42] See above, note 22.

[43] See Lindwer, *Kamp van hoop en wanhoop*, p. 108.

[44] My translation from the German original.

so I ask you in your usual loving and tactful manner to prepare him for the terrible news [*schwere*] that I must report to you,"[45] and then proceeded to give a brief account of her husband's last weeks.[46] Four days later, on 15 November, still fully oblivious to what had transpired in Westerbork, Hans Klee wrote Eugenie that "all friends confirm that our parents are going well and that Alli[47] is uppermost in every regard, especially with regard to his spiritual state. All confirm that he is a support for many people." The next correspondence from Hans to Eugenie was a telegram sent on 23 November, presumably immediately after receiving their mother's letter of 11 November, with the report that "our good Alli died after short heartcramp 10 November afternoon poor Theschen[48] wrote." Presumably the telegram took a while to arrive, for it was only on 30 November that Eugenie and her husband cabled back: "our thoughts go out to Westerbork only comfort if any possible Alli no long suffering no deportation embrace poor lonely Theschen children Hans."[49]

December brought a new ray of hope. Hans Klee wrote to Eugenie that he had heard that Theresa Klee, Hans Goslar, and his two daughters might be sent to an exchange camp because of their Palestine certificates. So far, individuals on the first two Veterans' Lists had been taken to a place near "Hans Goslar's birthplace"—an indirect reference presumably made to avoid mentioning the place, Hannover, lest it lead to problems with the censor. But, Hans cautioned, the matter was highly uncertain and one could not definitely say whether it constituted an improvement in the situation. In any case, on 15 February 1944, because of their South American papers and positions on the Palestine lists, Theresa Klee and Hans, Hanna and Gabrielle Goslar were transported to the exchange camp Bergen Belsen, the so-called Stern (Star) Camp, rather than to Auschwitz.[50]

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[45] My translation from the German original.
[46] CZA, 225/76.
[47] Family nickname for Alfred Klee.
[48] Family nickname for Theresa Klee.
[49] CZA, A225/76.
[50] On the vicissitudes of the family in Westerbork, see Lindwer, *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank*, pp. 23–24.

Shoah—Bergen Belsen

Although no direct news from Bergen-Belsen reached either Hans Klee or Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz, a ray of hope appeared once more as Hans cabled Eugenie on 31 May: "Realization exchange now in view stop intervene immediately Linton perhaps other influential friends mother Goslar children absolutely within first exchange group." A subsequent cable of Saturday 8 July gave some very mixed news: "Very happy mother passed yesterday exchange way Istanbul for Palestine stop Hans children still internees camp Bergen Belsen near Celle Hanover stop do utmost placing them second exchange group." However, the joy caused by this news was very short-lived, for on the following day, Sunday 9 July, a second cable from Hans to Eugenie related that "Lewkowitz cables [from] Istanbul mother decided remain with Goslars Bergen Belsen all found foodparcels needed stop try utmost placing all four next group."

The telegrams arrived at the Rawidowicz residence in Leeds in reverse order, first the second telegram and then the first on the following day. In her great joy, half a day passed before Eugenie realized that the telegrams had arrived in reverse order, probably, she assumed, because the weekend had intervened. She immediately telegraphed Sammy Gronemann and her close relative Lotte Aronheim,[51] and asked Lotte to go to the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem and remain there until she was certain that all four family members were on the next list. Meanwhile, Eugenie also informed Hans, she had heard from Lotte and her own brother-in-law, Abraham Ravid in Tel Aviv, both of whom had looked for people who had been with the family in the camps. Abraham had located two people who both affirmed that Theresa and the children were relatively well. Theresa sometimes received from Portugal sardines that she could exchange for other things. Lotte had spoken to someone

[51] Lotte Aronheim, née Simon (1888–1980), a cousin of Alfred Klee on his mother's side, married Heinrich Aronheim (d. 1937), and settled in Palestine in 1938. She was the mother of Yohanan Aharoni (1919–1976), a prominent archaeologist who served as chairman of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Studies at Tel Aviv University and director of its Institute for Archaeology; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 2, pp. 451–52; Herman Zvi Aharoni (Arndt) (b. 1921), for years a high ranking agent of the Mossad and a key figure in the capture of Adolf Eichmann in Argentina in 1960, wrote *Operation Eichmann: The Truth About the Pursuit, Capture and Trial* (London 1996) and a memoir entitled *On Life and Death: The Tale of a Lucky Man* (London 1998); Michael Aharoni (b. 1926) was a resident of Haifa. Eugenie was very close to Lotte, especially since, as a child, she had often visited the Aronheims in Frankfurt an der Oder.

who had been on the exchange transport (presumably that referred to in the telegrams of 8 and 9 July) who told her that Hans Goslar was sick and had been operated on for pleurisy on the day that the transport had left, and that this appeared to have been the main reason why Theresa did not want to leave him and the children alone. Had he not, Eugenie asked Hans Klee, contracted pneumonia the previous year in Westerbork and perhaps something of it remained? How could one be surprised? A pleurisy operation was not good under normal conditions and under those in which he lived, one could only hope that he had survived it. Eugenie was very apprehensive whether there would be a second transport, whether all four would be on the list, and whether Hans would be physically able to be transported. Since nothing could be done from England, she had telegraphed to Gronemann the names of friends of Hans Goslar who would help and explained to him that Hanna would be fourteen years old in November, making great haste necessary since she had once heard that only children under fourteen were allowed to leave on a transport, and that from the ages of fourteen to forty-five, one was liable for labor.

Things again appeared to take a turn for the better when, in January 1945, Hans and Edith were advised that a transport of individuals from Bergen Belsen with South American nationality was coming to Switzerland to be exchanged, and the list of passengers included Theresa Klee, identified as a Honduran, and Hans Goslar and his two daughters, identified as Paraguayans. Hans and Edith went to meet the train, and there encountered Jacob Levy, who had been with the family in Bergen Belsen. Levy gave him a very sad update: Hans Goslar had been confined to the so-called sick barracks for the past nine months[52] after his rib operation because he could not stand up. Since, for some reason, families were not to be split up, his daughters could not leave without him, and Theresa decided to remain with them. As for Theresa herself, Hans heard that she was holding up well, thanks to the packages that she received in much greater numbers than did others, because he was sending them from four or five places in the hope that some would reach her.

Bergen Belsen was liberated by the British army on 15 April 1945. As reports on conditions there began to appear in the press, the spirits of Hans and Eugenie rapidly fell, as it began to sink in with finality that

[52] I.e., since April 1944.

their worst fears had most likely been realized. They awaited the appearance of official lists of survivors, which they studied with trembling and palpitations: "The wait is terrible, but I sometimes fear that the reality will be worse,"[53] wrote Eugenie to Hans. Her apprehension grew when she heard that all survivors in Bergen Belsen had been given military postcards to write to their relatives. Although Gabi did not know the names of either Hans Klee or Eugenie while Hannah could not spell Eugenie's last name, did she know Hans' address? Still, if mother or Hans Goslar could have written, a card would have arrived.

In late June, Simon and Eugenie Rawidowicz were each independently advised a day apart that the names of Hanna and Gabrielle Goslar had been included on a list issued by the Netherlands Commission for Repatriation in London of Jews from Bergen Belsen who had been liberated in Frankfurt an der Oder and that all those from Holland were being repatriated there. It turned out that they had been on the so-called "Lost Transport" headed for Theresienstadt, which had been intercepted by the Russians near Tröbitz. Eugenie hoped that more such trains from Bergen Belsen would be found, but no trace of either Theresa Klee or Hans Goslar was encountered. Finally, in a telegram of 13 July, Hans Klee had to cable the very sad finality: "Hans [Goslar] died 25/2[54] and our dear mother 25/3." By that time, Hanna and Gabrielle

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[53] My translation from the German original.

[54] On Hans Goslar, see I. Lewin (ed.), *These I Will Remember* [in Hebrew] (New York 1959), vol. 3, pp. 213–26; O. Wolfsberg (I. Aviad), *Deyoknaot* [Portraits; in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1962), pp. 235–37; "Hans Goslar," in *Bewährung im Untergang: Ein Gedenkbuch*, pp. 62–63; E. Berkovits, *With God in Hell; Judaism in the Ghettos and Deathcamps* (New York-London 1979), pp. 14–16; T. Maurer, "Auch ein Weg als Deutscher und Jude: Hans Goslar (1889–1945)," in *Juden als Träger bürglicher Kultur in Deutschland*, ed. J. Schoeps (Stuttgart 1989); and Samson, *Between Darkness and Light*, pp. 167–68.

Annie Hollander, the wife of a friend of Hans Klee who had died in Bergen Belsen, wrote to Hans on 29 October 1945 that "Hans Goslar war fast von Beginn seines Aufenthalts in B. B. krank und lag immer im Krankenhaus. Die Versorgung war einigermassen, jedenfalls in den ersten Monaten—es wurde dann allerdings immer schlimmer, nicht nur im Krankenhaus, sondern auch im ganzen Lager; vor allem die Ernährung. Später erhielten Hans Goslar und auch Ihre selige Mutter regelmässig Pakete wodurch sie sich eigentlich auch am Leben erhalten haben. Das genügte natürlich auf die Dauer nicht, so dass Hans Goslar—selbstverständlich auch durch seine akuten Krankheiten und Operation—an Herzschwäche starb. Zu all dem kamen die Anstrengungen der Aufrufe für Austauschtransporte, die dann wiederholt aus uns völlig unbekannt gebliebenen Gründen rückgängig gemacht wurden."

Goslar's daughter, Hanna, related that "then we were supposed to be exchanged. On the evening my father died, one of the doctors came to say who could go and who couldn't. It was quite remarkable, because after all, he saw that my father couldn't go, but still he picked him, possibly because I had pleaded with him, saying that I wouldn't

had been located in Holland, where Otto Frank, the father of Hanna's old school-friend Anne, found them, took care of them, arranged their papers for Switzerland, and accompanied them to Zurich, where they were united with Hans and Edith on 5 December 1945.[55]

Epilogue

Hans Klee continued his Jewish communal activities, among other things serving as president of the General Zionist Organization of Switzerland, vice-president of the European Executive of the World Confederation of General Zionists, and editor of the *Israelitsches Wochenblatt.* He died, childless, on 21 May 1959. Edith, the last bearer of the Klee family name, died some five and a half years later, on 11 November 1964.[56]

Ruth Klee-Goslar's eldest daughter Hanna is today a great-grandmother, residing in Jerusalem. She had a poignant encounter with Anne Frank in Bergen Belsen, which she related in the Oscar-winning film, *Anne Frank Remembered*, and also in *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank*, a film by Willy Lindwer, which was awarded an International Emmy for the Best Documentary of 1988. Hanna's wartime experiences are also related at length by A. L. Gold in *Memories of Anne Frank: Reflections of a Childhood Friend* (New York 1997), and, more briefly, in the book, *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank* (ed. W. Lindwer, New York 1991). I am most grateful indeed to Hanna for clarifying several points in the above narrative, once again reminding me of the limitations of recreating the course of past events only on the basis of documents, and to Willy Lindwer for kindly sharing his expertise with me orally.

Ruth Klee-Goslar's younger daughter Gabrielle, known by her Hebrew name Rachel, is a grandmother and resident of Petach Tikvah.

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go otherwise. And they dressed him in proper clothes, but the exchange didn't take place after all"; Pick-Goslar in Lindwer, *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank*, p. 29.

[55] On the vicissitudes of the family in Bergen Belsen until the reunion in Zurich, with details of Hanna's meeting with Anne Frank in Bergen Belsen, see Pick-Goslar in Lindwer, *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank*, pp. 24–34.

[56] See the obituary for Hans Klee in *The New York Times*, 26 May 1959, p. 33, *Israelitische Wochenblatt*, 29 May 1959, p. 7, and *Judische Rundschau*, 29 May 1959, p. 3, and 11 June 1959, p. 3. An obituary for Edith appeared in the *Israelitische Wochenblatt* shortly after her death (p. 35, from an undated sheet in the family archives).

Esther Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz (1900–1980)[57] and her husband Simon (1896–1957), who, incidentally, had been on the German list of people in England designated for extermination after German conquest of that island,[58] had one son, Benjamin Chaim Isaac Ravid, the author of this article.

Trauerfeier für Alfred Klee

Am 10. November 1943 starb im Lager Westerbork in der holländischen Provinz Drenthe Dr. Alfred Klee, einer der aktivsten Führer des deutschen Judentums und der ersten Vorkämpfer des Zionismus in Deutschland. Seine Freunde veranstalteten am 14. November in der Baracke 84, in der Alfred Klee seine letzten Tage beschloßen hatte, eine Gedenkfeier, bei der die Persönlichkeit des Verstorbenen in der Mannigfaltigkeit ihres Seins und Tuns gewürdigt wurde. Auf Grund des Stenogramms dieser bemerkenswerten Veranstaltung in einem deutschen Lager geben wir nachstehend den Inhalt der Ansprachen wieder. (Das Stenogramm ist erst jetzt in unsere Hände gelangt).

Oberrabbiner *Levisson* wies einleitend darauf hin, daß nun, da Alfred Klee von uns fortgenommen ist, die Geschichte seines Lebens uns stärken und uns bewußt machen müsse, was Leben, wie er es lebte, bedeutet. Wir wissen, wie Klee bis zur letzten Stunde gearbeitet hat, im Interesse von anderen gesprochen hat.

Oberrabbiner *Dasberg* (er ist inzwischen im Lager Bergen-Belsen gestorben) ging aus von dem "Hinneni," "Hier bin ich," der klassischen Antwort auf den Aufruf Abrahams, der zuerst mit seinem Eigennamen gerufen wird, dieses Revolutionärs, Idealisten, frommen Menschen. Klee ist jemand, der mit seinem Eigennamen gerufen ist, der in der Geschichte unseres Volkes während des letzten halben Jahrhunderts sich einen eigenen Namen erworben hat. Er gab Antwort in einer Bereitschaft und Opferungsgesinnung, Hingabe und Herzlichkeit, die an das große Vorbild am Moria erinnert. Er war bereit zu jeder echt jüdischen Tat und für jede große jüdische Bewegung in Deutschland und in der ganzen jüdischen Welt. Er gab Antwort in der großen jüdischen Renaissancebewegung, in der er an führender Stelle stand, und als es um die wirkliche Renaissance der jüdischen Kehilla ging. Er gab seine diplomatische Gabe, Scharfsinnigkeit, jüdische Herzlichkeit, Charme, seine ganze Menschlichkeit. Die ostjüdischen Brüder fanden in ihm einen Fürsprecher, auch wenn es um die Interessen der jüdischen Religion in der jüdischen Gemeinschaft ging, um die konservativen Dinge im Judentum. Auch sein Haus stand bereit, Menschen in jüdischer Gastfreiheit zu empfangen. Er gab eine

[57] The text of the eulogy for Esther Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz delivered by Alexander Altmann was published in Hebrew in *Thought and Action: Essays in Memory of Simon Rawidowicz on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of His Death*, ed. A. A. Greenbaum and I. Ivry (Tel Aviv-Haifa 1983), pp. 15–16.

[58] For a brief biographical sketch of Simon Rawidowicz, see *American National Biography* (New York 1999), s.v. "Rawidowicz, Simon," and for a lengthier analysis, see B. Ravid, "The Life and Writings of Simon Rawidowicz," in *Israel: The Ever-Dying People*, ed. B. Ravid (East Rutherford 1986), reissued in a slightly expanded paperback edition under the title of *State of Israel, Diaspora and Jewish Continuity* (Hanover, N.H. 1998), pp. 13–50. A longer version was published in Hebrew in Simon Rawidowicz, *Iyyunim Bemahashevet Yisrael*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem 1969–1971), vol. 1, pp. 17–82, and a bibliography of Rawidowicz's major writings appears in ibid., pp. 83–92.

so deutliche Antwort, daß sein Wort durch die jüdische Geschichte hindurchklingen wird. Er hat Anteil am Ewigen unseres Volkes, er der glaubte an die Ewigkeit unserer Existenz, an die Unzerstörbarkeit unseres Volkes. Wir sind ihm dankbar für sein Vorbild und wir wollen ihm folgen. So möge sein Name fortleben durch eigene Verdienste und durch unsere Gefolgschaft, sodaß auch wir bereit bleiben, auf die große Frage von heute "Wo bist Du, Jude?" nicht länger mit einer Ausflucht die Antwort schuldig zu bleiben, sondern nach Klees Vorbild zu antworten 'Hier bin ich." Er inmitten seines in der Verbannung lebenden jüdischen Vokes gestorben.

Dr. Isi *Kahn* erinnerte daran, daß vor 45 Jahren, als Klee mit seiner Frau in der Stadt Dr. Rülfs lebte, daß begann, was wir an ihm in der jüdischen Geschichte unsterblich nennen, unter den Augen von Wolfsohn alle führenden Männer des Zionismus lebten. Dort sagte uns ein junger Mann mit einem schwarzen Kneifer: Werdet Ihr selbst. Er prägt das Wort "Wir müssen die Gemeindestuben erobern, dann habenwir die Jugend." In Köln spricht der junge unbekannte Mensch zum ersten Male, und erringt mit seiner großen Beredsamkeit seinen ersten Sieg.

Klee geht nach Berlin. Der ursprüngliche KC'er, dieser junge Redner und Denker, führt die jüdische Jugend. Es wird der Verein Jüdischer studenten gegründet. In diesen Jahren, in denen er sich zum juristischen Staatsexamen vorbereitet, wird er als Redner in alle Teile Deutschlands von der Zionistischen Vereinigung Deutschlands entsandt und seine Gattin muß auf ihn verzichten. Mit dem Weltkrieg beginnt die letzte große Aufstiegszeit Klees. Er begründete den Neuen Jüdischen Gemeinde-Verein und wird Repräsentant der Gemeinde. Er führt den Kampf um die Berliner Gemeinde von 200.000 Menschen und sie wird erobert. Wir finden ihn im Vorstand der Gemeinde. Der Zuzug aus dem Osten bringt große soziale Aufgaben mit sich. Zehntausende stehen auf der straße an jenem großen historischen Abend der Balfour-Erklärung, als Klee sagte: "Juden, Ihr habt Euer Land wieder." Durch seine Initiative wurde der Landesverband der jüdischen Gemeinden, später der Reichsverband geschaffen. Die Jüdische Gemeinde gibt ihm den Ehrensitz in der ICA in Paris. Zuletzt lebte er hier in Westerbork hier in dieser Baracke. In jeder freien Stunde saß er in der Lagerbibliothek. Am letzten Morgen spricht er noch von den Aufgaben, die zu leisten sein werden. Am 12. nach Mar Cheschwan haben wir ihn bis zur Grenze des Lagers geleitet.

Dr. *Elbogen* unterstreicht das geborene Führertum Klees. Die Eigenschaften, die ihn dazu befähigten, waren nicht nur seine überragenden Fähigkeiten des Geistes, seine Fähigkeit, Menschen zu führen, sondern das innere Feuer seiner glühenden Liebe zum jüdischen Volke, die ihn ganz erfaßte, die den ganzen Menschen erfaßte, auch wenn er seinem Tageswerk nachging. Mußestunden gönnte er sich nur wenig. Neben der großen Tagesarbeit und den Sitzungen der verschiedenen Gremien arbeitete er an sich selbst und ergänzte sein fundamentales Wissen, das durch sein ausgezeichnetes Gedächtnis ihn von Jahr zu Jahr mehr in Stand setzte, ein wandelndes Lexikon in jüdischen Dingen zu sein.

Klee war Führer in der Gemeinde vor allem, weil er es verstand, seine Mitarbeiter ganz in seinen Bann zu ziehen. Hierzu verhalf ihm seine Höflichkeit und Freundlichkeit. Er war dem Freunde ein Freund wie nur selten einer, einer, der immer zur Vefügung stand. Diese Freundschaft befähigte seine Mitarbeiter zu besonderen Leistungen, vor allem in den wenigen Jahren, in denen eine zielbewußte jüdische Gemeindepolitik geführt werden konnte. In diesem Rahmen war die Grundeinstellung nationaljüdisch, zionistisch. Damals war es gelungen, die Jüdische Gemeinde zum Keren Hajessod-Beitrag zu veranlassen und damit bewußt den Palästina-Aufbau zu fördern. In der ICA ist es Klee nach längerem Kampf gelungen, wenigstens Teilbeträge zur Verwendung nach Erez Israel zu bringen.

Alfred Klee war der treueste Gatte, der fürsorglichste Vater. Die viele Arbeit wurde ihm ermöglicht, weil sein Haus ganz in seinem Sinne lebte. Gattin und Kinder waren eines Sinnes mit ihm in seinen jüdischen Idealen. Sein Sohn muß deswegen hervorgehoben werden, weil er seiner ganzen Anlage nach einer von den Söhnen ist,

von denen man sagen kann, er ist nicht nur ein Sohn, sondern auch derjenige, der das Werk fortsetzt, das der Vater geschaffen hat. Daß dem so ist, war der größte Stolz des Vaters und seine größte Freude. Diese Familie ist jetzt der Krone beraubt, doch wird die Mutter mit den Kindern das Werk fortsetzen und nach Erez Israel, wohin die sterblichen Reste überführt werden sollen, seinen Geist mit hinüber nehmen und dort weiter arbeiten an dem Werk, das der Vater aufgebaut hat. Wir wollen in dem Geiste der Versöhnlichkeit, der Anerkennung anderer Geistesrichtungen und des Ausgleichs weiter arbeiten. Es kann ein Erez Israel nie aufgebaut werden, wenn es nicht gelingt, zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen im jüdischen Volke so viel Verständnis für den anderen zu schaffen, daß die Achtung vor der Meinung des anderen gewahrt wird, ohne die eigenen Ideale aufzugeben, sodaß es möglich ist, wirklich gemeinsame Arbeit zu leisten. In diesem besonderen Sinne möge der Geist Alfred Klees weiter wirken.

Dr. Israel *Taubes* betont, daß Alfred Klee unser Rufer und Mahner war. Er war der Wegweiser und Gestalter des jüdischen Lebens in Deutschland, aber auch in allen Ländern, in denen jüdische Zentren vorhanden sind. Für ihn war das jüdische Volk ein Volk, das zwei Daseinsformen hat: die in Erez Israel, und die in der Diaspora. Klee war das jüdische Programm und dieses besagte uns: Wir zionistische, wir revolutionäre Menschen müssen das jüdische Leben in allen Bezirken durchdringen, und deswegen ist er für uns der Wegweiser geworden und war er *die* internationale jüdische Figur.

Weil Klee jüdisches Leben in allen Bezirken kennenlernen wollte, hat er sich später dem östlichen Leben gewidmet, und die veränderten Erkenntnisse führten ihn zur Gründung der Jüdischen Volkspartei. Für Klee war das Primat natürlich Erez in allen jüdischen Bezirken, jedoch bei Anerkennung der Vitalität der jüdischen Diaspora, die Bestandteil des jüdischen Volkes und Lebens war. Während des vorigen Krieges kam Klee zu uns ostjüdischen Menschen, die damals nach Deutschland kamen, und erkannte damals bei ihnen mehr Judentum. Für ihn war Zionismus nicht nur Partei, sondern jüdische Volksbewegung. Ob es jüdisches Leben in Madrid, Amsterdam, in Warschau oder im kleinsten Nest in Deutschland war, immer war Klee dabei, denn er war ja *die* internationale jüdische Figur. Der Jugend hat er so unendlich viel Zeit, Mühe und Arbeit gewidmet von Beginn bis zum letzten Atemzuge. Immer war Klee zur Stelle und diese jüdische Jugend wird auch verstehen, wie Klee Zionismus verstanden hat: als die revolutionär umgestaltende jüdische Bewegung, die alles Jüdische durchdringt, denn alles, was jüdisch ist, darf Zionisten nicht fremd sein.

Prof. David *Cohen* betont: So wie Klee das große Glück gehabt hat, die Zeit der jüdischen Renaissance zu erleben, und daran mitzuarbeiten, so hat diese jüdische Renaissance das Glück gehabt, ihn zu besitzen. Von ihm strahlte die Liebe aus zu seinem Volke und so mußte diese Liebe zu ihm zurückkehren. In ihm war die große Synthese von Liebe zum Land und Liebe zum Volk vereint wie selten bei einem anderen. So konnte in ihm geboren werden die Synthese, daß sein ganzes Herz ausging nach Israel und nach dem Volk in der Diaspora. So hat er diese zwei Werke in seinem Leben tun können. Wir danken ihm auch in diesem Lande, daß er uns den Zionismus gebracht hat, aber auch die Lehre, daß man, will man Erez Israel groß machen, das jüdische Volk in der Diaspora stark erhalten muß, so wie es vielleicht nur Motzkin vermochte. Wer ihn in Kongressen oder in der ICA gesehen hat, kann ermessen, welcher Reiz von seiner Persönlichkeit ausging. So danken wir ihm für das, was er in seinem Leben getan hat. Zum Schluß erinnerte Prof. Cohen an das prächtige Wort des Propheten: "Der Rechtschaffende lebt durch seinen glauben." Dieser Glaube war in ihm, der gestorben ist, aber dieser Glaube lebt auch in uns allen fort.

Prof. *Lewkowitz* spricht ein kurzes Wort innigen Dankes für eine persönliche Freundschaft, die ihm hier in Holland zuteil geworden ist: Durch die Verbindung mit Alfred Klee. Er war der Kurator unseres Breslauer Rabbiner-Seminars. Dort fühlte sich Klee zugehörig, nicht nur aus allgemeinem Wissensdrang heraus, sondern aus dem Bewußtsein, daß das jüdische Volk seine Aufgabe nur erfüllen kann, wenn der jüdische Geist in ihm fortlebt. Er fühlte sich mit der ganzen Innigkeit seines Herzens da zu Hause,

wo jüdische Lehre eine Stätte gefunden hat. Gedenken wir seiner Mahnung, daß wir nicht aufhören sollen, das Volk des Buches zu sein, wie unser Dr. Klee keinen Tag ohne ein Buch zu Ende hat gehen lassen. Hören wir nicht auf zu lernen und zu lehren, um dann einzuziehen in unser Land. Dann wird Alfred Klee sagen: "Am Jisrael Chaj."

Kantor *Rokach* gab der eindrucksvollen Trauerfeier die weihevolle musikalische Umrahmung.

Dr. Rudolph Levy

NEXT YEAR IN PARAMARIBO: GALUT AND DIASPORA AS SCENE-CHANGES IN THE JEWISH LIFE OF JAKOB MEIJER

Evelien Gans

In the thirties of the last century Jakob (Jaap) Meijer (1912–1993) lived and studied in Amsterdam and was an active Zionist—a Zionist activist. And people knew he was. Not only in the circle of his radical-Zionist friends and soul-mates in Jewish Amsterdam, but also in the north, in the provinces of Overijssel, Drenthe, and Groningen, where small Zionist groups invited respectable or popular speakers from the Amsterdam Zionist movement in order to attract more visitors and lend some extra style to their meetings and festivities. One of them was Jaap Meijer.[1] For several years Meijer seized the opportunity to travel north to his family and to the landscapes, dialects, streets, and people he had known as a child, to the small city of Winschoten and its surroundings where he was born and grew up with his parents and two elder sisters, to the dikes and the wide view of the clay region of Oldambt and the sandy ridge of Westerwolde. And later on, to the city of Groningen, the capital of the province of the same name—where his mother, Martha Krammer (1884–1942), had moved five years after the death of her husband, Jaap's father—and where she had to earn a living on her own. The Meijer-Krammer family had been extremely poor in Winschoten where Jaap's father, Samuel Meijer (1874–1923), had tried to make ends meet as a peddler passing through the villages and the farms in the region—wanderings during which he was only rarely accompanied by his son, who was otherwise at school, playing with friends, or at home waiting for his father's return. Things didn't get better after Samuel's premature death. There are some indications of Martha Meijer taking in sewing and, later on, doing domestic labor

[1] Interview with Jenny Bolte-Nathans, Amsterdam 16 June 2000. Unless otherwise noted, all interviews were conducted by the author.

or working as a housekeeper. It is very likely that the family lived partly on Jewish charity.[2]

Jaap grew up observing Jewish rituals, festive days, and traditions; he attended both public and Jewish schools. When he was thirteen years old and attending a school of advanced elementary education, shortly after having celebrated his bar mitzvah, he was abruptly cut off from his familiar surroundings and sent to Amsterdam. Jewish charity paid for his education as a religious teacher and, eventually, as a rabbi at the Amsterdam Nederlands Israëlietisch Seminarium. For talented but penniless Jewish boys, these were among the few professions that offered a relatively respectable—though not very well-paid—way out of misery. In Amsterdam Jaap lived in other people's homes, and had his warm meals according to a fixed weekly schedule in the homes of Jewish families who could afford (and were willing to assume) such extra costs and company. He was, like other seminarians who lived on charity, a so-called *Tägesser*.[3] This certainly was a lonely life—without the casualness or intimacy of family life, and subject to the goodwill of relative strangers. Reflecting on Jaap Meijer's biography, one can be sure that the grim factors of his childhood and adolescence—the extreme poverty, the loss of his father shortly before his eleventh birthday, personal dependence and uprootedness—impacted enormously on his attitude towards life, his interactions with others, and the existential choices that he later made.

Still, there is another side to this story. Having to function beyond what was expected in a normal family life, the young Jakob had the freedom, during his many wanderings through the city, to discover and taste nearly every shade and pattern of Jewish Amsterdam: German and Portuguese, Eastern and Western, orthodox, liberal and freethinker, conservative and socialist, assimilationist and Zionist. The people he came to know, even briefly or on a most superficial level, could easily fill more than one ballroom. Several of them would live again in Meijer's historical writings—footnotes included—and in his memory, dreams, or nightmares. His walks through Amsterdam over the years, during which he observed not only the inhabitants in their innumerable encounters

[2] This was suggested in several interviews, though no material evidence has been found.

[3] Literally, "day-eater"; see e.g. J. Meijer, *Het traject van een Täg-esser. Herinneringen van een seminarist*, Balans der Ballingschap XVIII. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland (Heemstede 1991).

and conversations, but also the city itself, houses, gables and bridges, traffic and noises, especially in the Jewish quarters, laid one of the first foundations of the later historian.

In the meantime, during the day Jaap Meijer was a seminarian, trained in Jewish studies. And though he would, later on, criticize the intellectual and pedagogical level at the seminary, his thorough knowledge of biblical and traditional Judaism was sowed during his education at this stronghold of Jewish orthodoxy. He must have been an eager pupil—and eager he would remain till his very end. In 1991 he made the remarkable statement, in one of his rare interviews, that his curiosity originated from a lack of tradition within his own family.[4] He was, it would seem, always trying to catch up with something. Perhaps this state of mind stayed with him forever; but if so it started in the Jewish peddler-son in Winschoten, and lived on in the seminarian who came from the north to the center and became a man of letters, a scholar, away from the poverty that had killed his father and at the same time fulfill his father's deepest longings: become a rabbi.[5]

But life itself intervened. Being a highly intelligent and enterprising Jewish adolescent, Meijer was bound to get involved in the Amsterdam Zionist youth movement, which, in the 1930s, was a cradle of young and—in its radical corner—rebellious talent. In those days, the mainstream of Jewish orthodoxy was still strongly anti-Zionist. From that perspective, membership in *Zichron Ja'acov*, the youth organization of the religious-Zionist Mizrachi movement, was blasphemous. The chasm became even more clear when the hard core of this group grew more radical and challenged the Jewish (clerical and non-clerical) establishment on issues like dissimilation versus assimilation and one—Jewish, not Dutch—nationality, only. A rabbi of a radical-Zionist stamp was unthinkable. This was, however, not the only dilemma that kept Jaap Meijer away from the rabbinate. Other equally important factors were, in chronological order, his love for his academic studies of Dutch literature and, especially, of history at the University of Amsterdam,

[4] I. Cornelissen, *Een joodse dwarsligger. Jaap Meijer 1912–1993* (Amsterdam 1995), p. 63. The remark from the former seminarian and friend of Jaap's, Koos Caneel (1909–1997), that Jaap was from a "non-religious family" [niet-religieus gezin] is rather strange; see Koos Caneel to Igor Cornelissen, 25 May 1995, in: Archief Igor Cornelissen; perhaps it should be interpreted as not religious in a reflective, sophisticated or intellectual way.

[5] P. Jonker, M. Kool, A. Offenberg, *Hou vremd ik blief. Saul van Messel. Joods dichter in het Nedersaksisch* (Oosterwoolde 1985), p. 21.

and his love for Liesje Voet (1918–1993), the daughter of a prominent Jewish-socialist from a strongly secular family. Choosing the life of a historian did not imply that Meijer disregarded or forgot his Hebraic and biblical knowledge. On the contrary: in interviews, several respondents recounted his vast reservoir of knowledge on those fields. In one Jewish-orthodox circle in Groningen, for example, people spoke about what Meijer had said and what he thought about various questions concerning Hebrew, Talmud, and so on.[6] And sometimes Meijer led services in shuls in the north, for example on Rosh Hashanah in the shul of Hoogezand.[7] And he surely was very present at the outspoken, nonconformist shul-services of the radical-Zionist youth in Amsterdam.[8]

One could say that, for some time and to some extent, Jaap Meijer had been living in two worlds. Bit by bit, however, and certainly by the end of the 1930s, he felt more at home in the so-called *Catacombes*—the meeting-place of the "chosen few," the small circle of Amsterdam radical-Zionist friends who aspired to wake all those Jews who were still dozing—than in the villages and cities in the north that he had visited or where he had stayed during the holidays. In Amsterdam, he certainly made friends for life and led, as mentioned above, a very active Zionist life, attending meetings, writing songs, making speeches and publishing articles, for example, as one of the editors of *Tikwath Jisraël*, the journal of the Jewish (i.e. Zionist) Youth Union. In this journal, Meijer wrote several times about the cruelty of exile; even in Holland, anti-Semitism increased and Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany gained admission in minute amounts, only. For us Zionists, Meijer wrote, the future lays in Palestine, and surely, too, in "the connection with our history and our own national culture."[9] In these words, written in 1938, one hears the Jewish historian with national or even nationalist feelings—in the very year he finished his studies at university. How deep was Meijer's longing to leave for Palestine? How powerful was his will to start a new life in the unborn Jewish state? In the remainder of this article, I will try to reach an answer to this question and some other, related, questions. What was the meaning of *galut*, "exile," and diaspora to Jaap Meijer,

[6] Jan and Theodora van der Meiden-Coolsma, interviewed by Eppe Bodde and Ellen Dijkhuizen, November 1998; with thanks to Eppe Bodde and Ellen Dijkhuizen.

[7] F. Levie-de Lange, telephone interview, 20 October 2000.

[8] Interview with Sem Dresden and others, Leiden, 29 May 2000.

[9] J. Meijer, "Het feest der bevrijding," in *Tikwath Jisraël. Officieel orgaan van de Joodsche Jeugdfederatie in Nederland* 19 (7 April 1938).

and did his views on those concepts undergo any changes, ideologically or otherwise? And why did he and his wife, Liesje, eight years after having survived the horrors of Bergen Belsen, decide, in 1953, to go westwards, not eastwards, and to settle in Paramaribo, and not in Ramat Gan, Sde Nehemia, or Jerusalem?

To begin with, Jaap Meijer thought seriously about going to Palestine and he organized (following the Zionist ideology, according to which the future Jewish state needed craftsmen, not intellectuals) a *hachshara*, on his own terms. A socialist-Zionist friend of his, Louis Vuijsje (1912–1943), happened to be one of the sons of the baker, Vuijsje. In Vuijsje's kosher bakery on Weesperstraat, Jaap worked from six till ten o'clock in the morning in order to learn to bake bread. On several occasions, he stopped, afterwards, at the home of his sister-in-law, Gerda Voet-Haalman (1912–2002), who was well along in her pregnancy, to deliver salt-free bread to her that was still fresh and warm.[10] During the German occupation, prospects changed drastically. Going on *aliya* was blocked, and exile manifested itself grimly. Meijer passed his exam on theory and could call himself a baker. At the same time, he worked on his dissertation, and in October 1941 received his doctorate with a thesis on the Jewish poet Isaac da Costa (1798–1860) and his conversion to Christianity. Meijer depicted Da Costa, among other things, as a Zionist *avant-la-lettre*.[11] When he got a job as a history teacher at the Jewish Lyceum, founded by order of the Nazis, he spent much time in his lessons reviewing Jewish history and openly stressing the importance of Zionism, arousing mostly enthusiastic—but sometimes mixed or even negative—feelings among his pupils.[12]

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[10] Interviews with Jaap and Cato Vuijsje-Duitscher, Amsterdam 13 June 2000; Gerda Voet-Haalman, Ramat Gan, Israel, 3, 9 August 2000; Louis Vuijsje died in Auschwitz on 25 January1943.

[11] E. Gans, *'De weg terug.' Het kantelend beeld van de joodse historicus Jaap Meijer (1912–1993)* (Amsterdam 2003), p. 10; see also P. J. Meertens to Jaap Meijer, 22 February1955, in: Universiteitsbibliotheek, Amsterdam, Bijzondere Handschriften, Archief P. J. Meertens, Correspondence M.

[12] N. Roos, "Van Joodse mensen tot Joden. Jaap Meijer als leraar aan het Joods Lyceum," in *Neveh Ya'akov. Jubilee Volume Presented to Dr. Jaap Meijer on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. L. Dasberg and J. N. Cohen (Assen 1982), pp. 283–96; interviews with Nora Roos, Amsterdam, 5 June 2000; Ruth Klemens-Wiener, Amsterdam 14 May 2001; several short interviews with Ralph Prins, Judith van Witsen, and Maurits van Witsen on and after a reunion in Amsterdam, on 13 September 2001, at the occasion of the presentation of: D. Hondius, *Absent. Herinneringen aan het Joods Lyceum Amsterdam 1941–1943* (Amsterdam 2001); see also Hondius's book.

He was again a teacher in the Westerbork transit camp after he and Liesje, together with their baby son Ischa, who was born in Amsterdam on the 14th of February, were rounded up on 20 June 1943, the third anniversary of their marriage, in one of the last of the massive raids. Though it would have been possible to hide, Jaap decided against it. He had felt confident and protected by his *Sperre*—probably a double *Sperre*, because of his teaching and of his father-in-law, Ies Voet, Sr., who was, with some interruptions, a member of the controversial Jewish Council [Joodsche Raad] as the only representative of Jewish labor.[13] Perhaps Jaap enjoyed even triple protection, doing some unspecified filing work in the archives of both the chairmen of the Jewish Council, David Cohen and Abraham Asscher, and of the disbanded Jewish congregations of Amsterdam.[14] There are respondents who tell us that Jaap dreaded hiding and believed or wanted to believe that the war would soon be over.[15] Jews had all sorts of obvious and sometimes paradoxical reasons not to hide, which have, in retrospect, often been misunderstood. Very clarifying in this respect is the statement of a Jewish woman who went into hiding in 1942 and said, in an interview in 1993, that she would never have taken this step if she would have known the war would last for another three years: "I wouldn't have dared to. It is a good thing one doesn't know everything."[16]

In the Westerbork barracks where Meijer and several others taught, many debates were started. "Jaap Meijer was in good spirits, we made plans, he trusted in our papers, just like we did: we would survive . . . I was absolutely convinced he wanted to go to Israel . . . to Palestine."[17] In this context, "papers" refers to the so-called Palestine certificates, which implied that one's name was on the so-called *watikim* [Zionist Veterans] list. The Jews on this list—in the end, it included some two thousand names—were supposed to be exchanged for German citizens

[13] E. Gans, *De kleine verschillen die het leven uitmaken. Een historische studie naar joodse sociaal-democraten en socialistisch-Zionisten in Nederland* (Amsterdam 1999), pp. 488, 953 (n. 153); interview with Gerda Voet-Haalman; interview Trinette (Ted) Wijngaard-Sussman and Albertine Wijngaard, Bussum 22 June 2000.

[14] Archive of YIVO (Institute for Jewish Research, New York), 116, 47; Archief van de Joodse Raad, in NIOD, 1a, May 1943; these activities are mentioned in documents that give no further details about the work itself.

[15] See the diary of Joop Voet, in NIOD, Coll. 244, 163, Voet, pp. 108–10; interview with Gerda Voet-Haalman; Ischa Meijer, *Brief aan mijn moeder* (Amsterdam 1994), p. 16.

[16] Gans, *De kleine verschillen*, p. 540.

[17] Interview with Anny Sulzbach, Amsterdam, 16 May 2003.

in Palestine. The British, however, who were the mandatory rulers of Palestine, never accepted them as such, and the "Palestine-lists" *platzed* in Westerbork, just as had all the categories of *Sperren*, before, in Amsterdam. Still, *watikim* who were not yet deported to Auschwitz or Sobibor were deported to Bergen-Belsen, a concentration camp that was originally planned by the Nazis to hold some thirty thousand Jews as objects of exchange.[18]

On 24 January 1943, three weeks before the birth of Jaap and Liesje's first child, Israël Chajjiem (Ischa), the following message arrived in the Jan van Eijckstraat, an annex of the Jewish Council in Amsterdam: "…Jacob Meyer and family, Netherlands Red Cross…have been registered on the 6th veteran Zionist list for immigration into Palestine and exchange. Their number is M/438/43/f/254…".[19] Having been a Zionist activist spared Jaap and his small family the journey to almost certain destruction in one of the extermination camps and brought them instead to the so-called *Sternlager*, one of the initially more privileged sub-camps of the concentration camp Bergen-Belsen. Here the chance to survive was considerably higher, though there was hunger from the start. But because hunger turned into starvation and because of ever-growing overpopulation and diseases, as well as a flagrant shortage of sanitary and medical supplies, life gradually turned hellish and, beginning in the winter of 1944, hundreds of prisoners—sometimes up to a thousand—died each day, like dogs.[20]

Surely all the signs seemed to indicate that Jaap Meijer, if ever he got the chance, would rebuild his life in the so-dearly-yearned-for

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[18] For the complex story about the Palestine certificates, see Ch. Brasz, "Rescue Attempts by the Dutch Jewish Community in Palestine, 1940–1945," in *Dutch Jewish History* 3, ed. J. Michman (Jerusalem/Assen/Maastricht 1993), pp. 339–52; see also Gans, *De kleine verschillen*, pp. 542–46.

[19] Comité International de la Croix-Rouge, Geneva (Suisse)/Jewish Agency, Jerusalem (Palestine) to Joodsche Raad, Amsterdam (Holland), sent 10 January 1944, received 24 January 1944, in: NIOD, doc. II 1292 Joden-Palestina Certificaten; see also: "List of Veteran Zionists. Holland (6th List)," in ibid. The name "Jacob Meyer-Voet" is found under no. 254; when this list appeared the Meijer-Voet family was already in Bergen-Belsen.

[20] E. Kolb, *Bergen Belsen 1943 bis 1945. Vom 'Aufenthaltslaer' zum Konzentrationslager 1943–1945* (Göttingen 1996); for the number of victims, see esp. pp. 77 ff.; A.-E. Wenck, *Zwischen Menschenhandel und "Endlösung," Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen* (Paderborn 2000), pp. 252, 270, 368; while three hundred and seven people died in the Sternlager during all of 1944, at the end of March 1945 two thousand four hundred of the two thousand eight hundred prisoners were sick; one hundred and eighty-three died there during that month, alone.

Jewish state. Only Sem Dresden (1914–2002) tells a slightly different message. He and Meijer were among the youngest of the teachers at the Jewish Lyceum; Dresden taught French. As Jews were no longer allowed to ride bikes, they walked together many miles from the school to their respective homes and back again, becoming friends as they talked endlessly and made plans for the future. According to Dresden, Meijer said that such a sublime ideal (referring to a future Israel–E.G.) shouldn't get ruined by reality.[21] Was this a deep, though forbidden, inner conviction, a slip of the tongue, or an off-the-cuff remark, the fruit of a strange and passing mood?

In the *Sternlager* in Bergen Belsen, too, there was some informal teaching during the first period of captivity. Meijer's first work had been hard and senseless labor: pushing a cart with stones all day long.[22] Afterwards he began working in one of the two kitchens of the camp, Kitchen 1.This was supposed to be the best (or second-best) category of jobs in the camp, since one was able to 'organize' extra food in a universe where hunger provided constant agony and food a permanent obsession. His being able to present himself as a baker had probably brought him there. For some time, Jaap's morale must have been relatively high. He is said to have stepped upon one of the large cauldrons in the kitchen, reciting lines from Greek mythology and an oration of Plato.[23] And because the kitchen was a meeting-place, Jaap became a rich source of information on the progress of the Allied Powers, the duration of the war, and the ominous course of events in Auschwitz and other extermination camps.[24] He most certainly gave a series of lectures about the old Jewish quarter in Amsterdam, in Barrack 17 of the Jewish diamond-workers, in October and November 1944.[25] Later on, these attempts to keep spirits high were eliminated by the ever-growing hardships of hunger, humiliation, and disease. After a rather lengthy period, Meijer and the other kitchen workers were replaced by

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[21] Interview with Sem Dresden.

[22] Interview with Jozeph Michman, Jerusalem, 27 July 2000; M. Bolle, "*Ik zal je beschrijven hoe een dag er hier uitziet.*" *Dagboekbrieven uit Amsterdam, Westerbork en Bergen-Belsen,* intro. by J. Houwink ten Cate (Amsterdam/Antwerpen 2003), p. 218; interview with Mirjam Bolle Levie, 16 October 2003.

[23] Interviews with Sally van Coevorden, Amsterdam, 1 May 2001; Abraham van Linda, Amsterdam, 25 January 2001.

[24] Telephone interview with Jack Rodrigues, 27 February 2003.

[25] Ibid.; J. Meijer, *Het verdwenen ghetto. Wandelingen door de Amsterdamse Jodenbuurt* (Amsterdam 1948), p. 152.

a group of women prisoners who came from Auschwitz. It is not quite certain what work Jaap did next, but probably he worked in the so-called *Altersheim*, two barracks that were meant for people over sixty-five years old, who were the most vulnerable of all.[26] When, in the beginning of April, the English troops were approaching nearer every day, Jaap, Liesje, Ischa, and about twenty-five hundred other utterly weakened prisoners, mostly inmates of the *Sternlager*, were put on the notorious train—the so-called "train of the dead" [*dodentrein*]—that was liberated by the Russians on 25 April, 1945, near Tröbitz.[27] The three of them did survive, but 'liberation' always remained an inappropriate word, a phenomenon that turns up in Meijer's later poems:

july 1945	juli 1945
regained freedom	herkregen vrijheid
but on approval	maar op zicht
I want to go back	ik wil terug
my camp is closed	mijn kamp is dicht[28]

Jaaps eldest son, Ischa Meijer, who, as an adult, became a journalist and writer, would look for his own way and his own words to express the very same feeling:

…	…
Everybody died in that train	Iedereen stierf in die trein
Except me.	Alleen ik niet
I was the only one not to succumb to the liberation	Alleen ik bezweek niet aan de bevrijding

[26] L. Vogel, *Dagboek uit een kamp* (Amsterdam 2000), pp. 101, 110; Vogel (the pseudonym of the psychiatrist Louis Tas [b. 1922]) mentions, in March 1945, that "Jaap M." (Jaap Meijer) was then head of the *Altersheim* and that he had invited Vogel to work there as a male nurse. The diary [*dagboek*] was published originally in 1946; the 2000 edition includes "Brief an eine Deutsche," which was added fifty years after the war; later, Tas became Ischa Meijer's psychiatrist.

[27] In most literature, 23 April 1945 is mentioned as the day of liberation; see, for example: J. Presser, *Ondergang. De vervolging en verdelging van het Nederlandse jodendom 1940–1945* (The Hague 1965/2005), vol. 2, p. 449; an exception is Wenck, *Zwischen Menschenhandel und "Endlösung,"* who speaks of April 25 (p. 371). Much has been written (mostly in diaries) about this train, which left during the night of April 10.

[28] S. van Messel, S*yndroom. joodse poezie* ('s Gravenhage/Rotterdam 1971), p. 52; translation by the author.

I was the only one not to be liberated by the liberation	Alleen ik ben niet bevrijd door de bevrijding[29]

Ischa's mother, Jaap's wife, did not write poetry, like her husband, nor lines for theater-plays or shows, like her eldest son. But her feelings about the relation between persecution and liberation seem to have traveled along the same lines. Joop Voet (1909–1995), one of Liesje's brothers, and his wife, Gerda, mentioned above, survived the Shoah in hiding, separate from their two young sons Joseph (Jopie; b. 1939) and Iesje (b. 1940) who each, also, spent the war in hiding. Before the war they had been active socialist-Zionists. In 1949 the family immigrated to Israel.[30] In a letter to Joop and Gerda in the early summer of 1953, Liesje Meijer-Voet refers, in one sweep, to "the fatal war years plus the miserable return."[31] This short but stinging phrase can be added to what has been written about the contrast between the expectations of those who returned from the camps and from places of hiding and what many of them encountered: silence, uneasiness, rejection, and worse.[32]

At first, however, one wouldn't think that Jaap Meijer had suffered a serious setback. Before the war he had been full of energy—"hypo-

[29] A fragment from "Goedenavond, goedenavond, goedenavond!" in I. Meijer, *De handzame Ischa Meijer* (Utrecht/Antwerpen, 1986), p. 151; translation by the author (E.G.).

[30] Gans, *De kleine verschillen*, pp. 717–18; interviews with Joop and Gerda Voet-Haalman, Amsterdam 1988 and Ramat Gan 1991; Gerda Voet-Haalman, Ramat Gan 2000; Jitschak (Iesje in the text) and Hillary Voet-Leibowitsch, Moshav Arugot, Israel, 16 August 2000; Jossi (Joseph/Jopie in the text) Efrat, Amsterdam, 28 August 2000.

[31] "de funeste oorlogsjaren plus ellendige terugkomst," Liesje Meijer-Voet to Joop and Gerda Voet-Haalman, 23 June 1953, in the private archive of Gerda Voet-Haalman z.l.

[32] E. Gans, *Gojse nijd & joods narcisme. De verhouding tussen joden en niet-joden in Nederland* (Amsterdam 1994), pp. 30 ff.; idem, *De kleine verschillen*, pp. 566–77; idem, "'Vandaag hebben ze niets, maar morgen bezitten ze weer een tientje.' Antisemitische stereotypen in bevrijd Nederland," in *Polderschouw. Terugkeer en opvang na de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Regionale Verschillen*, ed. C. Kristel (Amsterdam 2002), pp. 313–53; idem, "Gojse broodnijd. De strijd tussen joden en niet-joden rond de naoorlogse Winkelsluitingswet 1945–1951," in *Met alle geweld. Botsingen en tegenstellingen in burgerlijk Nederland*, ed. C. Kristel (eindred), E. Gans, J. Houwink ten Cate, G. Meershoek, P. Romijn, opgedragen aan J. C. H. Blom (Amsterdam 2003), pp. 195–213; D. Hondius, *Terugkeer. Antisemitisme rond de bevrijding* ('s Gravenhage 1990) (a revised edition was published in 1998); B. de Munnick, "De terugkeer van joden in de Nederlandse samenleving," in *Mensenheugenis. Terugkeer en opvang na de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Getuigenissen*, ed. H. Piersma (Amsterdam 2001), pp. 45–69.

maniac"—in the words of one respondent;[33] "rather unrestrained" according to another;[34] while almost all described him as very talented and also very difficult and dominant; after the war he seemed equally tireless. It was in this period that he began building his vast body of historical work, which, in the end, was multi-dimensional, impressive, and authentic, though quite uneven with regard to quality. Two more children were born, Mirjam (1946) and Job (1951); Jaap earned a living as a history teacher and, beginning in 1947, as the librarian of the Portuguese-Israelite library Ets Haim. He wrote countless articles in the Jewish press and edited, basically on his own for nearly one year, a monthly journal on the history of the Jews in the Netherlands.[35] Exactly in this field he received an appointment as an unsalaried university lecturer [*privaatdocent*] at the University of Amsterdam. When he delivered his inaugural speech on 30 October 1951, the hall was overflowing.[36] In many regards, Meijer was one of those survivors who ran around like fervent spiders, restoring and rebuilding the heavily damaged web of the Jewish community in Holland. Several of them, as Zionists, were in an ambivalent position: breathing new life into Jewish institutions and networks in Amsterdam or Groningen, what they called *galoet*, while at the same time preparing to disband these communities, as they worked for the so-called "liquidation of exile" [de liquidatie van het galoet], i.e. to join the *kibbutz galuyot*, the gathering of the exiles, in the land of Israel.[37]

Jaap Meijer, too, had, after returning in Amsterdam, resumed his post within the Zionist movement, though this time—together with

[33] Telephone interview with Govert de Haas, 15 May 2002; having worked for many years as a (family) doctor, De Haas used the rather medical term "hypomaniac," meaning a light form of manic cheerfulness.

[34] Interview with Sieg and Lea Gitter-Neubauer, Hertzlia, Israel, 8 August 2000.

[35] *Maandblad voor de geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* (ed. J. Meijer), 1947–1948; for an extensive bibliography of Jaap Meijer that reaches well into 1982, see A. K. Offenberg, "Bibliografie van de geschriften van Dr. Jaap Meijer op het gebied van de Joodse Wetenschap," in *Neveh Ya'akov*, pp. 299–326 (items 1–262).

[36] J. Meijer, *Tussen Götterdämmerung en Morgenrood. Beschouwingen over Joden in Nederland omstreeks 1900. Openbare Les.* Gehouden bij de opening van zijn colleges als Privaat-Docent in de Geschiedenis van de Joden in Nederland aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam op Dinsdag 30 October 1951 door Dr. J. Meijer (Amsterdam, 1953); the historian Jacques Presser characterized the lecture-hall in question as "a fully-booked house" [een uitverkocht huis], letter from Presser to Jan Romein, 15 December 1951, in: Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, Archief Jan Romein, 101 c.

[37] Gans, *De kleine verschillen*, pp. 632 ff., 773.

his wife—as a member of the socialist-Zionist Poale Zion.[38] He gave classes and lectures on Zionism and, though he never held a high position on the board or executive committee of the Zionist Union, he did speak several times in public, for example when the political situation for the Zionists in Palestine became critical—in March 1948—and, nearly one year later, at the concert hall when the state of Israel was recognized by The Netherlands and other European countries.[39] Most important, however, was his work as one of the main editors of the *Joodse Wachter*, the official medium of the Dutch Zionist Union (NZB); here he felt like a fish in water, manifesting and proving himself as a historian and a writer. But the editorial staff of the *Joodse Wachter* was by no means a quiet pond and was plagued by several internal conflicts—a chapter that will be left aside right now. Decisive—and devastating—for Meijer's *Werdegang* [evolution] in the Zionist milieu was his accepting the appointment, in June 1952, to be the chief editor of the *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* during a time of acute crisis when that weekly's editorial staff had resigned *en bloc* due to a severe conflict with the management. In a certain sense, Meijer acted as a strikebreaker and he was treated accordingly. He was isolated immediately and his opponents succeeded in completely undermining his functioning as chief editor. Meijer reacted by withdrawing from his functions in the Zionist organization—among other things, as a member of the board of the foundation *Hachshara and Alijah*.[40] It had not been the first serious clash or even rupture between Meijer and friends, colleagues, or sympathizers, and it certainly wouldn't be the last.

Regarding *hachshara* and *aliya*, the question arises: did this conflict affect Meijer's decision to leave Holland—and to leave it not in an eastward direction, to Israel, but westward, to Surinam? It could be that the confrontation with some of his former soul-mates and his crushing

[38] See "Ledenlijst Poale Zion," 6–12–1946, in CZA, Jerusalem, F5 Archives of NZB, 11, I–Z 1946/47; see also: "Ledenlijst Poale Zion per mei 1949," in ibid., inv. no. 29, Algemeen (1947); "Ledenlijst van Poale Zion Beholland, 1950–1951," in ibid., inv. no. 21, Alg. Corresp. 1951b.

[39] Verslag vergadering Bondsbestuur [1948] in: CZA, F5, 6; J. Voet aan Afdelingsbesturen van de NZB etc., 28 January 1949, ibid. For this period, see e.g. Gans, *De kleine verschillen*, pp. 683 ff.

[40] Mededelingen van het Bondsbestuur, 2 January 1948, in: F5, Archives of NZB, 6; more correspondence about the conflict can be found in: F5, Archives of the NZB, inv. no. 24, Alg. Corresp. 1952 Kt/m M; see also: interview with Fransje van den Rhoer, in *NIW*, 29 March 2002; and telephone interview, 24 April 2002; I. Lipschits, *100 jaar NIW. Het Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad 1865–1965* (Amsterdam 1966), p. 50.

defeat quickened his departure. But it isn't very plausible that this crisis affected the direction that his emigration would take. A good friend of Jaap Meijer's, Sieg Gitter (b. 1915), remembered how Meijer, around the end of 1949 and the beginning of 1950, was no longer so convinced about leaving for Israel. Gitter got the impression that Liesje did not like the idea, and that Jaap himself was busy establishing himself as a teacher.[41] During this very same period, Rena Fuks-Mansfeld (b. 1930), who had survived the war in hiding, learned Hebrew from Jaap Meijer and was fond of him as a teacher. She also was part of the Zionist youth club, where she met him. During a debate there, Meijer held a "thunderspeech": learning agriculture and building Israel was much more urgent than passing one's final exams at school. Rena loved school and protested: "What about you, why are you here?" Jaap Meijer became extremely angry, turned red, and started to scream. But, says Fuks, why couldn't he be honest and say something like "I have a family to take care of, and with Hebrew teachers they can easily fill up the Jordan?"[42] Apparently, Jaap Meijer was not capable of doing so, or not willing to. Was he jammed between ideology, personal needs, and feelings of embarrassment? Was there a change in his outlook and emotions with respect to what it meant to live in exile or even to the concept of exile itself? And, if so, why did he and Liesje prefer to leave for Surinam, and not to remain in Holland?

Diaspora, in neutral terms meaning the dispersion of the Jewish people, was already a fact in Jewish history centuries before the destruction of the Second Temple. After that catastrophe it kept its neutral meaning but came to imply, as well, the longing for a religious and spiritual journey to the ancient homeland, Israel.[43] Zionism gave the term a passionate political connotation—dispersion and exile merged together in one catchword of contempt: *shlilat hagalut*, the rejection of exile. This implied that Jews in the diaspora had only two options: aliya or complete assimilation. In the Dutch Zionist Union after the war, a new generation of radical-Zionist leaders like Jaap van Amerongen (1913–1995) and Salomon Kleerekoper (1893–1970) promoted this view. Only a few voices pleaded openly against it. Isaac Kisch (1905–1980) stood up for a plural Jewish commitment and identity, and Abel Herzberg

[41] Interview with Sieg and Lea Gitter-Neubauer.
[42] Interview with Rena Fuks-Mansfeld, Amsterdam, 30 June 2000.
[43] S. J. Gold, *The Israeli Diaspora* (Seattle 2002), pp. 4 ff.

(1893–1989) stated that now that Israel existed, the history of the Jewish people would be twofold, one of Israel and one of the diaspora, the two connected in a fruitful interaction.[44] Both men had been prominent Zionists before the war; they were identified with the dominant forces and power-plays within the prewar Zionist movement and Herzberg, especially, had, for many reasons, lost lots of goodwill. This was not a juncture for subtleties and middle courses, but for clear choices and strong action. Jaap Meijer, however, though he kept silent publicly about the delicate matter of the relationship between Israel, diaspora, and exile, seems gradually to have exchanged his aversion to exile for a fascination with diaspora or even exile, itself. A close look at what he wrote in the years following his return from Bergen Belsen reveals, above all, an historian—a man who crawls into the Jewish past—and not a nation-builder.[45]

On 12 January 1953, Jaap Meijer wrote a strictly confidential letter to Phili (Philip Abraham) Samson in Paramaribo. In his letter he formulated two of his basic assumptions: first, the structure of the Jews in Europe worsened by the day, and second, direct *aliya* for his family was not an option for the moment. For this reason, he and his wife now considered living temporarily in a territory that both formally and culturally belonged to the Dutch cultural sphere. In particular, they thought of Surinam.[46] Why was that? In his letter to Samson, we hear the voice of the historian of the Dutch Sephardim, the librarian of Ets Haim, the author of the *Encyclopaedia Sefardica Neerlandica*, but also the Jewish teacher who presents himself and wants to know if there is work for him within the Jewish communities in Paramaribo. When Samson answered by advising Meijer to opt for a teaching job at the public school instead of a position within the Jewish community, which was torn by tensions and quarrels, an intense correspondence began. Well over four months later, at the end of May 1953, Jaap Meijer could, having passed all kinds of professional and medical examinations, name himself a future history teacher of the Algemene Middelbare School (a general secondary school) in Paramaribo. In the meantime, Meijer

[44] Gans, *De kleine verschillen*, pp. 739–40; for other conflicts between the old and new leaders of the NZB, see, e.g., ibid. pp. 608, 619–20, 643–44, 653–54.

[45] Gans, "De weg terug," p. 11.

[46] Jaap Meijer to Phili Samson, 12 January 1953, in: Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam (UB), Afdeling Bijzondere Handschriften, Ph.A. Samson Archive, pp. 236–309.

and Samson, who would soon be neighbors, decided to write a book together as the first step in an enormous project: making an inventory and description of the history of the Jews in Surinam. On 27 July 1953, Meijer wrote to Samson:

> I have . . . looked at all possibilities of archiving with regard to Surinam. When I make up the cash, I conclude that nothing of the old archive has been worked on. This is, for the duo Samson-Meijer, the chance of a lifetime. For now I want hundreds of photocopies to be made of the oldest archivalia.[47]

That is what was meant earlier, regarding the eagerness of Meijer, who succeeded, by the way, to get his photocopies subsidized.[48] In Paramaribo, Meijer acted as though he had not come from "the lukewarm western beaches" to the tropical heat of a country near the equator.[49] He worked extremely hard. Apart from his regular job as a history teacher at the secondary school, he taught at the college of education, and gave private Hebrew lessons at home.[50] He also worked feverishly on his historical research and publications. In Paramaribo he published *Pioneers of Pauroma*, a contribution to the earliest history of the Jewish colonization of America, and other publications, which appeared in Paramaribo or Amsterdam. He also collected literature and source material for books about the history of Surinam, which would come out several years after his return to Holland.[51] Last but not least, Meijer served (he was unexpectedly asked, and agreed on the spot) as a teacher of religion and interim rabbi, as well as performing

[47] Meijer to Samson, 27 July 1953, UB, Ph.A. Samson Archive, 7 (Correspondence), 307.1; translation by the author [Ik heb . . . alle archiefmogelijkheden betreffende Suriname bekeken. Wanneer ik de kas opmaak, dan zie ik, dat van het oude archief nog niets is bewerkt. Hier ligt voor het duo Samson-Meijer de kans van hun leven. Ik wil nu honderden fotocopieën laten maken van de oudste archivalia].

[48] Meijer to Samson, August–September 1953, UB Samson Archive.

[49] With "the lukewarm western beaches," I restate the famous sentence of Isaac da Costa's poem: "ik ben geen zoon der laauwe Westerstranden" [I am no son of the western lukewarm beaches].

[50] Interviews (mostly by telephone) with several former pupils of Jaap Meijer.

[51] J. Meijer, *Pioneers of Pauroma. Contribution to the Earliest History of the Jewish Colonization of America* (Parimaribo, Surinam 1954); and a.o. *Martelgang of cirkelgang. Isaac da Costa als Joods romanticus* (Parimaribo, Surinam 1954); "In memoriam Coenraad Simon Pos," in *Meedelingen der beide joodse gemeenten te Parimaribo*, no. 1, April 1955; for other publications in the years 1954–1955, see: Offenberg, "Bibliografie van de geschriften van Jaap Meijer," pp. 317–18; for later publications about Surinam, between 1957 and 1958, see ibid., p. 319.

cultural work for both the Sephardi and Ashkenazi community.[52] On the first day of Sukkot in November 1954, as is mentioned in *Teroenga. Maandblad ten behoeve van Leden der Israëlietische Gemeenten in Suriname*, Meijer gave a sermon relating to Leviticus 23:43; he began teaching a class in Modern Hebrew as well. In the same *Teroenga* is the announcement that, on "Shabbat Noah," Israël Chajjiem Meijer (eleven years old) read *Haftara* for the first time.[53] Jaap's eldest son, Ischa, had made his formal entrance into religious Jewish life. One could conclude that, at least in theory, Meijer had found everything that he was looking for.

Jaap and Liesje Meijer-Voet had not traveled to Surinam only because of Jaap's career as a Jewish teacher and historian. In her aforementioned letter to her brother and sister-in-law, Joop and Gerda Voet, Liesje wrote very openly and, expressing her hope that she would not hurt them, said that she did not feel like living in Israel at all. One of the reasons was of a material nature. She wasn't lazy, Liesje wrote, but she became tired very quickly. She couldn't face a life with worries, both physical and emotional. And there was the reference, again, to the period of return in Holland: "If I only think back to the years *after* the war. How difficult Jaap was—how awkward life passed on. How I sometimes 'didn't feel like it anymore'."[54]

Surinam offered relative safety to a husband and wife who had suffered and been traumatized during and after the war and were perhaps, at the time, experiencing serious depression: it offered material comfort, including a large house and domestic personnel waiting for them, and a relatively good income and pension. Undoubtedly, Jaap dreaded poverty—as did Liesje, too. She had suffered immensely from the filth in the camp, which left her with some sort of nosophobia for the rest of her life.[55] How powerfully had the poverty-factor intruded into Meijer's patterns of behavior, and what effect did considerations of backwardness and economic dependence (and also the experience of being

[52] For the (first) proposal to appoint Jaap Meijer as a teacher of religion in both communities/congregations, see K. O. Kopinsky to the Board of the Portuguese and Dutch Israelite Congregation/Community, October 18 1953, in the Archive of the Sephardic and Ashkenazic Congregation, Paramaribo, Uitgaande Stukken II.

[53] Teroenga. *Maandblad ten behoeve van Leden der Israëlietische Gemeenten in Suriname*, vol 16, November 1954.

[54] Liesje Voet to Joop and Gerda Voet-Haalman, 23 June 1953; translation by the author [Als ik alleen maar terugdenk aan de jaren na de oorlog. Hoe moeilijk Jaap was—hoe stroef het leven ging. Hoe ik er soms 'geen zin meer in had'].

[55] Several interviews.

looked upon as such) have on this decision, cannot be overestimated. Meijer was a man who could be easily and quickly offended, leaving the unintending offender in utter bewilderment. To understand Jaap Meijer, the concept of *koved* [(sense of) honor] could be the key.[56]

But even more than material safety, Surinam offered political safety: safety from destruction and a conceivable third world war. Jaap and Liesje wanted to leave Europe, against the background of the Cold War (for instance the war in Korea); Argus-eyed, they viewed the developments in the Russian part of Germany, as well. Nor was Israel spared: "The Russian danger," wrote Jaap in his own letter to Joop and Gerda, "which is our primary concern, does exist over there as well."[57] Last but not least, Surinam offered Meijer the safety (as already mentioned) of a familiar kind of job and a field of study about which he was passionate; no military service, no work one wasn't trained in, no need to start again, from the beginning. It was a world in which Meijer could feel safe, inspired, and useful: in short, an exile where he felt at home.

But while Meijer worked hard in the extremely high temperatures, exhausting his own strength and making friends and enemies alike, Liesje languished away in the heat. First, she and the children returned by ship in the summer of 1955, followed, several months later, by Jaap, who flew back to Holland on 30 December.[58] This article is not the place to dwell on the question why things did not work out in the end. Here it is sufficient to state that, though the residence in Surinam ended in failure, Jaap's view on exile and diaspora appear to have remained unchanged. Back in Holland he now even said so publicly, and he redefined exile in a positive way as the central or core source [historische kernbron] *par excellence*.[59] It could be that this was meant partly as a provocation, yet Meijer never really embraced the actual, existing Israel. He remained the Jewish migrant that he had been since his

[56] Gerda Voet-Haalman, telephone interview with author, 8 February 2002; interview with Louis Tas, Amsterdam 1 June 2000.

[57] Jaap Meijer to Jaap and Gerda Voet-Haalman, 16 June 1953.

[58] Arriving in The Netherlands, probably, on December 31; *Het Nieuws. Algemeen Dagblad*, no. 3785, December 29 1955; several travel documents prove that Jaap Meijer left Surinam from the Zanderij airport on December 30; see GAA, Amsterdam, Collectie Jaap Meijer, inv. no. 263.

[59] Culturele Commissie van de Nederl. Israëlietische Gemeente Rotterdam. J. Meijer, "Tussen Israëlieten en Israëliërs. Een Tijdsbeeld," a paper read on Ocober 9, 1958 as an introduction to a series of lectures on "A Century of Dutch Jewry," GAA, Collectie Jaap Meijer, inv. no. 118; Gans, *De weg terug*, 12.

thirteenth year of life. Probably Meijer felt at home—if anywhere—in his own mind, in his books, and in his world of Jewish history, in the poetry about his father's land—Groningen—and in his marriage. He didn't feel at home as a father; increasingly he had, in both a literal and figurative sense, no room for his children. Perhaps one could say that he sent them into exile, like he, himself, had been sent into exile, from Groningen to Amsterdam.[60]

Meijer's eldest son Ischa, whom Meijer had banished, always tried, just as he had, to catch up with something that was difficult to define. This would make him a very successful journalist, and again just like his father, a writer moving between accuracy and restlessness. In 1969, the same year that Jaap Meijer, under his pen name Saul van Messel, began to write poems in his father's tongue (the dialect from Groningen mixed with some Hebrew and Yiddish),[61] Ischa Meijer traveled—via New York—to Paramaribo. This visit to one of the scenes of his youth was part of his ongoing struggle to come to terms with his own history as a Jew born in the middle of the German occupation and, above all, with his relationship both with his father and mother. Though originally intending to write a book about his father, he would first publish a book, in 1974, directed at his mother: *Brief aan mijn moeder* [Letter to my mother]. The "mother book" was a great success (albeit controversial), just as the book about his father, which he published three years later in 1977, was a failure.[62] Ischa Meijer both cursed his father and admired him. In his inaccessible book, *Een rabbijn in de tropen* [A rabbi in the tropics], Ischa ridiculed his father, but he honored him as well, as the Jewish historian he was; for the attentive reader it is clear that Ischa Meijer had been studying his father's work. Whereas Jaap, in

[60] For the phrase "Jewish migrant," see Gans, *De weg terug*, p. 16. (In the double-portrait of Jaap and Ischa Meijer, the conflict between father and son, parents and children, will be elaborated. Deel I, *Jaap en Ischa Meijer. En joodse geschiedenis 1912–1956* (Amsterdam 2007). [Part I. Jaap and Ischa Meijer. A Jewish History 1912–1956]. Part 2 is in preparation.

[61] Jaap Meijer's initial volumes of poetry were in Dutch; the very first was Saul van Messel, *zeer zeker en zeker zeer. joodse gedichten* (Rijswijk 1967); his first "Grunninger" volume was V*rouger en loater. Gedichten* (Winschoten 1969).

[62] I. Meijer, *Brief aan mijn moeder* (Amsterdam 1974); idem, *Een rabbijn in de tropen* (Amsterdam 1977); Beppie (Elisabeth) Feuth, interview with author, Amsterdam, 13 May/2 June 2003. Before leaving for Paramaribo, Ischa wrote an article about New York, "Showbiz op Manhattan," in *Het Vrije Volk*, 12 April 1969 (Beppie Feuth Personal Archive) Amsterdam; Ischa Meijer (who was on a short holiday in Antalya, Turkey) to Beppie Feuth, 8 July 1970, in: Personal Archive Beppie Feuth.

1954 in Paramaribo, wrote *Pioneers of Pauroma*, the first-person narrator in *Een rabbijn in de tropen*, a journalist, travels to a fictional *Pomeroon* and buries himself in the history of that unknown land.[63] Both father and son reached out to their respective fathers, only to fail. Both had their roots in the diaspora and felt home in *galut*. Next year in Pauroma. Next year in Paramaribo. Next year in Pomeroon.

[63] Pomeroon is not fictional but historical, in the sense that it was, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the original name of the Pomeroon river in Guyana; also used to denote Guyana as a whole; the designation in English was Pauroma (Bawroom)

WRITING AGAINST SILENCE. JEWISH WRITERS OF THE GENERATION-AFTER IN THE NETHERLANDS, GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND FRANCE: A COMPARISON

Elrud Ibsch

In the admirable novel *'Ayen 'Erekh: Ahava* (*See Under: Love*) by David Grossman, the main character, Momik, remembers his parents' attitude towards the Shoah: "what I did get at home was the wisdom to survive, which is something you don't learn in school, and which can't be described in the polite language of Ruthy's [...] a wisdom that can only be communicated in silence, in suspicious contractions around the eyes and mouth."[1] "Silence," in this quotation, means that even within the intimate circle of family life, where "everything can be said," the experience of the Shoah makes a difference. Grossman is no exception. For numerous writers of what is nowadays called the "generation(s)-after," those who have no "primary" memory[2] with respect to the annihilation of European Jewry, "silence" is a leitmotiv. More recently, in Amir Gutfreund's novel *Sho'ah Shelanu* (Our Holocaust), the attempts of the children to break the silence of the adults is a main theme.

The semantics of "silence" with reference to the Shoah, however, is not restricted to the family situation as described by Grossman and Gutfreund—although that is a very important context and is strikingly represented in Dutch-Jewish literature—as I will try to make clear in what follows. "Writing against silence" means also taking into account the difference between the silence of the victims and that of the perpetrators and bystanders. Particularly in the case of German and Austrian Jewish writers, it means to write against the perpetrators who refuse to confess their guilt. In addition, "writing against silence" alludes to the absence of a speaker: the dead cannot speak. If there is no speaker, then necessarily there is no historical narrative. Authors who deal with the absent narrative must make an enormous effort to fill the void, to

[1] D. Grossman, *See Under: Love* (London 1990), p. 148.
[2] D. LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1998).

give a voice to the voiceless. Writing against the silence of the dead is what we find among a number of French novelists.

In their learning process, children are dependent on their parents as the intermediaries of experiences that they did not go through, but of which they should not remain ignorant. No Jew living in our time can be ignorant about the Holocaust. In many cases, however, parents did not function as "normal" intermediaries. There are various reasons for the parental silence. Nowadays one reason is briefly indicated as "survivor guilt" (which, in fact, is a very complicated phenomenon); other reasons are the painful memories of murdered family members, the desire to forget the past, the wish to begin a new life, and, above all, the wish not to pass the parents' traumatic experiences on to their children.

Children (and grandchildren) of survivors, if not supported by the memorial narratives of their parents, must "invent" their own "secondary" memory of the Shoah. Only traces of the events are accessible to them in libraries, through images, at the official "lieux de mémoire," and last but not least, in their own imagination. With "imagination" we enter the domain of art and literature.

Jewish literature, whether written in the Netherlands or elsewhere, finds itself in a triple-bind situation. First, it subscribes to the general conventions of literary writing, which comes down to the observation of two principles: the creation and acceptance of worlds other than—but in continuous dialogue with—the real world, and the exploration of the possibilities of language. Second, Jewish literature observes local traditions. French Jewish literature, for example, fits into the French experimental tradition, and Georges Perec, for instance, has been one of the leading writers of the experimental group called *Oulipo.* Finally, Jewish literature is Jewish. It is impregnated with Jewish history and catastrophe,[3] but also with Jewish sacred texts and their written or oral interpretations, and by Jewish humor and self-irony.

Dutch Jewish literature of the younger generation strongly bears the hallmark of autobiographical writing and remains close to the poetic principles of psychological realism. It largely concentrates on family life. This implies that internal Jewish issues are at the foreground; the background, of course, is constituted by the historical events of

[3] See D. G. Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (Cambridge, Mass. 1984).

the genocide involving the "others." With the poetics of realism and description of family life, Dutch Jewish literature follows an important tradition of Dutch prose in general.

In the literature of the younger generation of Dutch Jews, the following themes prominently recur:[4]

1. The past is silenced. In order not to impede the desired success of their children, as well as to forget their own sufferings, parents are reluctant to speak about their traumatic experiences. In a number of cases, the children "replace" murdered family members and are named after them.
2. The parents conceive of their children as the proof and the future of their own life. They expect them to show gratitude and respect, because through their survival they made the life of the children possible.
3. There are emotional problems with a new father or mother: if only one parent survived, he or she often decides to remarry and also to have children with the new partner. The children, who sometimes suffered from a double separation—from their own father and mother but also from their foster-parents after a period of hiding—have difficulties in accepting the newcomer, who often is not Jewish and is reluctant to listen to the family story of a past that he or she did not share.
4. The desire not to be recognized as a Jew sometimes results in keeping silent about all things Jewish and to concentrate on integration into Dutch postwar society.

All four themes occur in *Voor bijna alles bang geweest* (Living in Fear) by Lisette Lewin, who published the novel in 1989 as her debut at the age of fifty. The book tells of a daughter whose mother was murdered, whereas her father survived and married a non-Jewish woman. In order not to offend his new wife, the father is not willing to speak about the past. After the liberation the young girl reluctantly leaves the house of her foster-parents and begins to strongly resist her Jewish background. For the author, the silence she wrote against had a double meaning:

[4] See E. Ibsch, *Die Shoah erzählt: Zeugnis und Experiment in der Literatur* (Tübingen 2004).

first, she wrote against her father silencing the past; second, against the silence she, herself, had observed with respect to her Jewish identity.

Chaja Polak (b. 1943), in her novel *Tweede vader* (Stepfather), tells the (autobiographical) story of a girl, Fanny, for whom the silenced past has serious consequences for her relationship with the man her mother marries after the girl's father was murdered in the camp. After the untimely death of her stepfather, the grown-up Fanny tries to rethink her reticence. It was not jealousy that impeded her to admit that, in fact, she had liked her stepfather, but rather her being afraid of being unfaithful to her own father, whom she had never really known. She conceived of herself as being the only person who was unconditionally devoted to him. Her mother had never told her that she and her first husband, as well as her second husband, had been in the camp together. The ambiguity of Fanny's longing for love, on the one hand, and resisting it, on the other, is stylistically sustained throughout the text and is responsible for its literary quality.

In 2001, Polak published the novel *Over de grens* (Beyond the Border), the various chapters of which are more or less separate short stories without a narrative continuum. The character Rosa, who is a child in the first story and a divorced woman in the last, provides the structurally connecting element. In one of the stories, Rosa discovers that she is a substitute child for her parents, and that she was named after her murdered sister. Nobody had told her about a sister, and for a long time she had not understood why her father had never called her by her name.

Turning to authors who were born after the war, I will first discuss Jessica Durlacher, who published the novel *De dochter* (The Daughter) in 2001. The silenced past in this work belongs to the lives of the victims as well as the victimizers. There is the silenced past of the father of Sabine, the female main figure, and the silenced past of the father of Max, the focalizer in the novel and the lover of Sabine. Max's father is a survivor who married a non-Jewish woman and consistently avoids speaking about his experiences in the camp. After Sabine enters the family, she encourages him to talk. She herself was proud of the behavior of her father, who had been in hiding during the war, and liked to talk about it. Sabine suddenly disappears, however, without explanation, and only many years later does Max discover the reason for her leaving him: Sabine's father had not been the heroic Jewish boy she had believed him to be, but a non-Jewish betrayer who, after the war, had adopted a false Jewish identity.

The novels I have referred to so far explicitly treat silence as a theme. The short story *Tralievader* (*Nightfather*) by Carl Friedman[5] is, at first sight, the very antipode of those novels. The family conflicts in *Nightfather* are due not to silence about the father's past, but rather to the father's persistence in speaking about his camp experiences. The children's moments of carefree life are time and again overshadowed and spoiled by the painful memories of their father, who uses the slightest occasions for bringing up scenes from the camp. The narrative perspective of the story is that of the daughter, a girl of primary-school age. The father, of course, speaks the language of an adult eyewitness, including code words from the world of the concentration camp. As a result, communication is asymmetrical and causes numerous misunderstandings. The children understand their father's expressions literally or are unable to grasp their semantic connotations. The asymmetry between the cognitive abilities of the children and that of their father is a convincing literary device for making the abyss between normal family life and the perverted conditions in the camp perceptible. At the same time, the continuous talking of the adult paradoxically produces the same effect as did the silence in the previous texts: the children are unable to acquire information. As did silence, so, too, does this generate fear and uncertainty.

An example of how a torrent of words can disguise an undercurrent of silence is offered by Arnon Grunberg. Although still young (he was born in 1971), Grunberg is already an internationally well-known Dutch author. The protagonist of his *Blauwe maandagen* (*Blue Mondays*) never stops talking, not even during his visits to a whore. She tells him: "But stop talking all the time. You don't have to go on about everything," to which he responds, "I'm not much use unless I talk."[6] This answer can be read as Grunberg's poetic credo. At the same time, however, it expresses the attempts of the protagonist to survive as a Jew in an environment that, essentially, one cannot trust. Telling the truth for Grunberg usually means being cynical. Cynicism as an instrument of survival and defense is not unknown in Jewish discourse. In his recent novel, *De joodse Messias* (The Jewish messiah), cynicism and the breaking of taboos as a strategy of defense are still more prominent. In this

[5] After this essay had been submitted it was revealed that Carl Friedman is not a *Jewish* female writer. The consequences of this new fact for the interpretation of *Nightfather* cannot be discussed here.

[6] *Blue Mondays*, p. 138.

novel, writing against silence means to be the first to voice the current clichés about Jews, in order to prevent the adversary from having a chance to attack.

In Marcel Möring's *Mendels erfenis* (The heritage of Mendel), the protagonist passes his days thinking about what it means to be a Jew. Mendel refuses to silence Jewish history before the Shoah: "Jewishness is more than six million dead bodies, much more, five thousand years more, six thousand, many wars and pogroms and slaughters more."[7] In his later novel *In Babylon*, the author indulges in earlier Jewish history. It is a history of otherness and of futile attempts to integrate into Dutch society, be it before or after the genocide. For Möring, "writing against silence" means to write "beyond realism" in a language of memory, dream, love, and loneliness, and interrupted by the protagonist's ideas about the eternal other, the Jew.

I have mentioned the void, the voiceless, and the dead as being part of the semantics of the word "silence." I said that in French Jewish literature remarkable texts have been written emphasizing this connotation. There is at least one Dutch novel that thematically can be compared to the French tradition. It is *La Place de la Bastille* by Leon de Winter, published in 1981. Later novels of De Winter are based on different poetic principles; they are influenced by the American Jewish literary tradition.

The void in the life of De Wit, the protagonist in *La Place de la Bastille*, is that he has never known his parents. Nobody has ever talked to him about them. In the children's home where he grew up after the war, he was not the only "child without a past." Later, as a student of history, he learned that his parents had been deported. De Wit is writing a book on Louis XVI and comes to the conclusion that official historiography does not take into account the possibility of unpredictable events, the fascinating element of *coincidence*, the "if-history." As a title for his book he chooses *La Place de la Bastille: A Case Study on the Role of Coincidence in History*, envisaging the ability to free himself from the factual restrictions of traditional scholarly methods and to bring the history of King Louis XVI to a happy end. La Place de la Bastille, however, as part of Parisian topography, is the place where "coincidence" determines the personal history of the protagonist as well. It is the place where a photograph, which will prove to have a strong influence on De Wit's life, was taken. The photograph shows a man, whose face astonishingly

[7] *Mendels erfenis*, p. 34 (my translation).

resembles that of the protagonist, standing behind Pauline, a woman De Wit happens to meet in Paris. De Wit becomes obsessed with the idea that he has a twin brother, that he, the orphan, has a family. The void of his past, he muses, can be filled with a family story, if only he could find his brother. From that moment onwards, De Wit devotes his time to searching for his brother, a search that, in the end, appears to be futile, despite the assurance of a midwife that his mother had given birth to twins.

The search for traces in order to fill a void, to give the dead a voice, is, as I said, a characteristic feature of French Jewish literature of the generation-after. These texts follow the experimental tradition of non-Jewish French literature, in which they are fully integrated. The poetics of the "nouveau roman" did not pass unnoticed by Jewish writers in France. The objectified depiction of places and buildings, of human beings, their actions and language, without showing any evidence of emotional attachment, requires an interpretive effort from the reader. Notwithstanding what literary scholars are usually ready to admit, sometimes (and certainly in the case of Jewish writers of the generation-after) it is important to be familiar with the biographical details of authors in order to avoid considering their writing as meaningless exercises. Let me give the example of *La rue Vilin* by Georges Perec who, though not a member of the young generation in the strict sense, has nonetheless been very influential. In notes written between February 1969 and September 1975, Perec describes a street in Paris whose houses and shops are about to be pulled down and replaced by modern apartments. Every year Perec returns in order to keep himself up to date. He writes in a cool and objective style. The reader understands, through information that is offered only incidentally, that the choice of the street may be personally motivated. So, for example, when the descriptive discourse is interrupted by the remark, "It was, as they told me, the building where the parents of my mother lived,"[8] or, when speaking about the house number, twenty-four, we find the parenthetical comment, "(the house where I once lived),"[9] and, again, "(We lived in this building; the hairdresser's shop belonged to my mother)."[10] He ends the paragraph with the words, "I didn't enter." Emotions disappear behind the poetical formalism of Georges Perec. The detached style,

[8] *La rue Vilin*, p. 16. (All translations from *La rue* are my own.)
[9] Ibid., p. 18.
[10] Ibid., p. 19.

however, conceals the deeply felt loss and the absence of any intimate family relationships. The aloof descriptions of daily objects, objects that usually remain unnoticed, can be interpreted by readers who are familiar with Perec's life in hiding, the death of his father in 1940, and that of his mother in Auschwitz in 1943, as a sign of the inexpressible.

In *W ou le souvenir d'enfance*, Perec lifts the veil from his childhood somewhat more. In the beginning of the story he emphasizes the absence of memory: "I have no childhood memories…This absence of history gave me safety: its objective dryness, its apparent evidence, its innocence protected me…I have no childhood memories, I felt assured by this affirmation…I had dispensation: another history, the Great History with capital H, had taken my place: the war, the camps."[11] Nevertheless, he tries to reconstruct episodes of his life as a child, repeatedly reminding the reader of their hypothetical character. Stylistically, Perec expresses his hesitations using "peut-être," "il me semble," "me raconta-t-on," and "paraît-il." Places and photographs play a prominent role in his reconstructive efforts and his desire to give the dead, if not a voice, then at least a name and place in order to preserve a small part of their identity.

In a comparable way, Patrick Modiano, in his book, *Dora Bruder*, relies on places, dates, and pictures to give an identity to a young Jewish girl whose name he happened to come across in an old newspaper, an issue of *Paris Soir* from December 31, 1941. There he found the following notice: "We are in search of a young girl, Dora Bruder, 15 years old, 1,55 m., oval face, grey-auburn eyes, grey sports coat, bordeaux-red pullover, blue-marine skirt and hat, auburn sport shoes. Please, report all information to M. and Mrs. Bruder, 41 Boulevard Ornano, Paris."

In what follows, the narrator describes his search for traces of the girl, including his repeated walks to the places she should have frequented, given the local indications in the newspaper. He goes to archives in order to find details about the situation at the time mentioned. He comes in contact with a cousin of Dora, who provides him with pieces of information and photographs. He happens to collect some important local and historical facts, as, for example, "Tourelles: 19–6–42; 439.19.6.42 5' Bruder, Dora; Drancy le 13–8–42."[12]

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[11] *W ou le souvenir d'enfance*, p. 13. (All translations from *W ou le souvenir* are my own.)

[12] Modiano, *Dora Bruder*, p. 114.

What remains, however, is a strong feeling of absence and void: "I never came to know how she passed her daily life. That's her secret. A poor and precious secret that neither the brute, the orderly, the occupational authorities nor the depot, the barracks, the camps, History, Time could deprive her of."[13] The narrator's efforts to restore Dora's identity are in vain. The hypotheses and associations he makes in combining data and places are all his own. They do not reveal the life of Dora; the dead do not speak, nor do the "objective" details. The loss cannot be undone.

French Jewish literature of the younger generation differs considerably from German Jewish literature. Rafael Seligmann, who was born in Israel in 1947 and has lived in Germany since 1957, told the following anecdote during a visit to Amsterdam some months ago. In the 1980s, he entered a well-stocked bookshop in Munich, which had the reputation of employing professional booksellers. He asked whether a contemporary German Jewish literature existed. After a little hesitation the employee answered, "Yes, of course," went to a shelf, and handed an edition of Anne Frank's diary to him. According to Seligmann, this was the moment he decided to become a novelist.

For many years after the war, the Jewish voice in Germany was silenced. In prewar times, literature written by Jews in the German language had belonged to the cultural mainstream. For German-Jewish authors of the generation after, the relationship with their cultural heritage is highly problematic. They know that their parents and grandparents were explicitly and decisively excluded from the culture and language that they were a part of. The question is: How does one bridge the gap between then and now? How does one write in the language that created the code words for annihilation? Shortly after the war, literary scholars scrupulously kept silent about the identities of the very few Jewish authors who wrote in the German language. In order to avoid a relapse into the classification system of national socialism, they developed a universal conception of literature that omits authors' identities (an example is the early reception of Celan). Nowadays, German-Jewish writers give full expression of their Jewish identity. Some were born outside Germany (Maxim Biller and Rafael Seligmann), others are "exterritorial" writers, having left Germany

[13] Ibid., p. 147 (my translation).

(Barbara Honigman and Lea Fleischmann). Jewish writers in Germany are under the pressure of continuously having to legitimate their decision to live and write in Germany.[14] This decision is often contested by Jews from other countries, particularly Israel.

Biller and Seligmann are representatives of a "dissimilative" German literature.[15] They consciously form a separate group that emphasizes their Jewishness and their Otherness.

Maxim Biller, born in 1960 and living in Germany since 1970, describes with irony and cynicism the identity crises of Jews in Germany. In his book *Wenn ich einmal reich und tot bin* (If once I will be rich and dead) he gives a merciless and occasionally aggressive analysis of the embarrassing fraternization of Jews and Germans in the cities of Frankfurt and Munich. The two groups are in regular contact in commercial affairs. The Jews exploit the German feelings of guilt for their own economic benefit: "One receives German money and German silence, celebrates together the week of fraternity, and, as compensation one offers Jewish silence."[16] Love affairs between Jewish men and German women, in general, fail; there nonetheless exists a mutual attraction between them, which is described by Biller with undaunted self-irony. The protagonists constantly think about leaving the country, but, in the end, they never do.

In Seligmann's novel *Schalom meine Liebe* (Shalom, my love), strained relations between Jews living in Israel and those living in Germany threaten family life and the love between a man and woman. Whenever Seligmann's protagonist tries to defend his decision to stay in Germany, his opponents close the discussion by mentioning Auschwitz and the innate anti-Semitism of the Germans. Is it possible to live in the country of Hitler? In Germany, Jews are troubled by guilty consciences. Back in Israel, however, the German Jews have difficulty coping with the problems that they face there.

Like in Dutch Jewish literature of the generation-after, also here do family relationship play an important role. In German Jewish literature, however, the family is constantly on guard against the non-Jewish

[14] T. Nolden, *Junge jüdische Literatur: Konzentrisches Schreiben in der Gegenwart* (Würzburg 1995).

[15] A. B. Kilcher, "Exterritorialitäten. Zur kulturellen Selbstreflexion der aktuellen deutsch-jüdischen Literatur," in *Deutsch-jüdische Literatur der neunziger Jahre. Die Generation nach der Shoah*, ed. S. L. Gilman and H. Steinecke (Berlin 2002), pp. 131–46.

[16] Biller, *Wenn ich einmal*, p. 63 (my translation).

outside world. The mother controls the steps of her son and tries with great effort to prevent him from marrying a non-Jew, even though she herself converted from Christianity to Judaism when she married her Jewish husband.

Due to the continuous use of irony, the problems dealt with in German Jewish writing of the younger generation lose something of their weight. Irony, intended in the first place to protect one's intellectual superiority in situations of oppression and suffering, serves at the same time to give the opponent a chance: the chance to break the silence, to engage in a dialogue, and, ultimately, to know the other.

Although Austrian writers write in German, Austrian Jewish literature of the generation-after differs from German Jewish literature due to a different historical and local context. For many years following the Second World War, the Austrian nation conceived of itself as the first victim of German aggression and occupation. Recognition of their victim status by the Allies contributed to the desire to forget that, in 1938, when Hitler came to Vienna, a majority of the population very much welcomed the entry into the German Reich, for which they were mentally and politically well prepared. The myth of being the first victim of Hitler's occupation policy, however, could not be maintained when, in the 1970s and 1980s, political events, documents, and—last but not least—writers seriously undermined the wishful thinking of a whole nation. The fate of the Austrian Jews and the concentration camps at Mauthausen and Ebensee are now well known and documented. Austrian Jewish writers have joined their non-Jewish colleagues in their efforts to unmask the façade of an innocent nation. They write against the silenced guilt of the past and against the false rhetoric of suffering under the German occupation.

With respect to style and narrative structure, Austrian Jewish writers follow the modernist and postmodernist tradition of Austrian literature in general. They are not willing to withdraw from the poetic heritage that their predecessors helped develop over many years. Perhaps the political commitment of several non-Jewish writers (Thomas Bernhard, Christoph Ransmayr, and others) enabled them not to feel excluded or to form a separate group, as happened in Germany.

Two very successful Jewish authors are Robert Schindel and Robert Menasse. Schindel's novel *Gebürtig*[17] exemplifies the problematic rela-

[17] Gebürtig is the name of a protagonist in the novel.

tionship between Jews and non-Jews in intellectual circles in Vienna, where the past has separated Jews and non-Jews and now impedes friendship and love. However, attempts are made to communicate with one another, and these create space for linguistic experiments. The different linguistic codes of Jews and non-Jews, which have been defined by their respective pasts, collide in the dialogues. The result is a dualism of voices giving rise to reflections on language, history, and reality.[18] At the same time, the discursive proximity of antagonist voices opens the possibility of overcoming the lack of understanding.

The novel *Die Vertreibung aus der Hölle* (Expulsion from hell), by Robert Menasse, combines and confronts two important moments of Jewish history. Two biographies, one set in the seventeenth century, the other in the twentieth, are alternately narrated. The two heroes, who are described as belonging to the same family, were born into exceptional historical conditions. Mané was born in Lisbon in 1604, in the heyday of the Inquisition and the persecution of Portuguese Jews, while his successor, Viktor, was born in Vienna in 1955. The Portuguese family leaves Lisbon for Amsterdam, the haven of "Liberdade" for Jews. Viktor's father flees from Vienna to London in order to escape deportation. The Portuguese Mané becomes an educated rabbi and teacher of Spinoza, and becomes known as Menasseh ben Israel; Viktor is a Marxist historian interested in Spinoza as well. The life of the earlier protagonist is mirrored in that of the later one, and vice versa. Robert Menasse uses surprising techniques to connect the two stories: sometimes he changes chronology within a single paragraph, thus urging the reader to connect the lives of Mané and Viktor. Menasse writes against the silence of forgetting, of forgetting that Jewish history was one of catastrophes many centuries before the Shoah of the twentieth century. "What once became reality, always remains possibility": that is the lesson the author has found in the posthumous work of Menasseh ben Israel and in the writings of Theodor Adorno.[19]

I conclude. In order to reveal the specificity of Dutch Jewish literature of the younger generation I have looked at some other bodies of European literature. European Jewish literature after the Second World War shares some essential experiences but, at the same time, it

[18] See A. Kunne, *Postmoderne contre coeur: Stationen des Experimentellen in der österreichischen Literatur* (Innsbruck 2005).

[19] I. Radisch, "Reden im Eden," *Die Zeit*, 4 October 2001.

is rooted in the social contexts of different nations. Although from the Netherlands, as we know, a high percentage of Jews were deported, and although anti-Semitism has not been absent, in particular during the war and shortly after it when the phenomenon of "blaming the victims" gained ground,[20] the country cannot be judged as one of perpetrators, comparable to Germany. Nor was it as eager as Austria to join the Third Reich. Dutch Jewish writers do not feel the need to legitimate their living in the Netherlands. They are convinced that Jewish life in the Netherlands is possible and that Jewish literature is possible as well.

Dutch Jewish literature of the generation-after holds an important position within the European diaspora literatures. It has a preference for internal Jewish problems and for the realistic mode, often based on autobiographical material, but there is room, too, for experimental writing and imagination. Dutch Jewish writing is not one-sided, not aggressive and defensive as is German Jewish literature, nor so attached to the experimental tradition, as French Jewish literature has been up to now. For young Jewish authors in the Netherlands, writing against silence means to regain a Jewish identity that their parents wanted them to forget, thinking that such behavior would open up a better future for them; writing offers these authors the possibility to combine remembering with inventing a past that they were excluded from, but which is indispensable in their search of an identity.

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PATRONS OR PARTNERS? RELATIONS BETWEEN THE AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE AND THE DUTCH JEWISH COMMUNITY IN THE IMMEDIATE POSTWAR PERIOD

David Weinberg

In the relatively sparse historical literature on post-war European Jewry, scholars generally have found little place for the Jews of the Netherlands. With few exceptions, such as the works of Joel Fishman and Chaya Brasz,[1] the history of Dutch Jewry in the post-war era is referred to obliquely as a tragic symbol of the devastation of the Shoah and of the bleak future facing the Jews of Europe after 1945. Admittedly, the Jews of Holland suffered the most devastating loss of any west European Jewish community during World War II. Many observers were convinced that the history of Jews in the Netherlands had reached its end.

And yet despite the massive losses, the reconstruction of the Dutch Jewish community in the immediate post-war period proved to be of vital interest to those international relief and political organizations that were directly involved in assisting the Jews of Europe. This was especially true of the major Jewish aid agency—the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), or the "Joint," as it was known in Europe. In order to understand this seeming paradox, one must recognize that for the Joint, the issue of European Jewish relief in the years after 1945 was not simply a question of physical aid or of assistance in emigration. In many cases, it also meant rehabilitating communal life for those who chose to remain on the Continent, and

[1] See e.g. Ch. Brasz, *Removing the Yellow Badge: The Struggle for a Jewish Community in the Postwar Netherlands, 1944–1955* (Jerusalem 1995); and J. Fishman, "The Anneke Beekman Affair and the Dutch Media News," *JSS* 40 (1978), pp. 3–24; idem, "The Jewish Community in Post-war Netherlands, 1944–1975," *Midstream* 22:1 (1976), pp. 42–54; idem, "Jewish War Orphans in the Netherlands, The Guardian Issue," *Wiener Library Bulletin* 27 (1973), pp. 31–36; and idem, "The War Orphans Controversy in The Netherlands: Majority-Minority Relations," in *Dutch Jewish History* [1], ed. J. Michman and T. Levie (Jerusalem 1984), pp. 421–32.

ensuring their future in a changing Europe and in a radically new world Jewish context. The establishment of self-sufficient communities on the European Continent was not only a desirable goal after 1945; it also became a vital necessity as the Joint gradually withdrew its personnel and financial support from Europe in the late 1940s and early 1950s in order to attend to the increasingly pressing needs of the *yishuv* and, later, the new Jewish State.

As the leaders of the Joint gradually turned their attention in the late 1940s from short-term relief to long-range reconstruction, they became convinced that traditional European communal structures and activity, which were based on notions of loyalty to established organizations, volunteerism, and philanthropy, were no longer relevant. In contrast, they pointed to the American Jewish community—with its economic wealth, skilled personnel, technological know-how, and pragmatic perspective—as a useful structural and behavioral exemplar for European Jewish leaders. In attempting to largely reshape European Jewry in the image of the Jews of America, Joint officials wished to create a pluralistic and democratically based institutional structure that would be led by trained professionals and immune to organizational in-fighting. Alert to changes, it would be directed toward long-term rather than *ad hoc* solutions, and supported by a broad-based and efficient fundraising campaign.

The Jewish community of the Netherlands seemed an ideal candidate for the Joint's restructuring campaign. JDC officials saw Dutch Jewry's very weaknesses in the immediate post-war period as its greatest potential strengths. Thus, for example, the decimation of the Dutch Jewish population and much of its spiritual and lay leadership meant that it was a tabula rasa for the training of new leaders and for the development of new communal institutions. Similarly, the virtual disappearance of the Jewish working class of Amsterdam—the segment of the Jewish population that was often the first to be deported—and the subsequent departure of its most activist Zionist members for the land of Israel would help to facilitate the emergence of a relatively homogeneous community, free of the ideological divisions that American leaders believed had been obstacles to coordinated activity in the pre-war era. Finally, the relative wealth of Dutch Jewry's surviving remnant, many of whom had been able to either flee or hide during the war, meant that the community could achieve financial self-reliance within a relatively short period of time. In contrast to other Continental communities that would continue to rely upon financial and administrative assistance

from the JDC, the Jews of the Netherlands thus would soon be able to support and maintain their own expanded network of communal institutions and services.

The bold agenda of the JDC ensured that the relationship between its representatives in Holland and Dutch Jewish leaders in the immediate post-war period would not be an easy one. As in many other Jewish communities in Europe, attempts by the Joint and other western Jewish organizations to reshape the institutions and policies of Dutch Jews created tensions and conflicts. While the former often saw themselves as patrons and tended to ignore or dismiss the concerns of local leadership, the latter resented being considered as mere recipients of aid and advice, and doggedly insisted upon their status as equal partners in the reconstruction effort. It was out of the often-sharp interchange between American Jewish organizations and local Jewish institutions that a new Dutch Jewish community would finally emerge in the 1950s—one that bore the decided markings of American Jewish influence, but which ultimately was shaped by demands of local leaders to recognize the distinctiveness of Jewish life in the Netherlands.

In their initial encounters with the remnants of the post-war Dutch Jewish population in 1944 and early 1945, of course, few outside observers would have placed much hope in the future of the community. First and foremost, there was the devastating loss of life. Numbering some hundred and fifty thousand in the 1930s, the Jews of Holland were reduced to a mere thirty thousand by 1945. Between seventy and eighty percent of the pre-war community had perished in the wake of the Nazi onslaught. Of the 100,000 Dutch Jews who were deported under Nazi occupation, only 5,200 returned from camps. Another 16,500 emerged from hiding and were soon joined by 5,000 to 7,000 refugees, mostly from Germany.

For many of those who survived, life seemed to hold out little hope. The constant reminder of loss proved at times unbearable. As the Dutch survivor Fredrika Michman commented in a letter she wrote in November 1945, "Behind every face that you see stands the shadow of someone whom you will never see again." "Such thoughts," she continued, "take control even more so when you are among . . . old and familiar company, than [when you are] among people whom you didn't know before [the war]."[2] In their encounters with Jews in the

[2] Sh. F. Michman de Pauuw, *"Ish ayno yodea ma yeyled yom," Mikhtavim ishiyim mi-tekufat ha-shikum she le'akhar ha-shoah be-holand* ["No one knows what tomorrow will bring":

Netherlands, American Jewish officials could not help but notice the profound psychological effects of the Nazi genocide. In a March 1946 report on his visit to Holland, for example, Dr. Alfred Wiener, the head of the Jewish Central Information Office of the Joint, commented:

> The persecution with its horrors has transformed the survivors into harsh and bitter people. No pain ever seems to be felt, no tear shed. One almost senses the ruins wrought in these hearts and souls by the withering fire of their long ordeal, and no one can behold the desolation without feeling the profoundest sympathy.[3]

For some Jews in the Netherlands, the sense of despair led to a desire to emigrate. Zionist activists were firmly convinced that the Jews of Holland would provide an important pool of potential *olim*. D. Salo Kleerekoper, speaking at a conference of Jewish organizations in February 1946, remarked that it was impossible for Jews to stay in a country where "every street, every house, ever village brings back memories of friends and parents, sisters and brothers."[4] Such attitudes were reinforced by the enthusiastic response to the Jewish Brigade stationed in the Netherlands.[5] Even anti-Zionist leaders from the United States commented on the fact that for many Dutch Jews, Palestine appeared to hold out the only hope for the future. The Jews that David Bernstein of the American Jewish Committee spoke to during his visit to Holland in 1946, for example, admitted that anti-Semitism was by no means as common as in England or in the United States, for that matter. Nevertheless, Bernstein observed, the Jews of Holland "felt that this was not enough—that the war years had proved that in the

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personal correspondence from the post-Holocaust rehabilitation period in the Netherlands] (Tel Aviv 2003), p. 15.

[3] March 1946 report on "A Visit to Holland" by Dr. Alfred Wiener, dated April 1946, and found in the Joint Distribution Committee Archives in New York (hereafter cited as JDC-NY), 45/54 File 413. See also the articles in the *NIW*, 24 August 1945, p. 3; 7 September 1945, pp. 4–5; and 21 September 1945, p. 8.

[4] Kleerekoper's comments were contained in a speech he gave at the afternoon session of Sunday, February 24, 1946, at the Conference of Jewish Delegations held in London in February–March 1946. (Despite his pessimistic remarks, Kleerekoper remained in the Netherlands and served as head of the Jewish Coordinating Committee.) The minutes of the meeting can be found in the Anglo-Jewish Association Archives, housed at the University of Southampton, MS137: AJ37, 6/6/14 Third Folder.

[5] See, for example, the comments by Michman de Pauuw, *Ish ayno yodea ma yeyled yom*, p. 39.

long run no Jew could be safe in the Netherlands. And therefore, they seek to escape."[6]

As for those who chose to remain in Holland, many evinced little interest in identifying as Jews. In the immediate postwar period, Dutch Jews affiliated with the official Jewish community in very low numbers, while intermarriage was remarkably high.[7] The end result, according to Bernstein, was that the Jews of the Netherlands were "schizophrenic." For the American Jewish Committee official, the two extremes of physical flight and social escape were merely two sides of the same coin. The community tended more and more to gravitate toward one or the other of these extremes, and there were few if any Jews who stood in the middle.[8]

To compound their problems, Dutch Jews were confronted with a significant loss of leadership. Those few communal officials who had survived the war were deemed to be too old or too weak. Others had fled the country to England or the United States, never to return. Still others who sought to assume leadership roles after 1945 were associated with the hated wartime Jewish Councils established by the Nazi occupying powers. The limited pool of candidates in the first months after liberation was especially noticeable in cities that had small Jewish populations. In Rotterdam, for example, the head of the community was a former member of the wartime Jewish Council, while the councils of both Rotterdam and Utrecht were largely composed of baptized Jews or men with non-Jewish spouses.[9]

The immediate concern of outside Jewish relief organizations was physical relief. The first Jewish aid workers to arrive in the Netherlands were members of the British Jewish Relief Units (JRU). They were soon

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[6] D. Bernstein, undated memo to [John] Slawson of the American Jewish Committee, 20 January 1947, found in YIVO Archives of the American Jewish Committee, RG347.7.41–46, FAD 41–46, Box 34, Holland Reports 46–47, 49–50 Folder.

[7] It was estimated that almost one-third of the community had non-Jewish spouses, a situation that was already noticeable in the 1920s and 1930s and had accelerated during the war with the growing belief that assimilated and intermarried Jews had a better chance of survival. The figure is taken from the article on the "Netherlands" in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 12 (Jerusalem 1972), p. 989.

[8] D. Bernstein, undated memo to [John] Slawson, YIVO Archives of the American Jewish Committee, RG347.7.41–46, Box 34, Holland Reports 46–47, 49–50 Folder.

[9] For information on the Utrecht community, see the unsigned and undated note on Utrecht in JDC-NY 45/54 File 413. (The note was undoubtedly written by Leonard Cohen of the Central British Fund for Relief and Rehabilitation.) On the situation in Rotterdam, see the reports on Holland written by Laura Margolis, in the same folder.

joined by representatives of the Chief Rabbi's Religious Emergency Relief Committee, which provided mobile synagogues and religious items to scattered communities throughout the Continent. Though members of the Jewish Relief Units worked diligently and tirelessly, the relief effort during the early months of liberation was chaotic. JRU volunteers were generally young idealists with little training and expertise. Often refugees from Nazism themselves who had fled to Britain, they were unwilling to make any decisions that did not meet with the full approval of Dutch Jewish authorities. More significantly, the first relief efforts by Jewish organizations were predicated on the assumption that the Dutch government would make a deliberate effort to aid its Jewish citizens. Instead, government officials insisted upon treating all Dutchmen equally and refused to recognize the special needs of returning Jewish deportees. The government's initial announcement that it was unable and unwilling to support stateless refugees and that public relief organizations would not be allowed into the Netherlands to assist them was a major blow to early Jewish relief efforts.

The arrival of the Joint in the Netherlands in the fall of 1945 changed the dynamic of relief. Its trained staff gradually assumed control and led to the phasing out of British Jewish assistance. The JDC's first priority was to secure governmental approval to aid stateless Jewish refugees. Ultimately, the Joint would also be granted permission to provide supplementary aid for Dutch Jewish citizens. By 1946, the Joint was taking on additional responsibilities, such as caring for Jewish children, and registering and locating Jewish survivors. Particular emphasis was placed upon reconstituting communal institutions that had been disrupted during the Nazi occupation, including synagogues, hospitals, schools, orphanages, and cemeteries. In addition, the JDC aided in *hachshara* and *aliya*, i.e. preparation for emigration and the journey to Palestine.

The daily interaction between Joint officials and local Dutch communities would gradually lead local JDC representatives like Gertrude Pinsky and Laura Margolis to conclude that, despite the many obstacles, the Jews of the Netherlands could eventually achieve self-sufficiency.[10] The new leadership may have looked "thin, undernourished, worn and

[10] As early as December 1945, Pinsky had argued that once the Dutch community received its property back it would be able to handle its own administrative and religious needs. (G. Pinsky, Report to the New York office of the JDC, 20 December 1947, in JDC-NY 45/54 File 413).

wan," Margolis remarked in a report written in 1947, "but they came out of . . . [the war] with some kind of pride." Margolis placed special emphasis on the fact that her Dutch Jewish contacts had told her, from their first meetings, that "[w]e may need a little help for a very short time, but we do not expect the JDC to support the remnants of Dutch Jewry *ad infinitum*."[11]

Initially, Joint officials were concerned that Zionist efforts to encourage *aliya* would have a disruptive and debilitating effect on the community. Yet they soon realized that the emigration of the most activist members of the movement to Palestine throughout the late 1940s would create a more ideologically homogenous community. At the same time, those Zionist elements that chose to remain in the Netherlands increasingly turned their attention to internal concerns and proclaimed their desire to create an all-embracing community incorporating all elements of Jewish life.[12]

Officials at the Joint were also heartened by what they believed was a certain democratization of established institutions within the community. In 1946, the Hoofdsynagogue, the leading Ashkenazi synagogue in Amsterdam, chose to include immigrants and to grant the right to vote to women. JDC leaders also detected a growing openness to change on the part of the Dutch religious leadership as a result of both the time spent by Orthodox rabbis in the United States and in England during the war and the strengthening of liberal congregations beginning in 1945, due largely to the influence of German refugees.

For JDC leaders, the most important sign of the vitality of Dutch Jewry was the decision by survivors to create a centralized administrative body in the first months after liberation. During the last months of 1944, young Jewish activists who had been hiding in the south found their way to the city of Eindhoven where, in January 1945, they founded the Joodse Coordinatie Commissie (JCC, or Jewish Coordinating Committee) for the liberated Dutch territory. The establishment of the JCC was a remarkable achievement. Unlike France and Belgium, there had been no central Jewish organization created during the war. Indeed, the JCC was actually established in a period of continued, fierce battles within the Netherlands, in which only the southern part

[11] Cited in Fishman, "Jewish Community in Post-war Netherlands," p. 46.

[12] J. Sanders, "Opbouw en continuïtet na 1945," in *Pinkas. Geschiedenis van de joodse gemeenschap in Nederland*, ed. J. Michman, H. Beem, and D. Michman (Amsterdam 1992), p. 233.

of the country had been liberated and the north still remained under Nazi control.

The lofty and varied aims of the new organization were outlined in a statement issued in July 1945:

1. To constitute a center for the purpose of supplying information and giving advice about specific Jewish matters to Jews as well as non-Jews, both at home and abroad;
2. To serve as a trustee for foreign Jewish relief organizations;
3. To cooperate with associations, already existing or yet to be formed, of Dutch Jews abroad;
4. To ascertain the whereabouts of Jews who were resident in Holland on May 10, 1940, with a view to restoring broken family bonds;
5. To relieve the shortage, caused by German destruction, of articles of ritual use.[13]

Within a month after its founding, the JCC had established study groups to examine the many challenges facing the newly-liberated Jewish community.[14] One of its first activities was the creation of so-called "contact evenings," during which efforts were made to reestablish ties among different Jews in each liberated area. A Jewish Contact Commission, established by the Coordinating Committee in the summer of 1945, served as a liaison with the new Dutch government. The Commission brought together branches of the JCC from throughout Holland, including—for the first time—elements from the Amsterdam community.

From the Joint's standpoint, the early activity of the Jewish Coordinating Committee appeared to bode well for the future. Indeed, JDC officials often contrasted the unity and efficiency of the JCC with its highly fractious counterpart in the much larger French Jewish community—the Conseil représentatif des israélites français, or CRIF. Here was an organization that appeared to transcend the ideological and religious divisions of the pre-war period by reaching out to all facets of Jewish society. Encouraged by the Committee's activity, the

[13] Cited in *Jewish News*, a bulletin issued by the Central Office (of the Joint) in London, 4 July, 1945.

[14] It also attempted to make arrangements to send matzot to the occupied North and considered such matters as the fate of Jewish war orphans, spiritual leadership, and stateless Jews.

Joint made a decision early on to support its activities exclusively. As a form of "blackmail," it refused to consider requests for funds from any organization that did not adhere to the JCC. Under the watchful eye of JDC representatives, the Coordinating Committee attempted to steer away from controversy by restricting its activity to those problems on which there was broad communal agreement, such as the tracing of lost relatives, the granting of free loans, restoring of property and homes, and the care of children, the sick, and the aged among the survivor population. In time, the JCC also managed to partially bridge the gap between religious and secular elements by supporting the construction of both synagogues and community centers.

Even the most optimistic observers, however, recognized that the effort to centralize the community would not be an easy task. At various times in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Joint faced active resistance from two major elements within the Dutch Jewish community: pre-war leaders, who were generally associated with the religious establishment; and new activists, drawn largely from the Zionist and left-wing camps. Though representing vastly different constituencies and agenda, both groups shared the view that Joint aid should be provided without any strings attached and that Dutch Jews should play the central role in determining their goals and activities.

Jewish religious organizations such as the Nederlands Israelitisch Kerkgenootschap (NIK) insisted upon being regarded as the central communal authority and thus the sole recipient of Joint support. In their view, only they had the needed experience to guide Dutch Jewry in its moment of crisis. After the martyrdom of so many Dutch Jews, their leaders maintained, it was only right that rabbis should be the stewards of an umbrella organization. As the largest of the religious bodies, the NIK constantly voiced the fear that secularist and Zionist elements in the Jewish Coordinating Committee were corrupting Dutch Jewish youth and thus endangering the community's future. In particular, they were insistent that the JCC should not engage in cultural work, which they saw as an attempt by the new organization to create a secular alternative to Judaism.[15] Though eager to accept financial aid

[15] Thus, for example, the Orthodox rabbinate opposed the decision by D. Salo Kleerekoper, the head of the JCC, to give lectures on Jewish history because they vehemently disagreed with his interpretation of the Bible. (Meeting between Dutch Jewish representatives and JDC officials in the Joint's New York office, 31 December 1945, in JDC-NY 45/54 File 413).

from the Joint, more established organizations denounced the JDC for attempting to manipulate Dutch Jewry and the JCC in particular. As a representative of the British Central Fund remarked in a memo written in early 1946 concerning the refusal of the Rotterdam community to join the Coordinating Committee: "The fact is resented widely in Holland that when an approach is made to the Dutch authorities, the Jewish Co-ordinating Committee always goes to interviews led by Miss [Gertrude] Pinsky who acts as their spokesman."[16]

Efforts to create a centralized authority for the Jews of the Netherlands also ran into opposition from Dutch Jewish émigré communities in both New York and London. In its initial assessment of the Dutch situation immediately after the war, the JDC had assumed that the more established and wealthy Jews who had fled abroad to escape Nazi persecution would return and reassume their leadership roles. Unlike those who had remained in Holland and were now vying for local community control, émigrés were seen as sharing the political, social, and economic views of Jewish elites with whom they mingled in their host community, and thus receptive to American-style organization and administrative techniques. The fact that members of the émigré community in London had initially played a central role in the founding of the Jewish Coordinating Committee boosted the hopes of Joint officials.[17]

Yet Dutch Jewish émigrés proved to be a thorn in the JDC's side. While the New York-based community opposed the Coordinating Committee's decision to distribute aid to stateless Jews in Holland, the London group made financial commitments that it either refused to or could not keep. Ultimately, Joint representatives in the Netherlands were forced to conclude that Dutch Jews abroad could not break away from their "old-style thinking," which was out of sync with what American relief workers believed were the dynamic new needs of the post-war community.[18] For all their concerns about the alleged inefficiency and lack of autonomy of the JCC, both émigrés and established Jewish

[16] Note from M. Stephany of the Central British Fund on a conversation with Mr. A. J. U. Cohen of the Rotterdam community, 21 January 1946, in the Central British Fund Archives, File 75.

[17] For the role of the London committee in the founding of the JCC, see the memo from Schirn (?) to Léon Kubowitzki of the World Jewish Congress, 4 April 1944, in the CZA, C2//1908.

[18] See e.g. the report from Gertrude Pinsky to the New York office, 20 December 1945, in JDC-NY 45/54 File 413.

leaders seemed primarily concerned with the threat the new organization posed to their resumption of power in post-war Holland. As a spokesman for the Dutch Jewish Representative Committee angrily stated at a meeting held in New York in late 1945, the JCC was

> a dangerous organization. It says that everyone should be heard, and consequently it gives facilities to all "streams," many representing points of view or groups which did not exist before the war. Instead of recognizing the old established rabbinical and other leaders, it itself engages in cultural work, in Zionist and other propaganda.[19]

Representatives of the Jewish Coordinating Committee were quick to respond to these accusations. In their view, Dutch Jews living abroad were talking as though the situation had remained unchanged since 1939. JCC supporters were firmly convinced that Jews who had lived through the Nazi occupation in Holland or had survived the death camps were not sympathetic to the views of pre-war leaders. Efforts by elites to recover their power would be strongly opposed. If émigré leaders continued to attempt to undermine the Jewish Coordinating Committee, the head of the JCC D. Salo Kleerekoper warned at a New York meeting in 1945, he would organize a mass meeting in the Concertgebouw upon his return to Amsterdam.[20]

Comments such as these by younger leaders of the Jewish Coordinating Committee both encouraged and disturbed Joint officials. Kleerekoper's views concerning the outmoded nature of pre-war leadership clearly echoed those of the Joint. His threat to organize a mass meeting, however, suggested a type of militancy and potentially divisive strategy that went against the quiet diplomacy of American Jewish leaders. Indeed, American and British relief officials often expressed fears that, without the participation of more moderate voices in the Coordinating Committee, the demands by its left-wing or Zionist elements for immediate action might well trigger an anti-Semitic backlash among the general Dutch population.[21] American officials were also

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[19] The statement is included in the minutes of the meeting between Dutch Jewish representatives and JDC officials in the Joint's New York office, 31 December 1945, in JDC-NY 45/54 File 413.

[20] Ibid. The Concertgebouw was the major concert hall in Amsterdam.

[21] As two JRU volunteers in Holland noted in 1945, "The Joint or its equivalent must control the widespread mania for power, or strong and possibly undesirable committees will obtain a foothold" ("Report on Amsterdam Jewry, June 1945, from Sadie Rinka and Imma de Miranda of the Jewish Relief Unit," found in JDC-NY 45/54 File 413).

troubled by the lack of experience of young activists. Though many of the new leaders of the Coordinating Committee were enthusiastic and hard working, they lacked discipline. For all their energy and excitement, Laura Margolis commented in 1946, the Jewish Coordinating Committee would require "full-time supervision for a long time."[22]

The delicate and constant maneuvering among competing factions within the Dutch Jewish community took a deft hand and great skill. Pinsky and Margolis often had to act as arbiters among opposing groups.[23] Such experiences, coupled with physical and psychological exhaustion brought on by long hours, pressing needs, and meager resources, often led to exasperation on the part of local Joint representatives, and resentment toward those they were pledged to help. For all their concern, Joint officials could never fully rid themselves of a certain American hubris and suspicion of Europeans. These sentiments were undoubtedly fueled by the emergence of the United States as a major force in international affairs and the assertiveness of its Jewish community after World War II. In moments of frustration, American and world Jewish leaders were not above making defamatory comments about the Continent and its Jewish inhabitants. Thus, for example, in a private letter to the British historian and Board of Deputies member Cecil Roth, the head of the Organization Department of the World Jewish Congress Ignacz Schwarzbart likened Dutch Jewry to Dutchmen in general: "deadly serious in small matters and completely void of vision and imagination in bigger problems."[24] Even the highly sympathetic Marchioness of Reading of the British Section of the World Jewish Congress, who visited Belgium and Holland in the first months after the end of the war, could not hide her condescending attitude toward those she described as "our poor Jews" on the Continent.[25]

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[22] Report from Laura Margolis on her visit to Holland, April 20–22, 1945, dated 23 April 1945, in JDC-NY 45/54 File 413.

[23] See, for example, the efforts by Pinsky to solve the dispute between the JCC and the Board of the Hoofdsynagogue in late 1946, as described in her memo to Joseph Schwartz dated 9 January 1946, in JDC-NY 45/54 File 413.

[24] Ignacz Schwarzbart in a letter to Cecil Roth, 3 September 1952, in the Archives of the Anglo-Jewish Association, University of Southampton, MSS361 A89/6. Similarly, in a letter to Gerhard Riegner of the Geneva Office of the World Jewish Congress, Schwarzbart wrote that "[t]he Dutch Jews are a specific type of Jew, very cool and measured in their approach and very cautious in their decisions." The letter is in the archives of the Anglo-Jewish Association, MSS361 A89/6.

[25] Letter from the Marchioness of Reading, President of the British Section of the World Jewish Congress, to M. Kalman of the Fédération des sociétés juives, Paris, 10 May 1945, in the CZA, C2/842.

Such judgments were bound to create a backlash within the Dutch community itself. Leaders of both the JCC and the Hoofdsynagogue resented being treated as "unfortunates" by their American and British coreligionists. In dealing with American officials, they often could not hide their own frustration with the triumphalist attitude shown by the representatives of American and British Jewry. How dare American Jews in particular—who, compared to European Jews, were uncultured and lacking historical foundations—tell the Jews of the Netherlands how to administer their communal affairs![26]

Despite these ongoing tensions, financial and administrative assistance from the Joint and other Jewish relief organizations enabled Dutch Jews to reconstruct their lives within a relatively short period of time. The most significant indication of their recovery was the growing financial independence of the community. By late 1946, local representatives of the Joint in Holland could report that Dutch Jewry no longer needed deliveries of food and clothing, and that within the next half year the distribution of supplies would probably cease. After an initially substantial outlay of funds, JDC aid would dramatically decrease. In 1945, the Joint contributed over $280,000 to the Jewish Coordinating Committee. In the following year, its funding increased to $463,000. In 1947, the amount was reduced to $361,000. By 1949, the Joint's allocation was only $43,000, less than one-tenth of its commitment in 1947. A year later the Joint had all but ceased its financial contributions to Dutch Jewry. What remained were limited commitments to maintain a small number of institutions, a community of Jewish children brought to Holland from Rumania, and a group of "hard-case" Jewish displaced persons.[27]

The withdrawal of funding did not spell the end of Joint involvement in Dutch Jewish life, however. Thanks to ongoing programs created by local JDC representatives, the organization continued to have an impact upon the community throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s in three major spheres that reflected the "Americanization" of the community—social welfare, fundraising, and the development of institutions to foster pluralism.

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[26] See e.g. the note from M. Stephany of the Central British Fund concerning a conversation with Mr. A. J. U. Cohen of the Rotterdam community, 21 January 1946, in the Central British Fund Archives, File 75.

[27] Memo from J. Voet, Joint representative from the Netherlands, 30 May 1948, in JDC-NY 45/54 File 420.

As early as September 1946, the Jewish Coordinating Committee called a meeting of charitable and social welfare organizations to discuss the issues of social work and healthcare for the aged. Its goal was to create a federated system of organizations and a more equitable distribution of services. The result was the creation of the Stichting Joods Maatschappelijk Werk (JMW) in February 1947. Though the JMW encountered some early opposition from religious groups, who insisted that aid to the indigent and the sick was the exclusive province of charitable and philanthropic groups, by the early 1950s the organization had gained general acceptance among Jewish social service agencies.

One important reason for the success of the JMW and its affiliated agencies was the work of its caseworkers and administrators, many of whom were trained at the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work in Paris. Created by the Joint in 1949, the Baerwald School attempted to transform the environment in which social workers functioned from large-scale and *ad hoc* activity to a stabilized caseload and regular contact with individual clients.[28] Drawing upon social work techniques then current in the United States, the Baerwald School stressed the importance of aiding individuals to help themselves rather than merely receiving financial assistance. Graduates of the program were expected to deal with a variety of issues generated by the war, including the care of orphaned children, which was an especially pressing issue in Holland, and the development of programs geared to the needs of survivors with severe physical and psychological problems. Though the Baerwald School would move to Israel in 1953, it continued to influence Dutch and European Jewish social work professionals.[29]

Before the war, fundraising in the Dutch Jewish community had been the exclusive responsibility of philanthropic organizations and individual synagogues. All too often, the result was duplication, favoritism, and the inefficient allocation of funds. All this would change with the creation of the Centrale Financieringsactie voor Joods—Social Werk (CEFINA)

[28] As the director Dr. Henry Selver stated at the inauguration ceremonies of the Baerwald School: "Our school is based on the conviction that to practice social work, it was not sufficient to have goodwill, a good heart and lots of common sense. Social work is a profession in which one must have formation and training" (Cited in I. Goldsztejn, "Le rôle de l'American Joint dans la reconstruction de la communauté," *Archives juives: Revue d'histoire des Juifs de France* 28 [1995], p. 34).

[29] For more on the early years of the Baerwald School, see the folder "France: Paul Baerwald School, 49–51," in the YIVO Archives, RG347.7.4146, Box 14.

in October 1947. Modeled after the American United Jewish Appeal, its sole purpose was to serve as a central collection agency for monies raised for social, cultural, and religious work. CEFINA's role was made easier by the development of the Netherlands as a social welfare state after the war. As the government increasingly met many of the more general needs of Dutch Jews, the community could increasingly concentrate on funding programs to meet specific Jewish needs.

At first, the goals set by the organization were unrealistic. In its first year of operation, it had hoped to raise 1,000,000 guilders ($350,000), an amount that would have required each Jew in the Netherlands to contribute five to seven percent of his or her income. (In the United States, in contrast, Jews contributed on the average about six dollars in 1945, thirteen dollars in 1946, and twenty-two dollars for overseas relief in 1947.) Ultimately, CEFINA succeeded in raising a little less than half that amount. Nevertheless, by the following year the Jews of Holland were not only contributing sizeable funds for their own social welfare activities but also funding external projects, such as supporting five hundred children from other countries who were en route to Israel.[30]

From the beginning of its involvement in material relief after 1945, the JDC recognized that European Jewish communities could not tolerate division and factionalism if they were to survive in the post-war world. At the same time, its leaders understood that many survivors were far removed from religious observance and would not be interested in affiliating with synagogues. In searching for an alternative, Joint officials hit upon the example of the Jewish Community Center. Originally established in the United States to break down barriers between religious denominations, to appeal to non-observant Jews, and to maintain Jewish identity among American youth, the concept was now applied to Europe.

The idea of a Jewish community center seemed especially appealing in the case of Dutch Jewry, who had suffered both a devastating loss of population and the destruction of both private and communal property holdings. In the view of the Joint, the Jews of Holland needed a place to meet outside the traditional religious framework where they could share their troubles and begin to plan for the future. The arrival

[30] Memo from J. Voet, Joint representative from the Netherlands, 30 May 1948, in the JDC-NY 45/54 File 420.

of hundreds of German and east European refugees in the first years after the war, many of whom were uninterested in affiliating with either the traditional Ashkenazi or Sephardi religious community, only exacerbated the problem. As one member of the Jewish Relief Unit in Amsterdam described the situation in a report submitted to the Central British Fund:

> Many Jewish people in Holland, young and old, are alone, having lost their entire families friends, and acquaintances. They live either in billets, or in government hostels, where they are without privacy, comfort, or the possibility of cultural and social activities.[31]

Plans for founding a community center in the Netherlands began to be mapped out in late 1945, only weeks after the country's total liberation from Nazi occupation. The result was the establishment in May 1946 of a new community center in Amsterdam. The center quickly gained a reputation throughout Europe for its innovative cultural and educational programs, which were geared to both refugees and Jewish youth.

Despite its notable successes, however, the Joint ultimately failed to transform the Jewish Coordinating Committee into an umbrella organization that would reflect the new pluralistic, voluntary, and secular direction of Dutch communal life. The major problem, of course, was the inability of the JDC and its protégé to overcome the objections of established organizations, which continued to assert a dominant position in the community. The fact that the wealthiest elements tended to be members of both the established Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities reinforced their power and influence. For all its efforts to transform itself into a disciplined agency, the Coordinating Committee could never fully shed its combative wartime origins and activist ideology. Unlike other countries, Holland did not experience a significant influx of east European Jewish refugees. As a result, the JCC could not draw upon new constituents sympathetic to its nationalistic ideology. The Coordinating Committee also ran into difficulties with Dutch government officials who disliked its use of the term "Jewish" because of its association with the Nazi occupation, and generally sought to avoid any attempts to differentiate Jews from their fellow citizens. Finally, the success of new independent and self-sufficient organizations such as the JMW and CEFINA limited the JCC's effectiveness and influence.

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[31] "Report on Activities of Jewish Relief Unit in Amsterdam from August 1945–April 1946," in the Archives of the Central British Fund, File 75.

With the withdrawal of the Joint from the Netherlands beginning in 1948, the Jewish Coordinating Committee all but ceased operations. Yet the efforts by the Joint to unify the community and streamline its activities would ultimately bear fruit. It would take another four years for the Dutch community to finally come together. A new series of statutes issued by the Central Netherlands Israelite religious community in May 1952 introduced centralized administration of the community's finances, religious affairs, and social work. The new framework represented a compromise between the insistence by the Joint upon coordinated long-range communal planning, and the day-to-day reality of Dutch Jewish communal life, which like Dutch society as a whole, continued to rely to a great extent on its traditional religious institutions.[32]

In the end, American Jewry's most important contribution to the revival of Jewish life in the Netherlands after World War II may well have been as much psychological as structural. In emphasizing the need for Dutch Jews—as well as other Jewish communities on the Continent—to think seriously about their future, Jewish relief organizations such as the Joint Distribution Committee helped to restore faith in their ability to overcome the devastation of the Holocaust. Even the occasionally heavy-handed attempts by American and international Jewish agencies to impose their point of view, structures, and procedures on Dutch Jewry had a salutary effect. True, the controversy was often reduced to questions of defending one's "turf" against outside interference. Yet in responding to the attempts by the Joint and other organizations to act as "patrons" of a debilitated post-war Dutch Jewry, both established and younger leaders gained renewed self-confidence. The result was not only a rejection of the perception of Dutch Jews as mere victims of Nazism or objects of relief, but also a growing assertion of their role as active "partners" in the shaping of their own lives as well as those of European Jewry as whole.

[32] By 1961 a report prepared for the Joint on Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, and Denmark could note that the name "Jewish Coordination Commission" [*sic*] "will probably have little meaning to the average reader of this report." The report can be found in JDC-NY 45/54 File 484.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE RESTITUTION PROCESS IN THE NETHERLANDS AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY[1]

Manfred Gerstenfeld

Rather surprisingly, the issue of the restitution of Holocaust assets in Europe reemerged at the end of the twentieth century in many countries. It received great attention in the western media. Yet the scholarly research or serious books that have been published so far on this process are rather limited. What happened in the Netherlands receives little mention in this literature.[2]

The main focus of most publications on the new restitution round is on Switzerland, predominantly in view of the heirless, dormant bank assets there. Next in line is Germany, partly because of the multi-billion dollar payments for slave and forced labor. Also the American role in this restitution process is looked into by several authors; among these are Michael Bazyler,[3] an academic, and Stuart Eizenstat, a major player

[1] Research for this article was supported by the Israel Maror Foundation and the Rabbi Israel Miller Fund for Shoah Research, Documentation and Education of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany Inc.

The author wishes to thank Prof. J. C. H. Blom for his comments on the draft of the lecture, which was the basis for this article.

[2] Most texts refer mainly to the past and touch to a lesser extent on the new round of restitution negotiations that were still in course when these texts were concluded. R. Z. Chesnoff, *Pack of Thieves* (New York 1999), devotes a chapter to the Netherlands in his book, which has a journalistic character. It was published well before the conclusion of the restitution negotiations. A. Beker (ed.), *The Plunder of Jewish Property During the Holocaust: Confronting European History* (Basingstoke 2001), includes a chapter by Gerard Aalders that mainly focuses on the robbery of Dutch Jews and post-war Dutch restitution (pp. 282–96). Earlier, the World Jewish Congress published a short monograph as Policy Study No. 8, by I. Levine, *The Fate of Stolen Jewish Properties: The Cases of Austria and the Netherlands.* An analysis in English of the new restitution process can be found in M. Gerstenfeld, "Jewish War Claims in the Netherlands: A Case Study," in *Jewish Political Studies Review* 12, nos. 1–2 (Spring 2000), pp. 55–95.

[3] M. J. Bazyler, *Holocaust Justice: The Battle for Restitution in America's Courts* (New York 2003).

in the process, who was U.S. deputy secretary of the treasury.[4] Austria and France are other countries that have drawn attention.

Does the marginality of the international references to the Dutch restitution process express that what happened in the Netherlands was rather insignificant from an international perspective? Or does it signify that the Dutch restitution process was a local affair with no international interactions and aspects? Neither is the case.

The Revival of the International Restitution Process

A few introductory remarks about the post-war restitution negotiations are required. The initial process petered out somewhere in the early 1950s as far as most countries are concerned. The German reparations to Israel and world Jewry, however, got a major start-up with the signing on 10 September 1952 of the Luxembourg Agreements.

The historian Ronald Zweig says that the Jewish organizations "found unyielding opponents in the Swiss and Austrians and they were also unable to achieve anything regarding restitution in Eastern Europe." Thereafter the Jewish organizations transferred the responsibility for the entire restitution matter to the State of Israel, which did not do much about it. It had other diplomatic priorities.[5]

A major factor in this fading away of the post-war, international restitution process was the Cold War. The Americans, who had been major proponents of the Holocaust-related restitution, were no longer willing to confront European countries on this issue. Containing the Soviet Union became their priority. For this they needed European allies.[6]

In the mid 1990s the new round of the restitution process emerged, seemingly from nowhere. The media publicity it received, however, focused on countries other than those in which the process had been initiated. The international media publications gave major attention to Switzerland. The initial revival of the process, however, had been aimed at Eastern Europe.

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[4] S. E. Eizenstat, *Imperfect Justice: Looted Assets, Slave Labor, and the Unfinished Business of World War II* (New York 2003).

[5] Ronald Zweig, interviewed by M. Gerstenfeld, in M. Gerstenfeld, *Europe's Crumbling Myths. The Post-Holocaust Origins of Today's Anti-Semitism* (Jerusalem 2003), p. 176.

[6] Beker (ed.), *Plunder of Jewish Property*, p. 4.

Its major proponent was Israel Singer. He became secretary general of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) in 1985. With the thawing of east-west relations, he shortly thereafter started to raise the issue of Holocaust assets restitution in Eastern European countries. The WJC focused generally fruitless efforts on Eastern Europe for about ten years until 1995. Then attention rapidly shifted to Switzerland.[7]

The Beginning of the Revival of the Dutch Restitution Issue

The restitution issue was hardly alive in the Dutch Jewish community. There was only one person, Jaap Soesan, who had been promoting it. He had created a foundation to deal with the subject.[8] He was not a prominent person in the Dutch Jewish community and had little impact on the later process.

The reemergence of the restitution issue in the Netherlands was primarily the result of the major international media attention about what happened with the heirless Swiss bank accounts of those who died in the Holocaust.

With this Swiss restitution issue very much in the focus of the media, the Dutch minister of finance installed, on 10 March 1997, a contact group concerning monies used from World War Two.[9] It was headed by a former minister, J. A. van Kemenade.

The contact group's initial mandate was to monitor developments concerning monies due from the Second World War abroad. The idea behind its establishment was that the ongoing debate and the research about the dormant Swiss bank accounts might yield findings that would enable citizens of the Netherlands to claim part of these monies. Its limited original mandate did not include the restitution of Dutch Holocaust assets. Already a month later, the mandate of this group, which became known as the Van Kemenade Commission, was expanded to include reference to important matters concerning Dutch restitution. The Dutch Association of Banks (NVB), the Association of Insurers (VVV) and the representative body of the Dutch Jewish community, Centraal Joods Overleg (CJO), asked for an inquiry into

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[7] Manfred Gerstenfeld, interview with Israel Singer.

[8] Stichting Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek Joods Onteigend Bezit, '40–45.'

[9] "Eindrapport van de Contactgroep Tegoeden WO II," *Contactgroep Tegoeden WO II*, 12 January 2000; hereafter refered to as the Van Kemenade report.

assets of Holocaust victims that might have remained with the Dutch banks and insurance companies.

Soon thereafter, a third mandate was given to the Van Kemenade Commission. The Netherlands was entitled to 1.18 tons of gold from the fourth and final payment of the Tripartite Gold Commission. The Van Kemenade Commission was asked to advise also on this issue.[10] Regarding a number of issues, the foreign economist Helen Junz, who had worked with the Independent Committee of Eminent Persons (Volcker Committee), served as an adviser to the Van Kemenade Commission.[11]

The Dolman Monies

This development of the mandate of the Van Kemenade Commission is one indication of the international aspects of the Dutch restitution issue. The commission was established in 1997 to monitor developments concerning Holocaust assets outside the Netherlands. The main stimulus for the creation of the commission thus did not result from events in the Netherlands but rather was a reaction to what happened elsewhere.

In 1997 the Van Kemenade Commission advised to distribute the monies from the final gold payment to victims of Second World War persecution. The amount concerned was 22.5 million guilders or, in today's currency, slightly over ten million euros. The Dutch government decided that ninety-five percent of this would be distributed to Jewish organizations.

On 31 August 1998, the minister of health, well-being, and sport installed an independent advisory commission for the allocation of these funds. It became known as the Dolman Commission, after its chairman, D. Dolman, a member of the Raad van State (Council of State) who had been chairman of the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament.

A substantial number of the Dutch Holocaust victims had left the Netherlands after the war. The Dolman Commission proposed that part

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[10] Van Kemenade report, p. 7.

[11] Junz's research on pre-war wealth of European Jews was later published in book form; see H. B. Junz, *Where Did All the Money Go?* (Bern 2002). It contains significant information on the Netherlands.

of the monies would be paid to Dutch Jewish organizations abroad. The main country where Jews of Dutch origin were to benefit from these funds was Israel: 9.4 million guilders were distributed to the Dutch Jewish organizations there, while 600,000 guilders were allotted to an American organization of Dutch Jews. That a substantial part of the beneficiaries of what became known as the "Dolman monies" was outside the Netherlands was thus yet another international aspect of the Dutch restitution process.[12]

More Commissions Established

In the meantime, the Van Kemenade Commission developed also other activities. These led to the establishment of the Kordes Commission, which dealt with the LIRO (the Lipman Rosenthal "looting bank"); the Scholten Commission, which investigated insurance assets; and the Ekkart Commission, which dealt with looted art. For the Jewish collectivity, the latter was less important, as this commission mainly focused on individual belongings that had not been returned.

Another international aspect of the Dutch restitution process developed in the United States. In an unusual step, the Dutch government hired an American public relations firm, Hill & Knowlton, to start dealing with issues concerning its restitution policies in the American media.[13]

The Dutch government justified this, saying that there had been reports in the American media that the Netherlands had not been diligent enough after the war in returning looted art—which had been brought back from Germany—to its rightful owners. The Dutch government also appointed a high-ranking diplomat, Ambassador Frans Majoor, to follow the restitution issue internationally, on a part-time basis.

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[12] Advies uitgebracht aan de Minister van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport door het adviescollege besteding vierde tranche [Advice regarding the fourth payment given by the Advisory Council to the Minister of Public Health, Welfare and Sport, also known as the Dolman Commission Report], 1 July 1999, 2.

[13] "Advies oorlogskunst kost OCW ruim ton," *Volkskrant*, 7 March 1999.

The Swiss Restitution Issue Heats up Further

The various commissions of enquiry were established by the Dutch government and others against a background of fear from having to face actions similar to what Switzerland and its banks were facing in their confrontations with Jewish organizations. The international developments were thus continuously in the background of the Dutch restitution process. In the meantime, the Swiss restitution issue was heating up further. One may wonder in retrospect why this was the case. One explanation is that, after the fall of communism, times were fairly quiet in Western Europe, which created a window of opportunity for various reflections on the past decades. In this context the international media gave the story of the spoliation of the Jews much publicity.

Avi Beker, a former secretary general of the WJC, summed up the various factors that impacted on the process. He wrote that they included external pressure by Jewish organizations, the media, and the United States. He added psychological considerations: "The collapse of Communism, the opening of state archives and the readiness of some people to confess wrongdoing are only excuses for a deeper uncontrollable human need. There is a stage in a man's life, as in the life of a nation, when traumatic and hitherto repressed memories of the past burst forth. The sudden recollection and pursuit of suppressed memories, and the moral anguish which it has produced, has led all of Europe, as an historic-cultural collective, to the psychiatrist's couch."[14]

These factors had come to the fore already for some decades in the Netherlands. This process would accelerate during the restitution process at the end of the twentieth century.

Israeli Developments

In the organized Dutch Jewish community in Israel, the new developments in restitution issues in the Netherlands did not get much attention. One individual's activity there would, however, have substantial influence on the entire process. In 1998, the businessman Avraham Roet, who had come to Israel after the Second World War, created a

[14] Beker (ed.), *Plunder of Jewish Property*, p. 22.

foundation called the Israel Institute for Research on Dutch Jewish Assets Lost During the Holocaust. Through it he began to collect information on the Dutch Holocaust assets issue.

The results of this activity were twofold. First, knowledge of the Dutch Holocaust asset situation developed in Israel. Secondly, a number of active members of the Dutch Jewish community there became gradually aware of the restitution issue.

The Research

The restitution process could not and did not focus exclusively on financial matters. The search for Holocaust assets not returned to their legitimate owners required not only research into where these assets were, but also delving into other aspects of history. Such inquiries concerned, partly, the field of Holocaust studies, but they also provided a major stimulus to a not-yet consolidated research area that one might call "post-Holocaust studies."[15] The scope of this historical research widened far beyond financial and economic aspects.

A typical example is Switzerland, which appointed a national historical commission with a very wide mandate, the Bergier Commission. It reviewed many issues, only some of which concerned monetary aspects.[16] For example: Swiss refugee policies from 1933–1945 were a substantial subject of research.

Also in the Netherlands much research was undertaken on Holocaust assets. This was initially done mainly on behalf of the various commissions. Gerard Aalders was one researcher whose work received much attention.[17] Thereafter also a new body, SOTO, was created in the sphere of NIOD, the National Institute for War Documentation. It undertook research to assess post-war treatment of returnees to the

[15] For a description of post-Holocaust studies, see Gerstenfeld, *Europe's Crumbling Myths*, pp. 27–28.

[16] H. B. Junz, "Confronting Holocaust History: The Bergier Commission's Research on Switzerland's Past," *Post-Holocaust and Anti-Semitism*, May 2003, no. 8.

[17] G. Aalders, *Roof: De ontwreemding van joods bezit tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (The Haag 1999; he had earlier worked as a researcher on this subject with Jaap Soesan); idem, *Berooid: De beroofde joden en het Nederlandse restitutiebeleid sinds 1945* (Amsterdam 2001).

Netherlands.[18] SOTO dealt with many issues concerning, primarily, non-monetary matters.

This leads to a further conclusion: the Netherlands was not in the forefront of the Western European restitution process. It did, however, 'tow the international line," as far as research was concerned. Like many other countries, it also undertook historical research far beyond what was necessary to determine what assets should be restituted. Thus, besides the Dutch restitution process, also historical research partly resulted from international developments.

Who Will Negotiate?

While the Dutch commissions proceeded with their inquiries, the Jewish community was faced with another issue: who should negotiate on behalf of the Dutch Holocaust survivors? In March 1997, the main Dutch Jewish organizations had created a central body, CJO. It had hardly begun its activities when it started to focus on the restitution process, which would occupy it for several years to come.

Within the CJO a consensus developed to keep the WJC out of the negotiations. One reason was probably that its members thought that, if the CJO negotiated alone, all monies obtained would stay within the Dutch Jewish communities in the Netherlands and abroad. If the WJC participated in the negotiations, it was expected to want a share.[19] The WJC, however, made it clear on several occasions that it would not ask for any money from the Dutch restitution funds.

In view of its international successes it seems probable that had the WJC participated in the negotiations with the Dutch government and other counterparts, the Dutch Holocaust survivors would have obtained far more money than they actually did.

On the other hand, one must keep in mind that the WJC's approach to the restitution negotiations was a very assertive one. Singer said this in an interview: "A small organization confronting powerful, unyielding governments cannot be soft if it wants to achieve anything."[20]

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[18] M. Bossenbroek, *De Meelstreep: Terugkeer en opvang na de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, (Amsterdam 2001); H. Piersma (ed.), *Mensenheugenis: Terugkeer en opvang na de Tweede Wereldoorlog Getuigenissen* (Amsterdam 2001).

[19] Personal communication from Avraham Roet.

[20] Israel Singer, interview with author.

The possibility cannot be excluded that a hard-hitting attitude might have had an impact on the way the Dutch government would view the Jewish community also in the years after the negotiations. It is certain, however, that the WJC's style of operation is very different from that of the Dutch. A Dutch government source told this author that the minister of finance, Gerrit Zalm, was relieved when he gained the impression in his initial contacts with the CJO that an agreement was possible.

It is little known that well before the establishment of the Van Kemenade Commission, in 1996, the WJC had already considered confronting the Netherlands on the Holocaust assets issue. Singer says that the organization decided to choose Norway, instead, because it seemed an easier initial target; the WJC wanted to start restitution negotiations that it would be reasonably sure it could win.[21]

Dutch Government Attitudes

From the Dutch government's viewpoint, it was preferable not to face unrelated counterpart in the negotiations, since that risked concluding with one organization only to be met with additional claims, from others. The Dutch government was also interested in having the Dutch Israeli community participate in the negotiations, in order to give their outcome more legitimacy and to avoid further future claims from a source it had little leverage on.[22]

The Dutch government's attitude toward the WJC was probably ambivalent: keeping the organization out of negotiations was dangerous, as the WJC might make additional claims beyond those agreed on with the CJO; having it participate in the negotiations, however, would lead to greater difficulties with the small Dutch Jewish community. On one occasion, the government invited the WJC and the CJO together for a meeting; it was not successful.[23]

The WJC's position throughout all restitution negotiations was that European Jews have not been persecuted as national citizens but as members of the Jewish people. Consequently, national Jewish organizations, alone, cannot represent them. The WJC had also frequently

[21] Israel Singer, interview with author.
[22] Personal communication from Avraham Roet.
[23] Personal communication from Avraham Roet.

expressed its low opinion of the negotiation capabilities of small Jewish communities with their governments. The WJC proposed, also, to participate in the representation of Dutch Jews in their negotiations with the Dutch government. This was, however, unpalatable to the CJO.

While the WJC was not the sole Jewish international organization involved in national European restitution negotiations, it played both a dominant and a very vocal role. Much literature on the restitution process focuses on WJC sources and its role in the negotiations. This provides part of the answer as to why the Dutch restitution process receives so little international attention.

The Israeli Role

Avraham Roet had convinced the leading Dutch Jewish organizations in Israel to create an umbrella body, called Stichting Platform Israel. It came into being in mid 1999.[24] Platform was invited to join the CJO as a member of the negotiation party with the Dutch counterparts. In order not to be outvoted, Platform decided, instead, to become an advisor to the CJO.

In the negotiations the role of Platform was twofold. This subject needs to be investigated in more detail, but apparently comprised two parts. The first was the supply of additional information; this was based on the research work done by the Israel Institute for Research on Dutch Jewish Assets Lost During the Holocaust.

The second role concerns Platform's influence on the outcome of the negotiations. This is difficult to quantify. The best proof that its contribution was substantial came when Platform had insufficient funds for the frequent trips of its representatives to the Netherlands, and the Dutch partner of Keren Hayesod, the Collectieve Israel Actie, was then willing to lend the required money, in recognition of Platform's importance in these negotiations.[25]

[24] Report of the Platform Israel Association, 1999–2000, June 2001.
[25] Menno Paktor, personal communication with author.

The CJO Agreement with the Insurers

In November 1999, the CJO reached a first agreement with a Dutch counterpart.[26] The insurers agreed to pay fifty million guilders. Later it was determined that of all monies available from the Dutch restitution negotiations, eighty percent would be paid to Holocaust survivors or their children, and twenty percent to Dutch Jewish organizations. The Dutch Jewish organizations in Israel were allotted twenty-six percent of the latter.

At the time, both the CJO and Platform were short of funds and they thought that the insurers' money would help them to finance the other negotiations. This turned out not to be the case, since the monies became available only much later.

However, for the Dutch insurers, the claims concerning restitution issues did not come to a close with the agreement with the CJO. Around the same time, the WJC threatened to promote U.S. sanctions against the Dutch insurance company, Aegon, unless it joined the International Commission of Holocaust-Era Insurance Claims (ICHEIC), better known as the Eagleburger Committee. The executive director of the WJC at that time, Elan Steinberg, said that Aegon held a two percent share in the European insurance market on the eve of the Holocaust. It had become vulnerable to actions by insurance supervisors and consumer organizations in the United States since, shortly before, it had acquired the California company, Transamerica.[27]

This threat by the WJC added yet another international aspect to what seemed—on the surface—to be an internal Dutch process. It turned out that what was agreed in the Netherlands on this subject was not the last word.

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[26] Verbond van Verzekeraars, Centraal Joods Overleg, Persbericht [Organization of Insurers, Central Jewish Consultative Body, Press Communication], "Centraal Joods Overleg en Verbond van Verzekeraars sluiten akkoord over oorlogspolissen," 9 November 1999.

[27] I. Levine, "World Jewish Congress Threatens to Promote Sanctions against Dutch Insurance Giant AEGON," *Globes*, 7 November 1999.

Negotiations with the Dutch Government

The second major negotiations of the CJO were with the Dutch government. In the draft of the final report of the Van Kemenade Commission, dated 21 December 1999, it was proposed that the Dutch government make a "financial gesture related to the later revealed disadvantageous consequences of government actions of which the volume cannot be determined. It seems reasonable and fair to us that the government makes available for this purpose 150 million guilders."[28]

On the basis of conversations held by this author, it seems that some CJO members were willing to accept this amount, while others wanted more. Also the demands of Platform were higher. The Van Kemenade Commission's final report is dated 12 January 2000. It uses the same language as in the previous draft, but the amount has changed: "It seems reasonable and fair to us that the government makes available for this purpose 250 million guilders." Inflation in the three weeks that had elapsed was minimal; it was only the committee's perception of "what is fair and reasonable" that changed.

Ultimately, the Dutch government agreed to pay four hundred million guilders.[29] Of these, fifty million guilders were set aside for needy Jews outside the Netherlands—providing yet another international aspect of this process. While Platform's influence was absent or minimal in the negotiations with the insurers, in this increase of the government offer it played a major role.

Too Little Obtained

Relating some informal discussions adds perspective to the aforementioned issues. Two Dutch journalists from VPRO Television were permitted by the CJO to film various meetings of the organization, on condition that the film would only be shown after the parliamentary debate on 18 April 2000. However, the documentary was broadcast on 10 April of that year.

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[28] Draft Eindrapport van de Contactgroep Tegoeden WO II, 21 December 1999, p. 76,

[29] Centraal Joods Overleg, "CJO en regering zijn akkoord over tegoeden WO II," 21 March 2000.

In the program, CJO's financial adviser, Chris van Gent, suggested that more professional negotiators than the CJO board might have been able to obtain a payment from the government that would have been as much as fifty percent higher. Although several Dutch Jewish leaders privately considered the government payment far too low, the journalists searched in vain for someone in the Netherlands willing to argue this in detail on television.

The makers of the program therefore asked this author what a fair payment by the Dutch government would have been, to which he replied that calculations show that at least a billion guilders should be paid. A few months later, Ambassador Majoor asked this author for how much he would have settled had he been the negotiator. The answer was that at least a billion guilders were due, but as the small Jewish community was negotiating against a strong government, one would probably have had to settle for 750–800 million guilders.

Shortly thereafter, a senior executive of the WJC asked this author how much money the Dutch government should have paid. Once again, I mentioned the sum of one billion guilders. His reaction was that the WJC would have obtained at least 1.2 billion guilders.

Negotiating with the Stock Exchange

The outcome of the CJO negotiations with the Dutch government led to discontent in Platform circles, even though the organization approved the agreement. This dissatisfaction influenced the last major negotiation, that involving both the Dutch banks and the Amsterdam Stock Exchange.

The Amsterdam Stock Exchange is de facto controlled by the major Dutch banks. The Amsterdam Stock Exchange initially offered eight million guilders to the CJO, while the monies due were several hundred million guilders in current value at the turn of the century. Ronny Naftaniël reacted publicly on behalf of the CJO, saying that the Dutch Jewish community was astonished by the offer.[30]

When the negotiations stalled, Avraham Roet forced the hand of the CJO to ask for assistance by the WJC. Members of the CJO may

[30] "Aanbod AEX 'verbijstert' Joods Overleg," *NRC Handelsblad*, 6 April 2000.

not have liked this but they had little choice, since the gap with the banks was unbridgeable.

On 21 May 2000, in Jerusalem, CJO, Platform, and the WJC decided to coordinate their actions.[31] On 25 May, the WJC brought the matter before the Hevesi Committee. This monitoring group represents state financial officials from across the United States. It was decided to give the Dutch bodies thirty days to make an acceptable offer, with the implied threat that sanctions may be instituted after that date.

On 31 May 2000, Steinberg stated publicly that "the postwar Dutch government and Stock Exchange [were] accomplices in an effort to prevent the rightful owners from acquiring their assets."[32] A subsequently published Dutch book by Joggli Meihuizen concluded that the Dutch business sector had collaborated in a major way with the German occupiers. This collaboration was only to a very limited extent punished after the war.[33]

The WJC also threatened to approach U.S. regulators in order to block the multi-billion dollar takeover of an American insurer, ReliaStar Financial Corporation, by the major Dutch banking and insurance group, I.N.G.[34]

Thereafter Hevesi wrote a letter that frightened the Dutch banks. They were apprehensive that a large number of American government bodies would apply sanctions against the Dutch banks, as they had against the Swiss banks when the issue of the dormant bank accounts of Holocaust survivors was not being resolved. Dutch banks wondered whether their American banking interests might be threatened.

Instead of eight million guilders, the Amsterdam Stock Exchange now offered two hundred and sixty-four million guilders: a more than thirty-fold increase. On top of that, the Amsterdam Stock Exchange Association and Amsterdam Exchanges published an advertisement in which they condemned and regretted the actions of their predecessor

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[31] *NRC Handelsblad*, 26 May 2000, as quoted in Gerstenfeld, "Jewish War Claims in the Netherlands: A Case Study," p. 79.

[32] Reuters, 31 May 2000, as quoted in Gerstenfeld, "Jewish War Claims in the Netherlands: A Case Study," p. 79.

[33] J. Meihuizen, *Noodzakelijk Kwaad* (Amsterdam 2003).

[34] A. Michaels, "Dutch Banks Pressed on Holocaust Deal," *Financial Times*, 6 June 2000.

during and after World War II. This advertisement was published also in the *Jerusalem Post*.[35]

The outcome of the brief WJC interaction with the Amsterdam Stock Exchange makes one wonder how differently the Dutch restitution negotiations might have ended had there been more international intervention in the process. On this one can only speculate.

Conclusion

It can thus be seen that several international factors influenced the Dutch restitution process. The first is the international context of the late nineties of the twentieth century. The second is the dispersion of Dutch Holocaust victims in the world outside the Netherlands, and the resulting payments abroad. The third is the significant attention that the American government and the American media devoted to the European Holocaust restitution issue, which also influenced the Dutch negotiations. The fourth is the gradually developing interest by the Dutch Jewish community in Israel in the subject, and Platform's influence on the negotiations process. The fifth and final factor is the impact of the WJC on the outcome of the negotiations with the banks and Stock Exchange through its involvement with the Hevesi Committee.

To conclude: The Dutch restitution issue has attracted very little international attention among those publishing on the topic of restitution, despite the many international aspects of the Dutch negotiations. At the same time, the Dutch restitution issue has opened new paths of interaction between the Dutch Jewish community and the broader Jewish world.

In the meantime, the issue of stolen art occasionally reemerges. The Dutch restitution process thus has at least one more international aspect, which may continue to develop in the future.

[35] "Amsterdam Stock Exchange Association and Amsterdam Exchanges express regret for the conduct of the exchange during and after World War II," *Jerusalem Post*, 9 August 2000.

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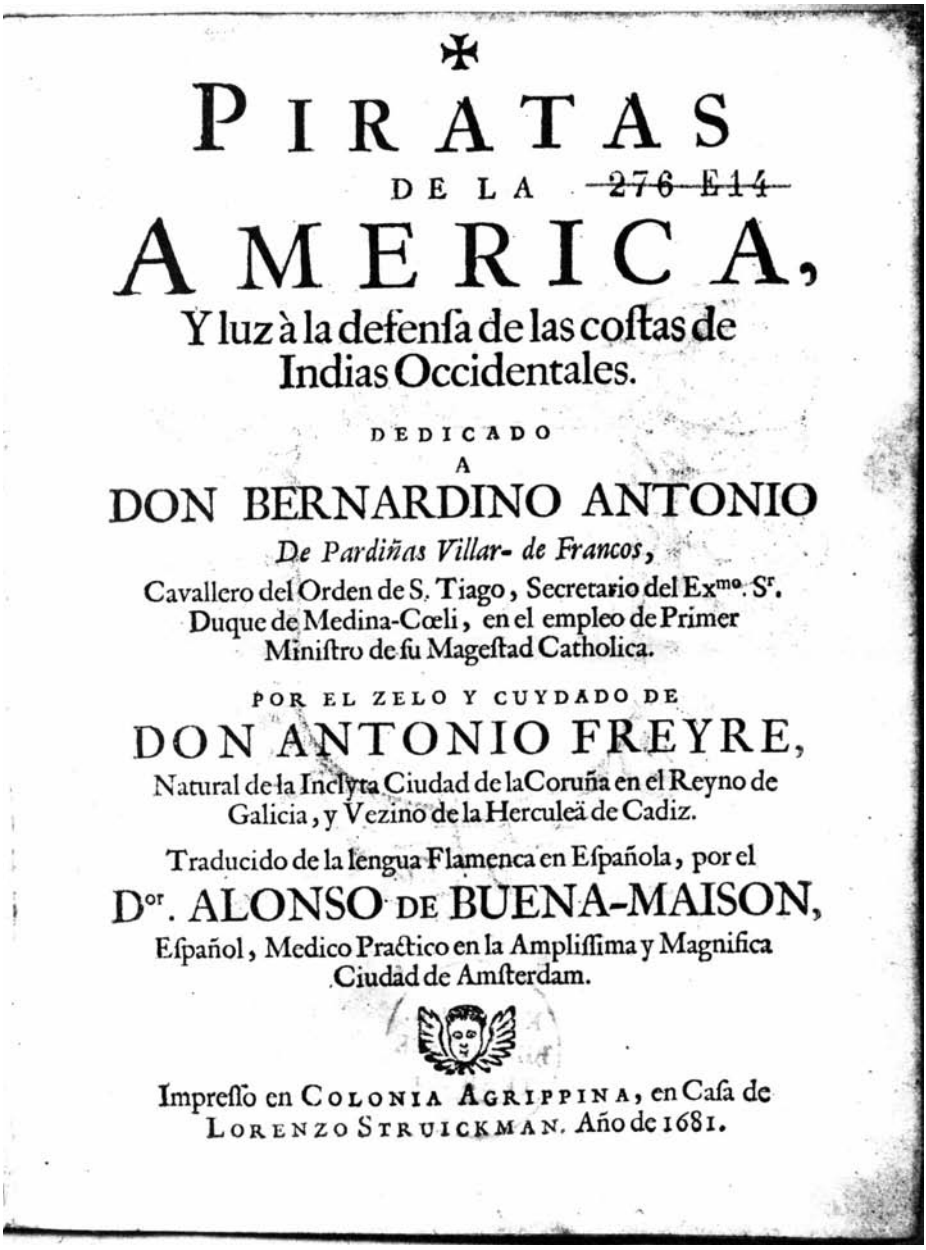
PLATES



✠

PIRATAS
DE LA ~~276 E14~~
AMERICA,
Y luz à la defenſa de las coſtas de Indias Occidentales.

DEDICADO
A
DON BERNARDINO ANTONIO
De Pardiñas Villar- de Francos,
Cavallero del Orden de S. Tiago, Secretario del Ex^mo. S^r. Duque de Medina-Cœli, en el empleo de Primer Miniſtro de ſu Mageſtad Catholica.

POR EL ZELO Y CUYDADO DE
DON ANTONIO FREYRE,
Natural de la Inclyta Ciudad de la Coruña en el Reyno de Galicia, y Vezino de la Herculeä de Cadiz.

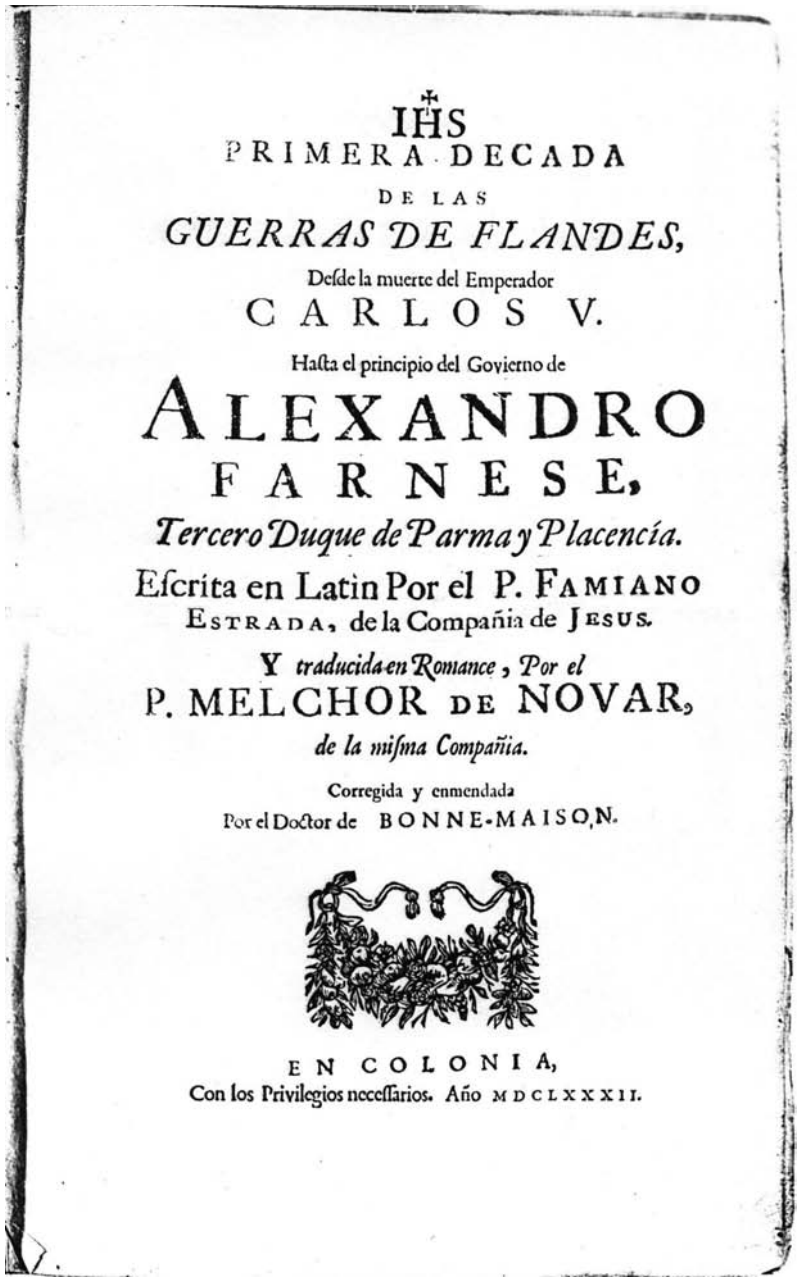
Traducido de la lengua Flamenca en Eſpañola, por el
D^or. ALONSO DE BUENA-MAISON,
Eſpañol, Medico Practico en la Ampliſſima y Magnifica Ciudad de Amſterdam.

Impreſſo en COLONIA AGRIPPINA, en Caſa de LORENZO STRUICKMAN. Año de 1681.

Figure 1

Luna Opulenta de Holanda,
en nubes que el Amor manda.
Quis puer ales? Amor. Genitor quis? Blandus ocelli
Ardor. Quo natus tempore? Vere novo.
Autor
DON MIGUEL DE BARRIOS:
Impreſſo en AMSTERDAM
En caſa de David Tartas Año 1680.

Figure 2



IHS

PRIMERA DECADA

DE LAS

GUERRAS DE FLANDES,

Deſde la muerte del Emperador

CARLOS V.

Haſta el principio del Govierno de

ALEXANDRO

FARNESE,

Tercero Duque de Parma y Placencia.

Eſcrita en Latìn Por el P. FAMIANO

ESTRADA, de la Compañia de JESUS.

Y *traducida en Romance, Por el*

P. MELCHOR DE NOVAR,

de la miſma Compañia.

Corregida y enmendada

Por el Doctor de BONNE-MAISON.

EN COLONIA,

Con los Privilegios neceſſarios. Año MDCLXXXII.

Figure 3

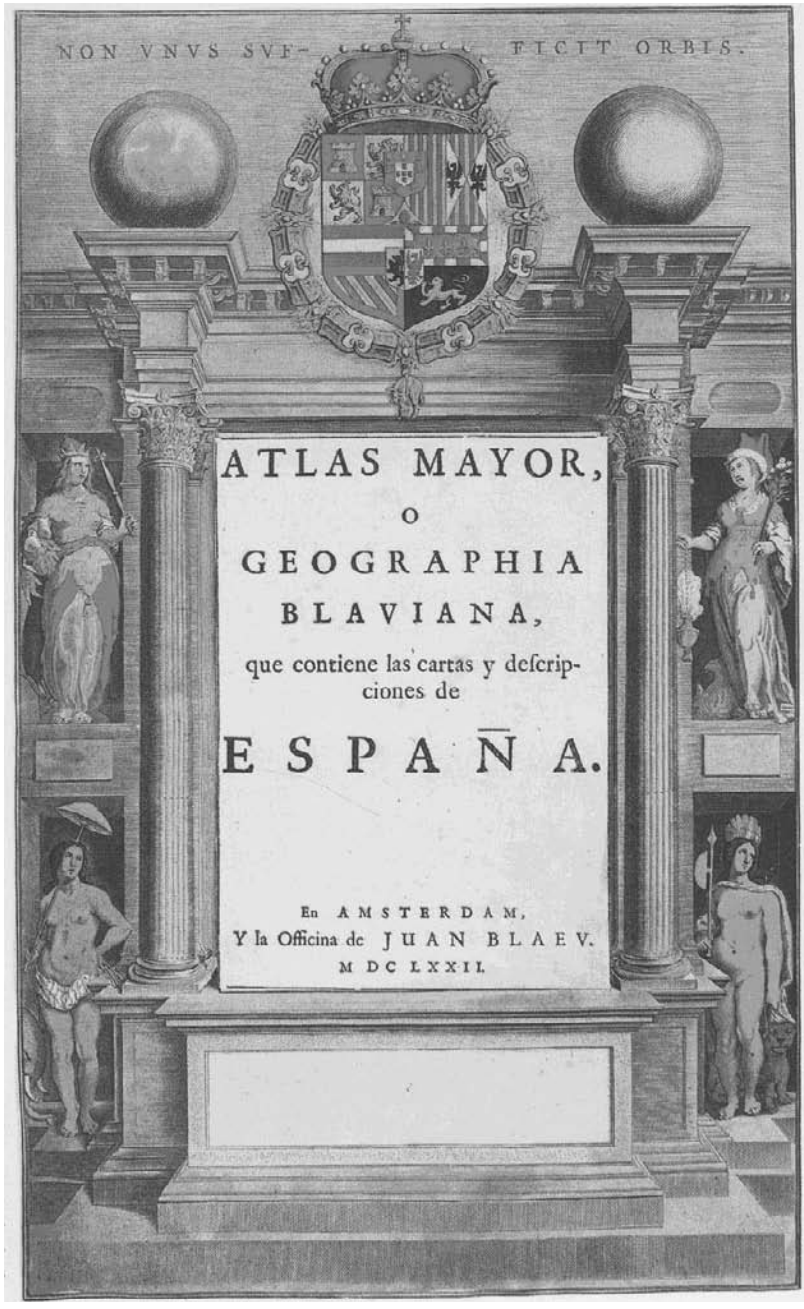
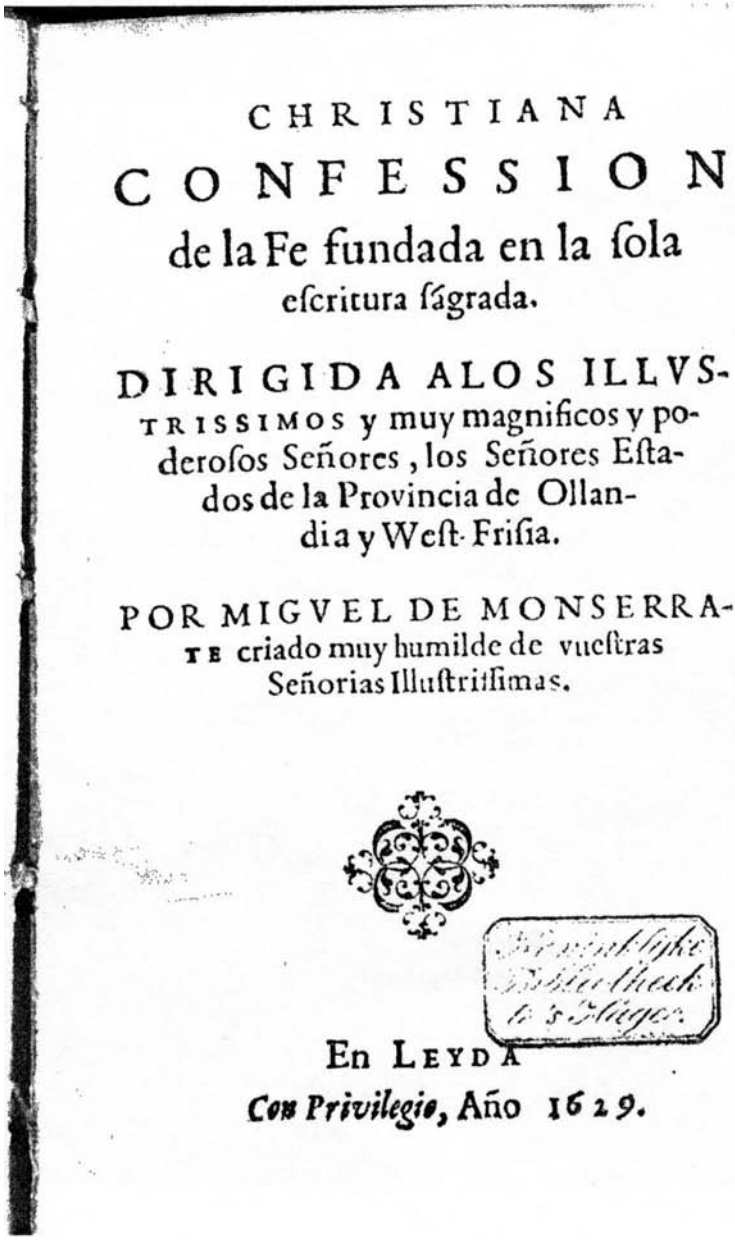

NON VNVS SVF- FICIT ORBIS.
ATLAS MAYOR,
O
GEOGRAPHIA
BLAVIANA,
que contiene las cartas y deſcrip-
ciones de
ESPAÑA.
En AMSTERDAM,
Y la Officina de JUAN BLAEV.
M DC LXXII.

Figure 4

CARRASCON.
CARRASCO
THOMAS
*No es comida para puercos
mi fruto, ca perlas son
y aunque parezco Carrasco
soy mas, pues soy Carrascon
De las Cortes, y medrano
en Cintrueñigo
Con Licencia, y Priuilegio.
A costa del Autor.
POR MARIA SANCHEZ.
Madrid. Año 1633.

Figure 5



CHRISTIANA
CONFESSION
de la Fe fundada en la ſola
eſcritura ſágrada.

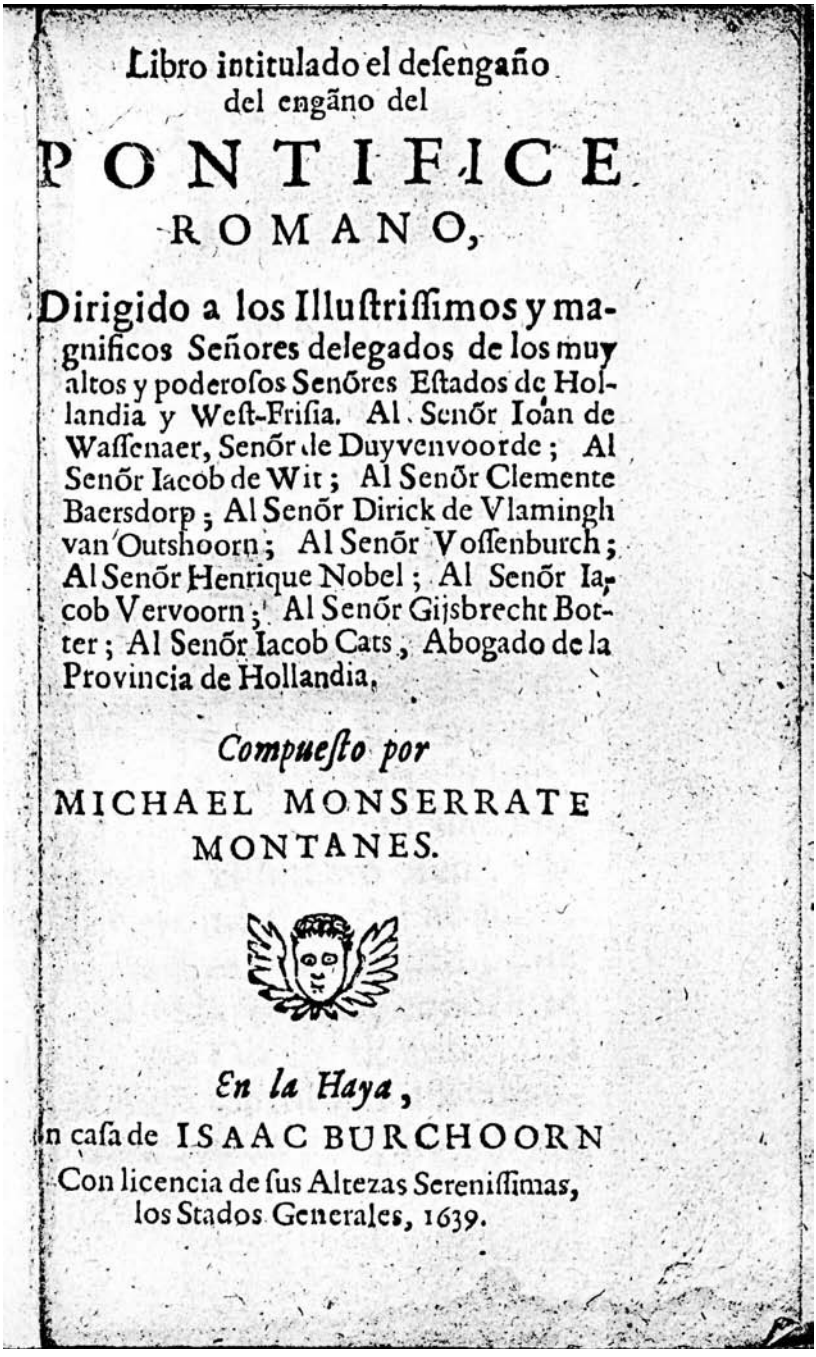
DIRIGIDA ALOS ILLVS-
TRISSIMOS y muy magnificos y po-
deroſos Señores, los Señores Eſta-
dos de la Provincia de Ollan-
dia y Weſt-Friſia.

POR MIGVEL DE MONSERRA-
TE criado muy humilde de vueſtras
Señorias Illuſtriſſimas.

Bibliotheek
Leiden

En LEYDA
Con Privilegio, Año 1629.

Figure 6



Libro intitulado el deſengaño
del engãno del

PONTIFICE
ROMANO,

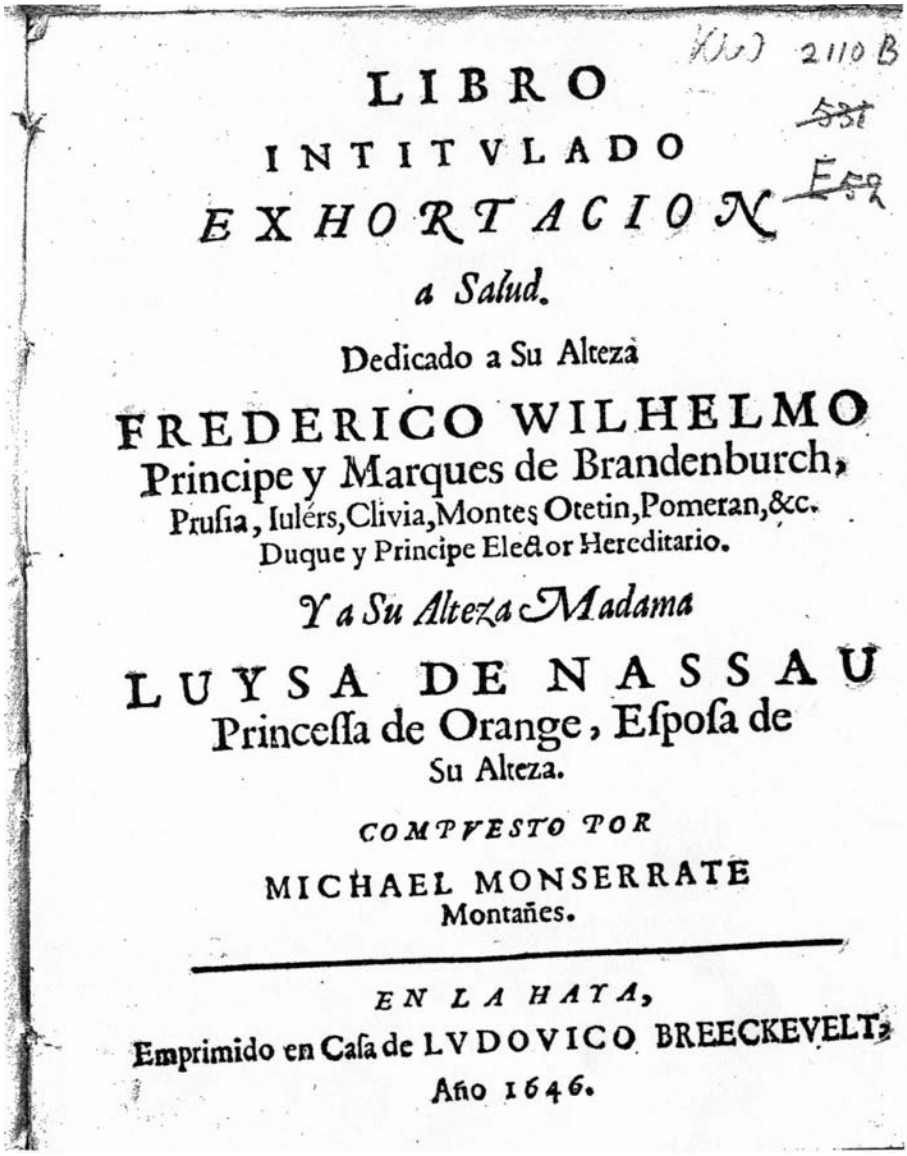
Dirigido a los Illuſtriſſimos y magnificos Señores delegados de los muy altos y poderoſos Señores Eſtados de Hollandia y Weſt-Friſia. Al Señor Ioan de Waſſenaer, Señor de Duyvenvoorde; Al Señor Iacob de Wit; Al Señor Clemente Baersdorp; Al Señor Dirick de Vlamingh van Outshoorn; Al Señor Voſſenburch; Al Señor Henrique Nobel; Al Señor Iacob Vervoorn; Al Señor Gijsbrecht Botter; Al Señor Iacob Cats, Abogado de la Provincia de Hollandia.

Compueſto por

MICHAEL MONSERRATE
MONTANES.

En la Haya,
en caſa de ISAAC BURCHOORN
Con licencia de ſus Altezas Sereniſſimas,
los Stados Generales, 1639.

Figure 7



LIBRO
INTITVLADO
EXHORTACION
a Salud.

Dedicado a Su Alteza

FREDERICO WILHELMO
Principe y Marques de Brandenburch,
Prusia, Iulèrs, Clivia, Montes Otetin, Pomeran, &c.
Duque y Principe Elector Hereditario.

Y a Su Alteza Madama

LUYSA DE NASSAU
Princessa de Orange, Esposa de
Su Alteza.

COMPVESTO POR

MICHAEL MONSERRATE
Montañes.

EN LA HAYA,
Emprimido en Casa de LVDOVICO BREECKEVELT,
Año 1646.

Figure 8

LEONIS HEBRÆI
structura tabernaculi
Mosaici et templi Salomonis ipsi auctoris Exacta Antuerpiæ Anno
EFFIGIES Viri Clarissimi Dn. Presbyteri IACOBI LEHUDÆ

Figure 1: Portrait of Jacob Judah Leon with an image of his model of the Temple, c. 1652. London, Asher Mayer collection (photo Adri Offenberg). Derived from title plate in Leon's book on the Temple, 1642

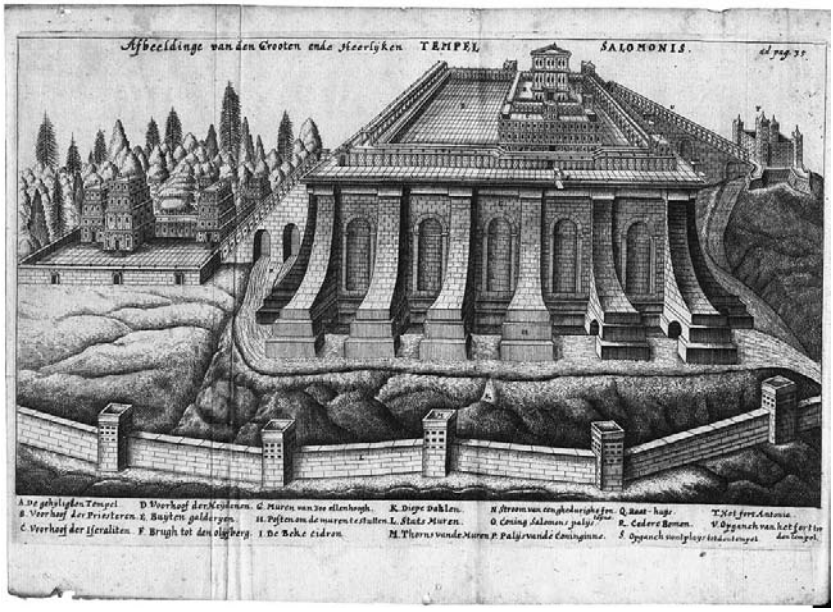


Figure 2: Afbeeldinge van den Grooten ende Heerlijken Tempel Salomonis, from Leon, *Afbeeldinghe vanden Tempel Salomonis*…, opposite p. 38

Figure 3: 't Gesicht van de Portugeese, en hoogduy(t)se Joden kerken [View of the Portuguese and High German synagogues], etching by Abraham Rademaker, Amsterdam, 1772. Amsterdam, municipal archive

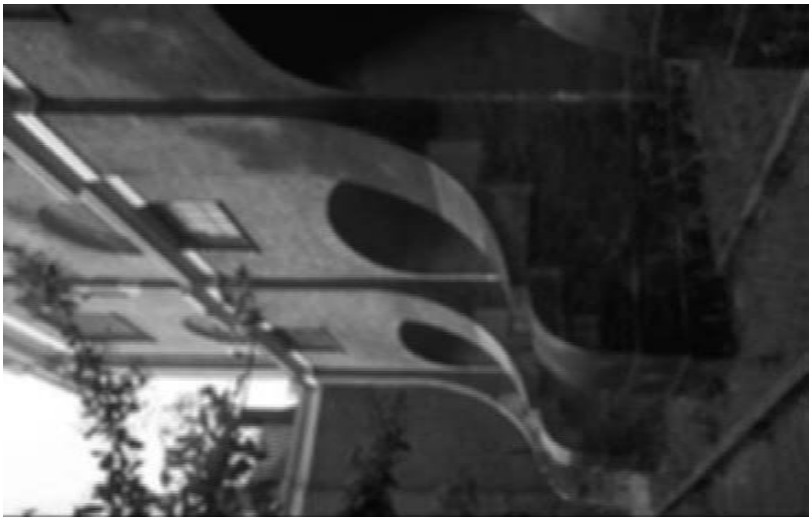


Figure 5: Section of the outside wall of the Portuguese synagogue, Amsterdam, that was reconstructed in the 1770s

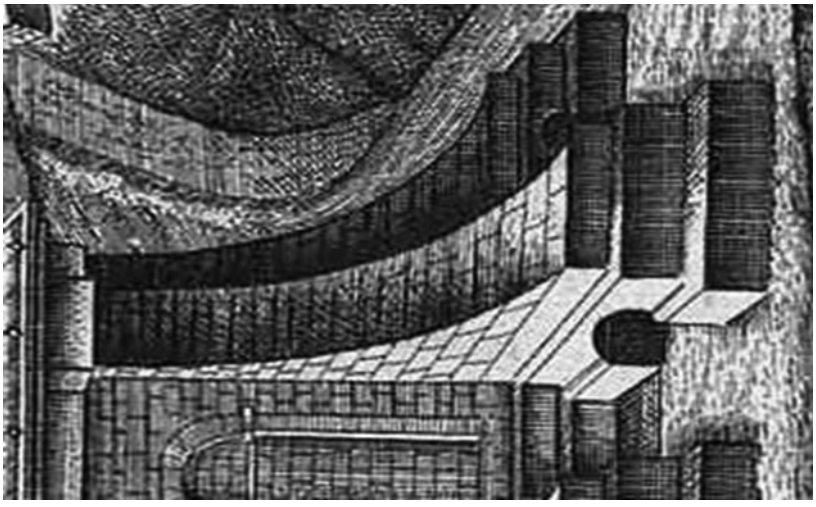


Figure 4: Detail of fig. 2

Figure 6: Section of the wall of the Portuguese synagogue, Amsterdam, in the form of the original construction in the 1670s

Figure 7: Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem, built to the design of Jacob van Campen, 1645–1649

Figure 8: Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem, south exterior wall

Figure 9: Title print of vol. 3 of the commentary on the book of Ezekiel by Jeronimo de Prado and Juan Bautista Villalpando, 1605

Figure 10: Bird's-eye view of the Escorial from Willem and Joan Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, vol. 9, 1662

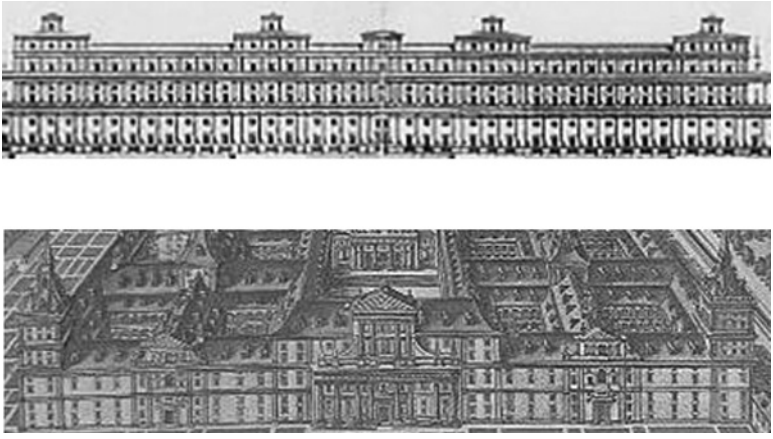


Figure 11: Details of front façades of the Temple in Jerusalem (above) and of the Escorial in a print by Abraham Ortelius (below)

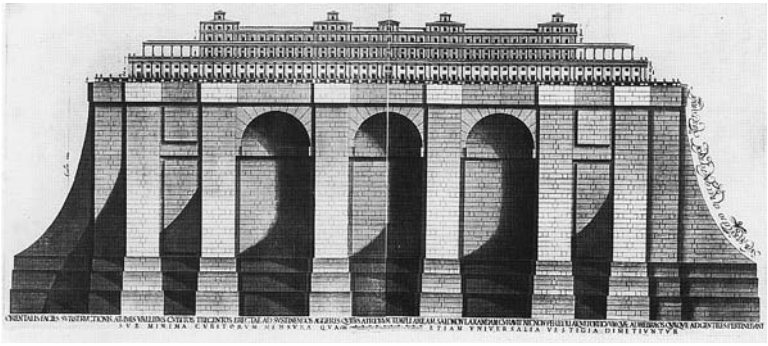


Figure 12: The Temple Mount, from vol. 3 of Villalpando, 1605

Figure 13: The church of Renswoude, built after a design by Jacob van Campen (photo Jan Derwig)

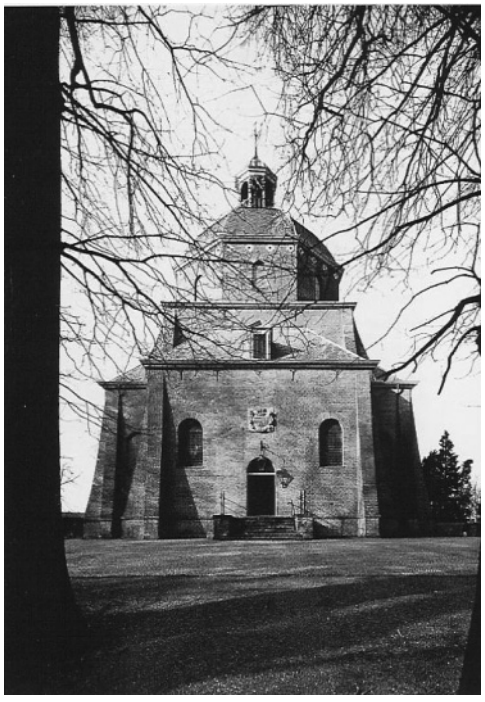


Figure 14: The church of Hooge Zwaluwe, built after a design by Jacob van Campen (photo Jan Derwig)

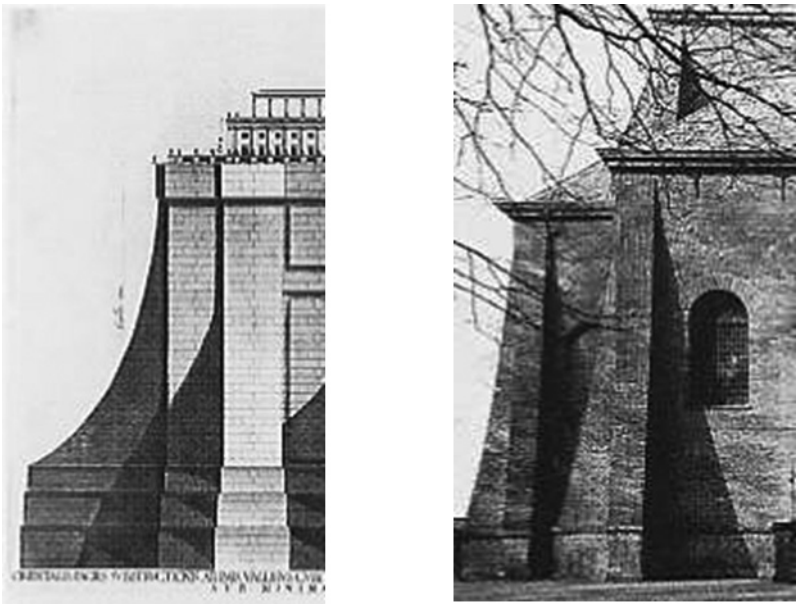


Figure 15: Details of figs. 12 and 14

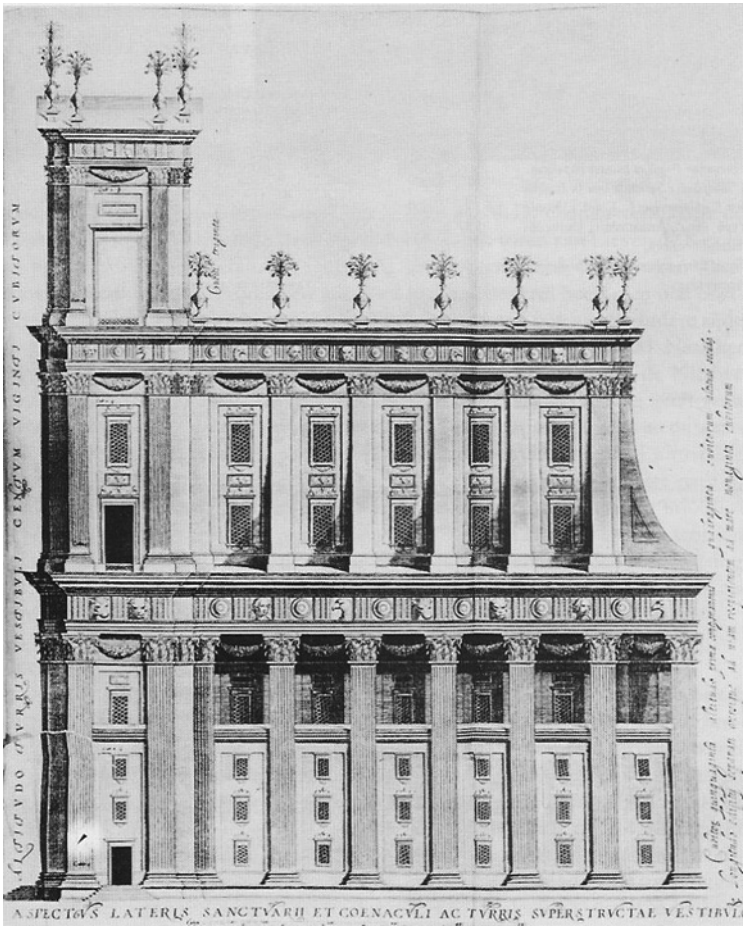


Figure 16: Side elevation of Temple, from Villalpando, vol. 3, 1605

Figure 17: Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, The Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem, Looking North from the Southwest Corner of the Transept. Signed and dated 16 August 1653. Budapest, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum

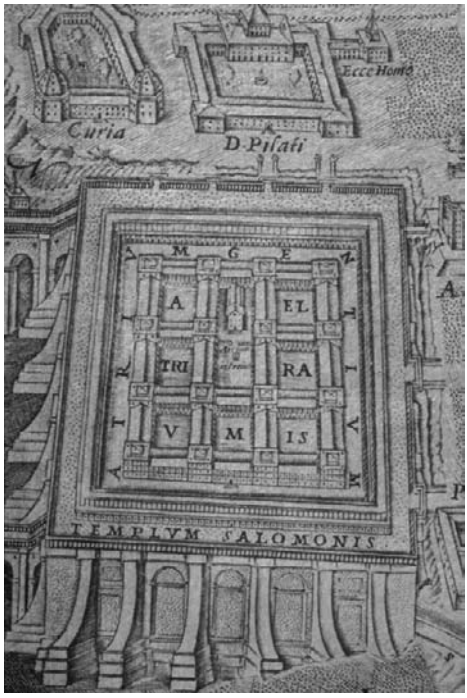


Figure 18: Detail of bird's-eye view of Temple Mount, from Villalpando (1605), vol. 3

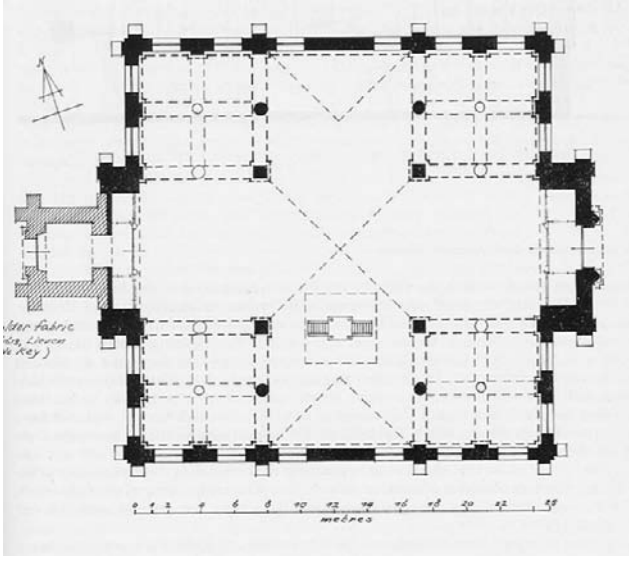


Figure 19: Ground plan of Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem (drawing W. Kuyper)

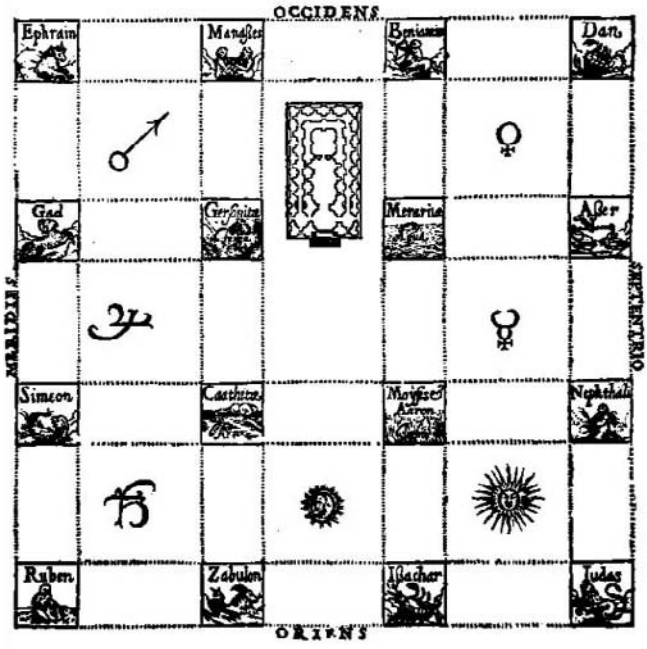


Figure 20: Symbolic scheme of Temple Mount, from Villalpando (1605), vol. 3

Figure 21: Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem, from West to East. Signed and dated 23 May 1652. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum

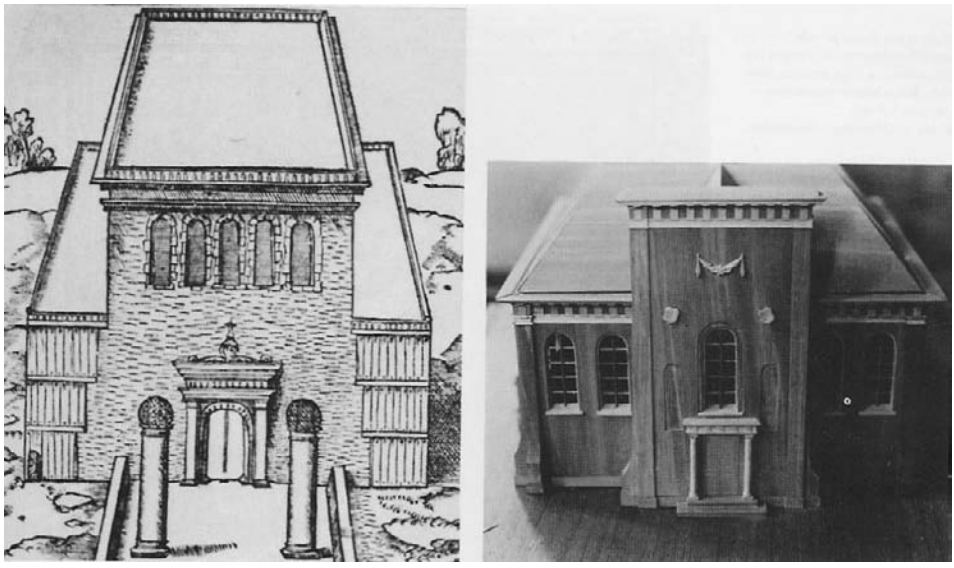


Figure 22: Comparison of woodcut from François Vatable and wooden model of Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem (Haarlem, Nieuwe Kerk; reproduced from van der Linden, "De symboliek," p. 9)

Figure 23: The Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch, The Hague

Figure 24: Jacob Jordaens, The Apotheosis of Frederik Hendrik, 1650. The Hague, Huis ten Bosch

Figure 25: Anonymous after a design by Jacob van Campen, c. 1650. The Union of Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture. The Hague, Huis ten Bosch

Figure 26: Detail of fig. 25 (above) compared to side elevation of the south side of the town hall of Amsterdam, published by Johannes Covens and Cornelis Mortier. (From article by Eymert-Jan Goossens in catalogue of Jacob van Campen exhibition, Amsterdam [Koninklijk Paleis] 1995, p. 215.)

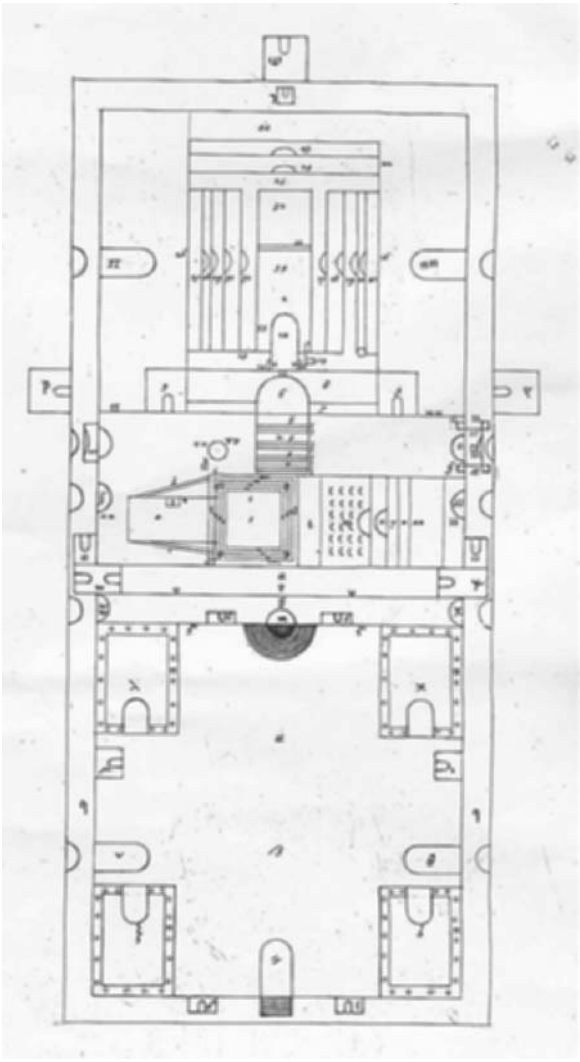


Figure 27: Ground plan of the Temple, from edition of *Middoth* by Constantijn l'Empereur, 1630

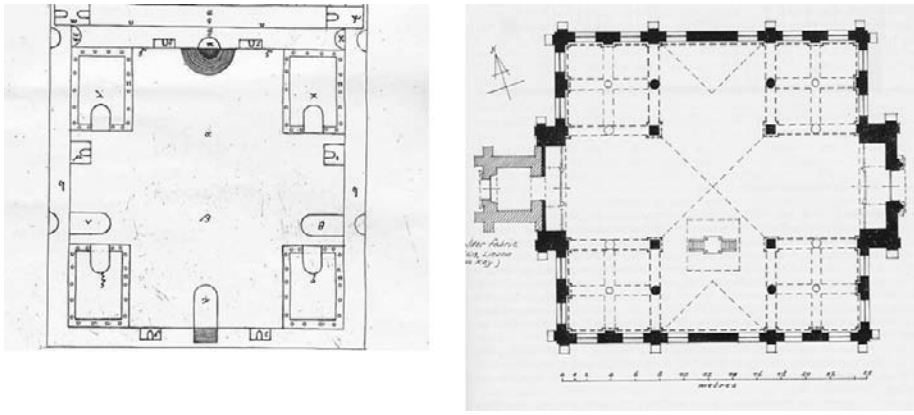


Figure 28: Detail of fig. 27 (left) compared with fig. 19

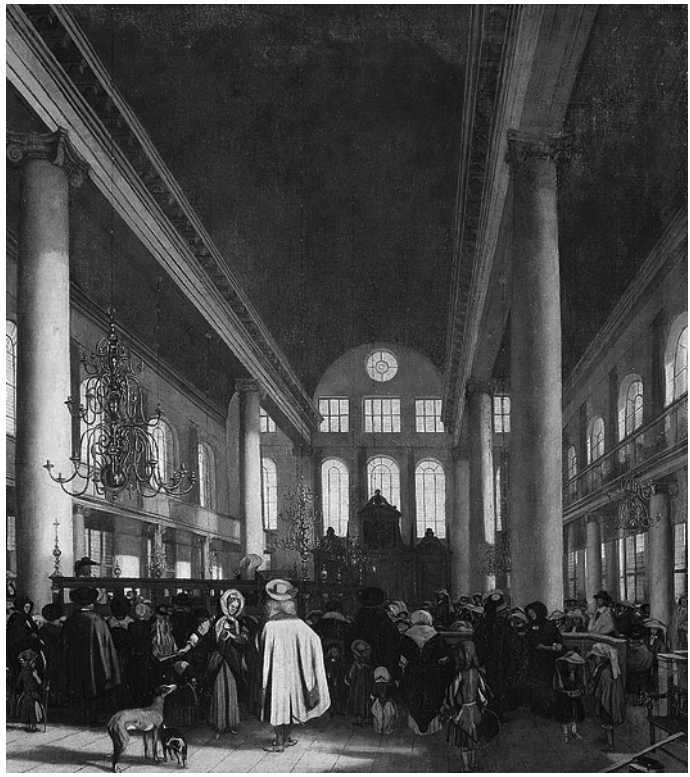


Figure 29: Emanuel de Witte, Interior of the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam, c. 1680. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 3a

Figure 3b

Figure 3c

Figure 3d

Figure 3e

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

Figure 9

Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 16

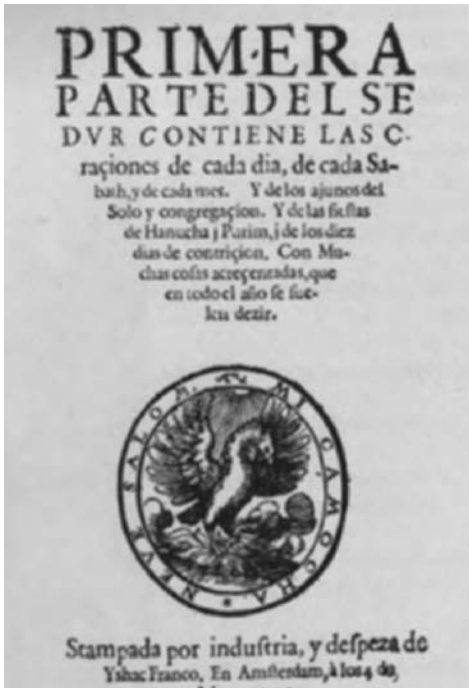

PRIMERA
PARTE DEL SE
DVR CONTIENE LAS C-
raçiones de cada dia, de cada Sa-
bath, y de cada mes. Y de los ajunos del
Solo y congregaçion. Y de las fiestas
de Hanucha y Purim, y de los diez
dias de contriçion. Con Mu-
chas cosas acreçentadas, que
en todo el año se fue-
len dezir.
Stampada por industria, y despeza de
Yshac Franco, En Amsterdam, à los 4 de

Figure 17

Figure 18

Figure 19

Figure 20

Figure 21

Figure 22

Figure 23

Figure 24

Figure 1: Title Page, Amsterdam Haggadah, 1695 (Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York)

Figure 2: Title Page, Amsterdam Haggadah, 1712 (Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv)

Figure 3: Messianic Jerusalem, Amsterdam Haggadah, 1695

Figure 4: Title Page, Sulzbach Haggadah, 1711 (Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York)

Figure 5: Title Page, Haggadah Manuscript, Aaron Wolf Herlingen, Vienna, 1752 (formerly Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv)

Figure 6: Ketubbah, Mogador, Morocco, 1869 (Israel Museum, Jerusalem)

Figure 7: Amuletic Menorah Page (Psalm 67), Haggadah Manuscript, Moshe Yosef Avraham, Baghdad, 1883 (Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv)

Figure 8: Title Page, Bombay Haggadah, 1846 (Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York)

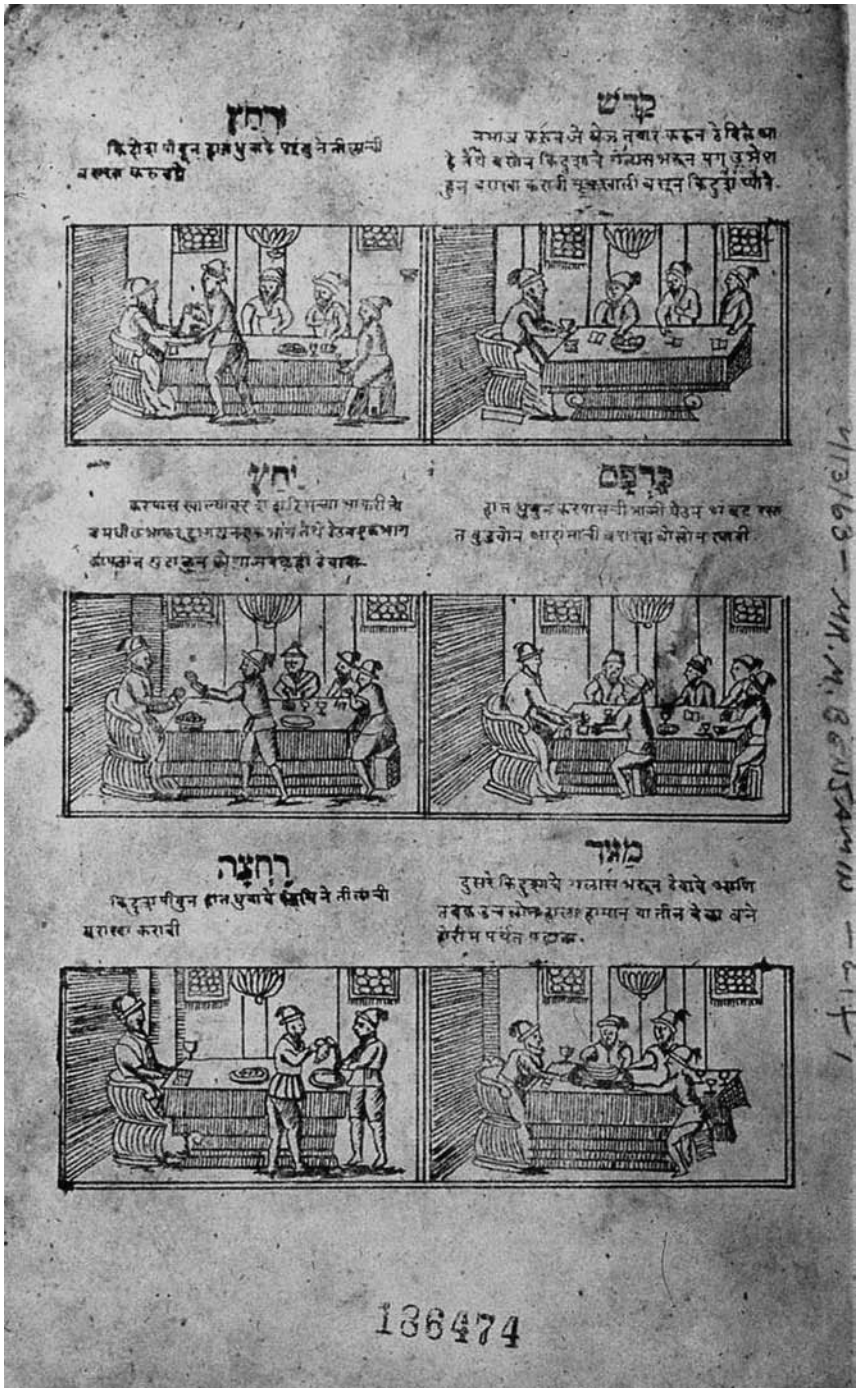
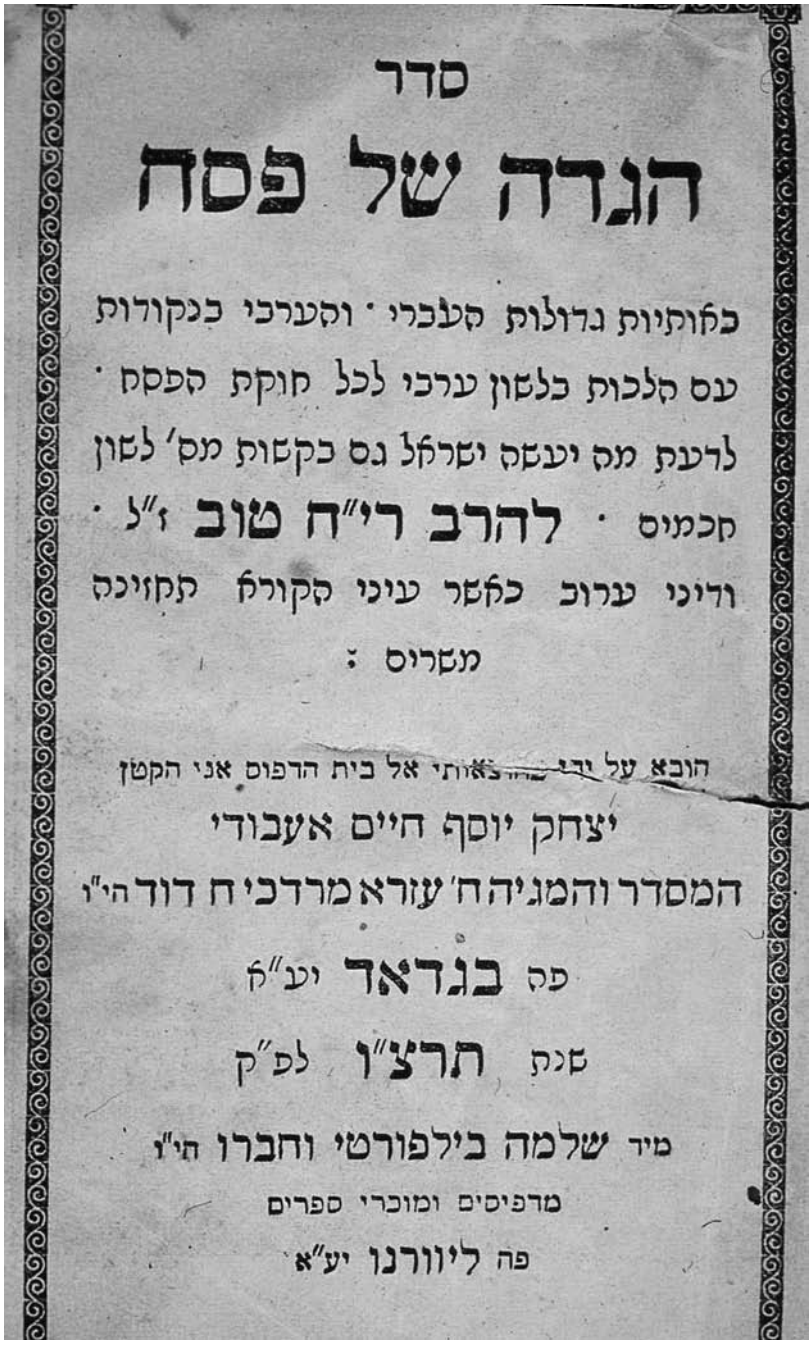


Figure 9: Preparations for Passover, Bombay Haggadah, 1846

Figure 10: Seder Signs, Poona (India) Haggadah, 1874 (Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York)


סדר

הגדה של פסח

כלותיות גדולות העברי · והערבי בנקודות
עם הלכות בלשון ערבי לכל חוקת הפסח ·
לרעת מה יעשה ישראל גם בקשות מס׳ לשון
חכמים · **להרב ריי״ח טוב** ז״ל ·
ודיני ערוב בקשר עיני הקורא תחזיקה
מעריס :

הובא על ידי [illegible] אותי אל בית הדפוס אני הקטן
יצחק יוסף חיים אעבודי
המסדר והמגיה ח׳ עזרא מרדכי ח דוד הי״ו

פה **בגדאד** יע״ק

שנת **תרצ״ו** לפ״ק

מיד שלמה בילפורטי וחברו הי״ו
מדפיסים ומוכרי ספרים
פה ליוורנו יע״א

Figure 11: Title Page of a Baghdadi Haggadah, printed in Livorno (Solomon Belforte Press), 1936 (Shalom Sabar Collection, Jerusalem)

סדר

הגדה של פסח

עם ציורים

ותרגום ערבי

במנהג ק״ק בגאאד

הן קדם נדפס במח״ק זה בשנת תרכ״ה ׳ ועתה הוספנו בו פיוטים נחמדים ׳ תפלת ערבית וברכת המזון והכל על מקומו יבא בסדר נאה ומתוקן ובאותיות גדולות ובנקודות ודינים הנצרכים כאשר עיני הקורא תחזינה מישרים והונה בעיון נמרץ למען יהין הקורא בו ולא יכשל וימצא מנוח אשר ייטב לו ׳

פה **ליוורנו** יע״א

כשנת **עזי וזמרת יה** נפ״ק

כדפוס חדש של החכם רט״ל

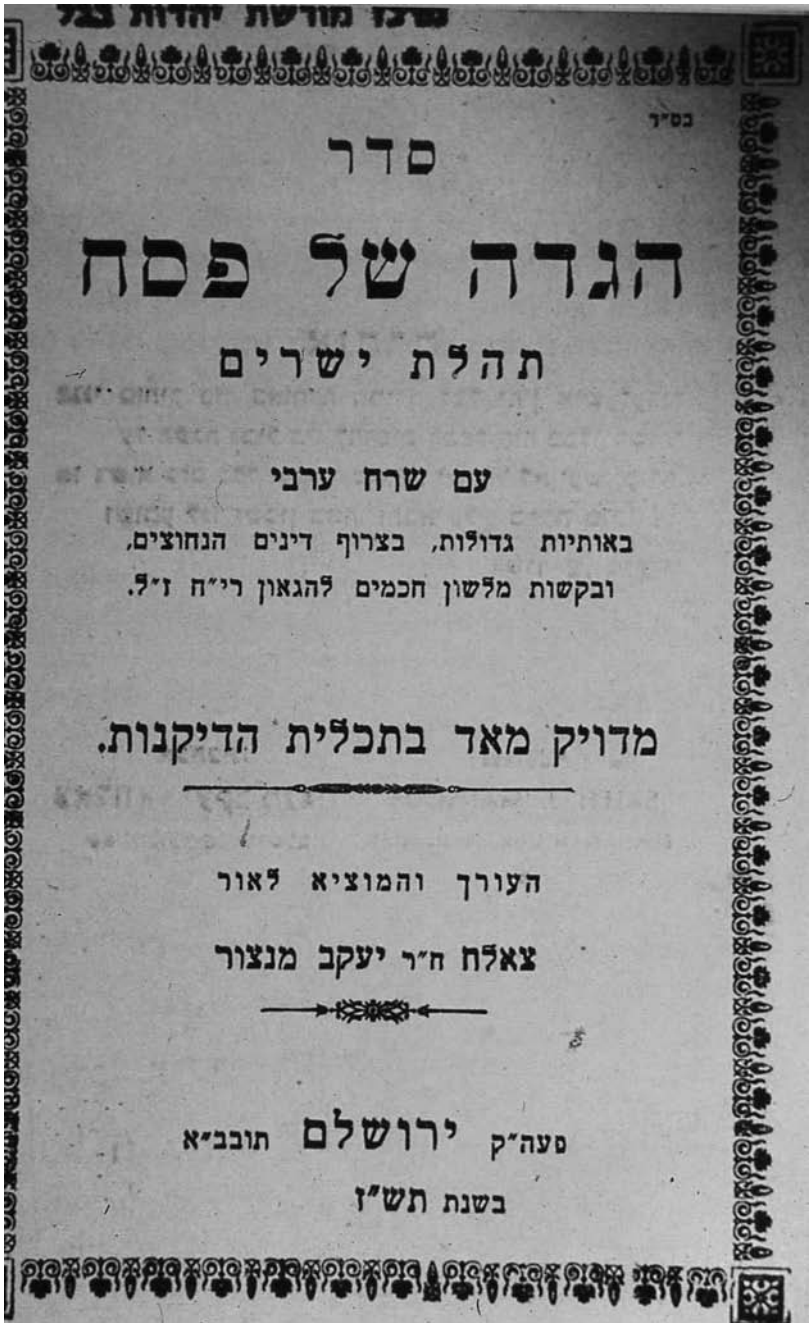
אליהו בן אמוזג ובניו הי״ו

מדפיסים ומוכרי ספרים

Figure 12: Title Page, Baghdadi Haggadah printed by Rabbi Elijah Benamozeg, Livorno, 1887 (Willy Lindwer Collection, Jerusalem)

Figure 13: Title Page, Venice Haggadah, 1609 (Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York)

Figure 14: Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh. Haggadah, Baghdad, 1931, (Dangoor Press) (Shalom Sabar Collection, Jerusalem)


בס״ד

סדר

הגדה של פסח

תהלת ישרים

עם שרח ערבי

באותיות גדולות, בצרוף דינים הנחוצים,
ובקשות מלשון חכמים להגאון ר״ח ז״ל.

מדויק מאד בתכלית הדיקנות.

העורך והמוציא לאור

צאלח ח״ר יעקב מנצור

סעה״ק ירושלם תובב״א

בשנת תש״ז

Figure 15: Title Page of Baghdadi Haggadah, printed in Jerusalem 1947 (Saleḥ Mansoor Press) (The Babylonian Jewry Heritage Center, Or-Yehuda)

Figure 16: The Four Sons (after Abraham bar Jacob), Mansoor Haggadah, Jerusalem 1947

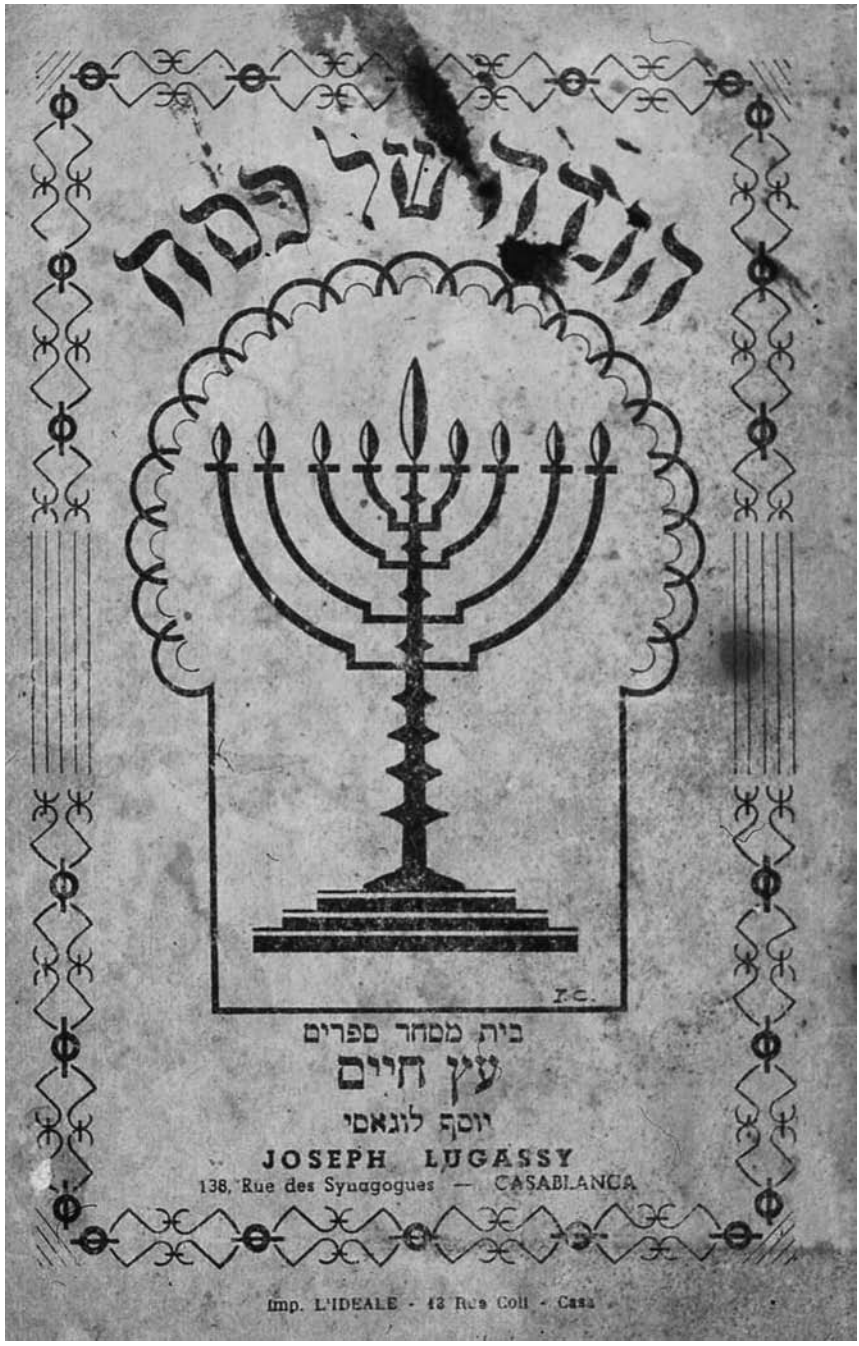


Figure 17: Cover of Haggadah with Menorah. Casablanca, 1940's (Joseph Lugassy Press) (Shalom Sabar Collection, Jerusalem)

Figure 18: The Four Sons. Haggadah from Casablanca, 1940's (Joseph Lugassy Press)

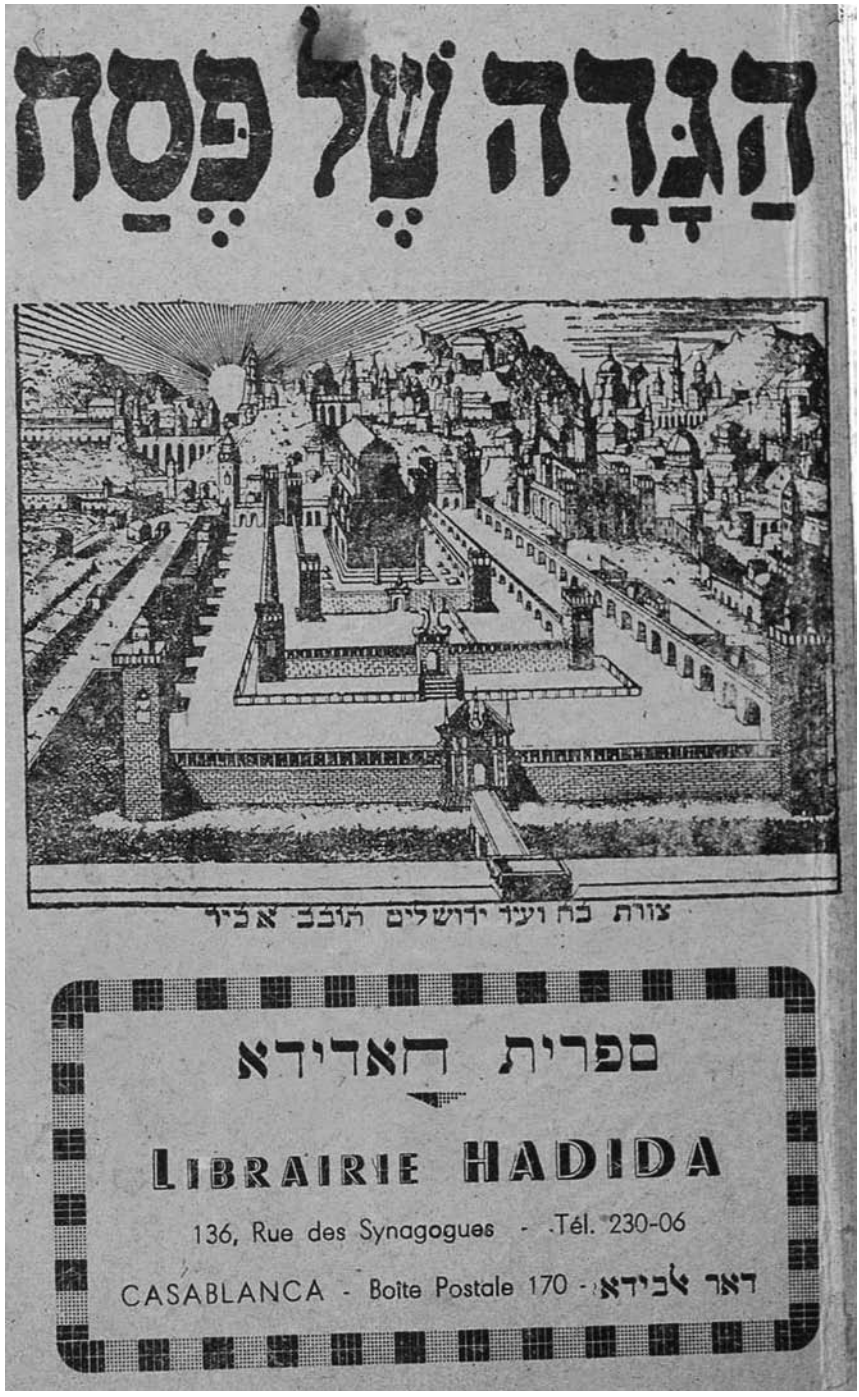

הַגָּדָה שֶׁל פֶּסַח
צורת בה ועיר ירושלים תובב אכיר
ספרית חאדידא
LIBRAIRIE HADIDA
136, Rue des Synagogues - Tél. 230-06
CASABLANCA - Boite Postale 170 - דאר לביידא

Figure 19: Heavenly Jerusalem. Haggadah Cover, Librairie Hadida, Casablanca. 1940 (Shalom Sabar Collection, Jerusalem)

Figure 20: Traditional Portrait of Rabbi Shimon Bar Yohai. Casablanca, 1940's, Joseph Lugassy (Shalom Sabar Collection, Jerusalem)

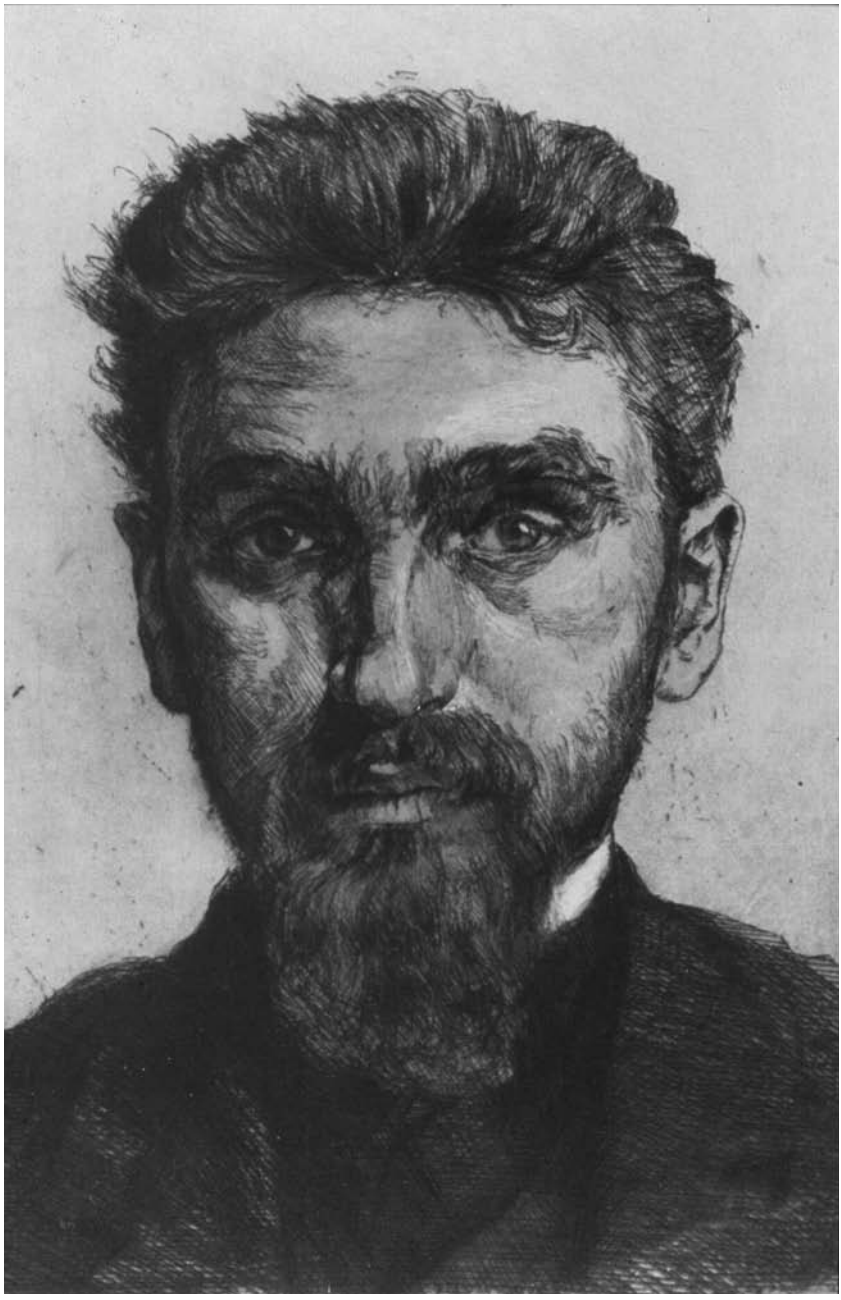


Figure 1: Hermann Struck, Self Portrait, etching, 1901

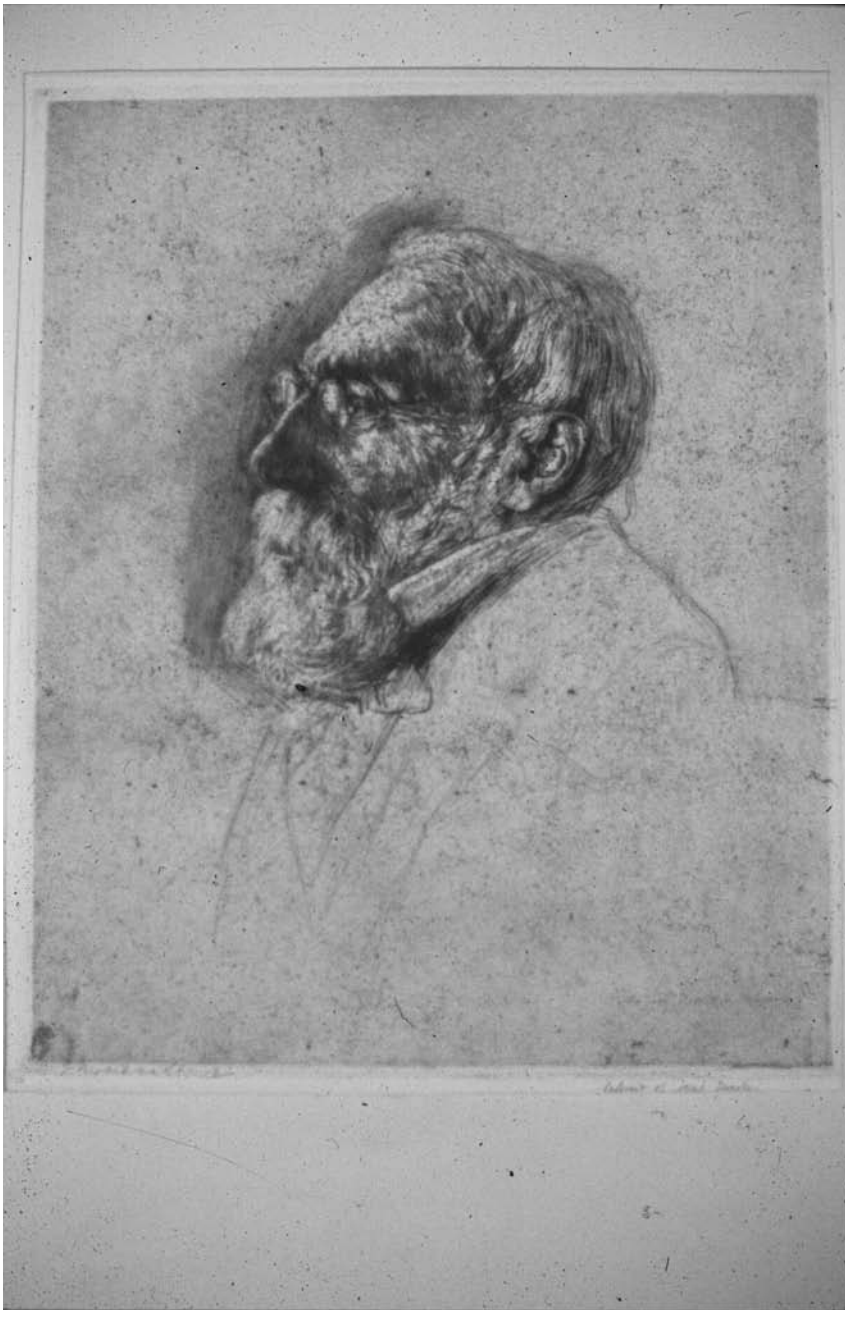


Figure 2: Hermann Struck, Portrait of Jozef Israels, softground etching, 1905

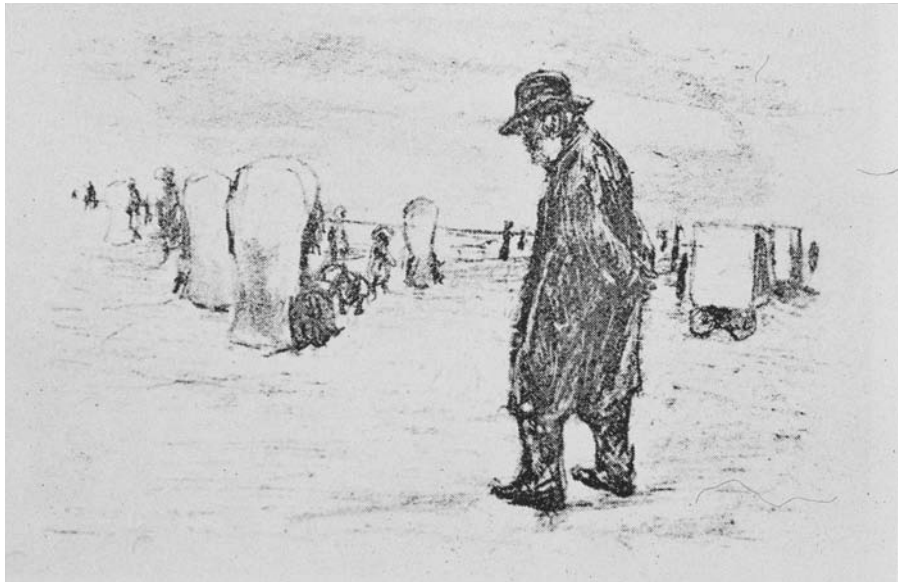


Figure 3: Max Liebermann, Jozef Israels on the Beach at Schveningen, etching, 1911 (or 1912)

Figure 4: Hermann Struck in front of Jozef Israels' Son of the Ancient People. In the background may be seen his print, after the painting. Photograph from the Struck archive collection of Mr. Miki Bernstein. Courtesy of Mr. Miki Bernstein, Tel Aviv